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Perpetual Peace

IMMANUEL KANT

PERPETUAL PEACE

A PHILOSOPHIC ESSAY

BY IMMANUEL KANT

PUBLISHED IN 1795

TRANSLATED BY

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BOSTON:
THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.
1897.

PREFACE.

No American edition of Kant's great tractate on "Perpetual Peace" has been available for the use of those interested in the study of the historic development of the idea of international concord. Two or three English translations are in existence, but the latest of these, that by Professor Hastie, published in 1891, while excellent in its reproduction of Kant's meaning, is often involved in style, and far from easy to follow. The German of the essay is intricate in structure and often very difficult to understand. Every translator of it has not only to render it into his own tongue but at the same time to interpret its meaning. The present translator has tried to perform this double task in a way to make Kant's thought easily comprehensible to all intelligent American readers. He is painfully aware how imperfectly the task has been accomplished. Kant's foot notes, some of which are long and not particularly relevant, have been omitted as not necessary to a proper understanding of the essay.

B. F. T.

Boston, 1897.

AUTHOR'S INTRODUCTION.

"TO ETERNAL PEACE."

Whether the above satirical inscription, once put by a certain Dutch innkeeper on his signboard on which a graveyard was painted, holds of men in general, or particularly of the heads of states who are never sated with war, or perhaps only of those philosophers who are always dreaming their sweet dream of peace, need not be here discussed. The author of the present essay claims for himself, however, in presenting his ideas, the protection of one fact. The practical statesman when he comes in contact with the theoretical statesman assumes a haughty air, and looks down upon him with great self-satisfaction as a mere theorizer whose empty ideas can bring no danger to the state, founded, as it must be, on the principles derived from experience; the worldly-wise statesman may therefore, without giving himself any concern, allow the theorizer to throw his eleven skittle-balls all at once. This practical statesman must therefore, in case of a contest with the theoretical statesman, so far proceed consistently as not to suspect that any danger to the state lurks behind the opinions which the latter ventures honestly and openly to express. The author of this essay feels assured that through this "saving clause" he will be in the best manner possible protected against all malicious interpretation.

First Section.

Which contains the preliminary articles of a perpetual peace between states.

1. *No conclusion of peace shall be held to be such, which is made with the secret reservation of the material for a future war.*

For, in that event, it would be a mere truce, a postponement of hostilities, not a *peace*. Peace means the end of all hostilities, and to attach to it the adjective "perpetual" is a pleonasm which at once arouses suspicion. The causes of a future war, which are present though perhaps not at the time known even to the powers which are making peace with each other, are entirely removed through a treaty of peace, even those which a keen and dexterous search might discover in documents laid away in the public archives. The mental reservation of old claims, to be brought forward in the future, of which neither party dares at the time to make mention, because both are too much exhausted to continue the war, with the base intention of taking advantage of the first favorable opportunity to assert them, is genuine Jesuitic casuistry. Such a procedure, when looked at in its true character, must be considered beneath the dignity of rulers, and so must the disposition to pursue such deductions be held unworthy of a minister of state. But if, in accordance with certain "enlightened" notions of political wisdom, the true honor of the state is held to consist in the continual increase of power by any and every means, of course the judgment just given will be looked upon as visionary and pedantic.

2. *No state having an independent existence, whether it be small or great, may be acquired by another state, through inheritance, exchange, purchase or gift.*

A state is not a possession or patrimony, like the soil on which it has its seat. It is a society of men, subject to the authority and disposition of none but itself. Since, like a stem, it has its own roots, to incorporate it as a graft into another state is to take away its existence as a moral person and to make of it a thing. This contradicts the idea of the original compact, without which no authority over a people can even be conceived. Everybody knows into what danger, even in the most recent times the supposed right of thus acquiring states has brought Europe. Other parts of the world have known nothing of it. But in Europe it has been held that states can marry each other. This has been looked upon in part as a new kind of industry, a way of making oneself powerful through family connections without putting forth personal effort, in part also as a way of extending one's landed possessions. In the same category must be reckoned also the letting out of troops of one state to another, against an enemy not common to the two. Thus the subjects of the state are used and abused as things to be handled at will.

3. *Standing armies shall after a time be entirely abolished.*

For they incessantly threaten other states with war, through their appearing always to be in armed readiness for it. States are thus provoked to outdo one another in number of armed men without limit. Through the expense thus occasioned peace finally becomes more burdensome than a brief war. These armies are thus the cause of

wars of aggression, undertaken in order that this burden may be thrown off. In addition to this, the hiring out of men to kill and be killed, an employment of them as mere machines and tools in the hands of another (the state), cannot be reconciled with the rights of humanity as we feel them in our own person. The case is entirely different where the citizens of a state voluntarily drill themselves at stated times in the practice of arms with a view of defending themselves and their fatherland against attacks from without. It would be exactly the same with the accumulation of a war fund. Looked upon by other states as a threat of war, it would lead to their anticipating such a war by making an attack themselves. Because, of the three powers, the power of the army, the power of alliance, and the power of money, the last might well be considered the most reliable instrument of war. The difficulty of ascertaining the amount of the fund accumulated might, however, possibly work a counter effect.

4. *No national debts shall be contracted in connection with the foreign affairs of the state.*

The obtaining of money, either from without or from within the state, for purposes of internal improvement — the improvement of highways, the planting of new colonies, the storing of supplies for years of crop failure, etc. — need create no suspicion. Foreign debts may be contracted for this purpose. But, as an instrument of opposition between the powers, a credit system of debts endlessly growing though always safe against immediate demand (the demand for payment not being made by all the creditors at the same time),—such a system, the ingenious invention of a trading people in this century, is a dangerous money power. It is a resource for carrying on war which surpasses the resources of all other states

taken together. It can only be exhausted through a possible deficit of the taxes, which may be long kept off through the revival of commerce brought about by the reflex influence of the loans on industry and trade. The facility thus afforded of making war, coupled with the seemingly innate inclination thereto of those possessing power, is a great obstacle in the way of perpetual peace. This obstacle must be made impossible by a preliminary article, — all the more because the finally unavoidable bankruptcy of the state must involve many other states innocently in the disaster, thus inflicting upon them a public injury. Consequently, other states are at least justified in entering into an alliance against such a state and its pretensions.

5. *No state shall interfere by force in the constitution and government of another state.*

For what could justify it in taking such action? Could, forsooth, some offence which that state gives to the subjects of another state? Such a state ought rather to serve as a warning, because of the example of the evils which a state brings upon itself by its lawlessness. In general, the bad example given by one free person to another (as a *scandalum acceptum*) is no lesion of his rights. But the case would be different if a state because of internal dissension should be divided into two parts, each of which, while claiming to constitute a special state, should lay claim to the whole. An outside state, if it should render assistance to one of these, could not be charged with interfering in the constitution of another state, as that state would then be in a condition of anarchy. But as long as this inner strife was not decided, the interference of outside powers would be a trespass on the rights of an independent people struggling only with its own inner

weakness. This interference would be an actual offence which would so far tend to render the autonomy of all states insecure.

6. *No state at war with another shall permit such kinds of hostility as will make mutual confidence impossible in time of future peace; such as the employment of assassins, of poisoners, the violation of capitulation, the instigation of treason, in the state against which it is making war.*

These are dishonorable stratagems. Some sort of confidence in an enemy's mental honesty must remain even in time of war, for otherwise no peace could be concluded, and the conflict would become a war of extermination. For war is only the dire necessity of asserting one's right by force in a primitive state of society where there is no court at hand to decide in accordance with right. In this state neither party can be declared an unjust enemy, for this presupposes a judicial decision. The *issue* of the conflict, as in the case of a so-called "judgment of God," decides on whose side the right is. But between states no war of punishment can be conceived, because between them there is no relation of superior and subordinate. Whence it follows that a war of extermination, in which destruction may come to both parties at the same time, and to all right also, would result in perpetual peace only when the whole human race was dead and buried. Such a war, therefore, as well as the use of the means which might bring it about, is wholly unallowable. But that the means mentioned above inevitably lead to such a result is clear from the fact that such hellish arts, which are in themselves degrading, when once brought into use, do not continue long within the limits of war. The employment of spies, for example, in which only the dishonorableness of others (which cannot be exterminated all at once) is

employed, goes over and is continued in time of peace and thus the purpose of the peace is quite frustrated.

Although the laws above laid down would be objectively, that is, in the intention of the powers, only prohibitive laws, yet some of them are strict laws, which are valid without distinction of circumstances, and they would tend immediately to produce their prohibitive effects. Such are numbers 1, 5, and 6. Others, as numbers 2, 3, and 4, though not to be considered as exceptions to the principles of right, yet in respect to the application of these principles are subjective, because circumstances often make the time of application indefinite. They admit of delay in fulfilment, without losing sight of their purpose. The purpose, however, does not admit of everlasting delay — "to the Greek Calends," as Augustus was wont to say. The restoration, for example, to certain states of the freedom of which they have been deprived, contrary to our second article, must not be indefinitely put off. The delay has in view, not non-restoration, but that there may not be undue haste with its consequent mischief. For the prohibition laid down by the article affects only the mode of acquisition, which is not to be allowed to continue, not the actual state of possession, which, though not conferring a really just title, yet at the time of the supposed acquisition was held by all states to be legitimate according to the current public opinion.

Second Section.

Which contains the definite articles for a perpetual peace between states.

The state of peace between men who live near one another is not the state of nature. The natural state is rather one of war. In this state, if there are not always actual

hostilities, they at least continually threaten. The state of peace must therefore be created, for it is not necessarily secured by the mere absence of hostilities. Even if hostile acts are not committed by one neighbor against another (a state which only the existence of law can bring about), the one can always treat the other as an enemy when he pleases to challenge him to hostilities.

1. *The first definitive article for the securing of perpetual peace. — The civil constitution in every state shall be republican.*

In the first place, a constitution founded in accordance with the principles of freedom of a society of men is necessarily republican. In the second place, this is true of one constructed according to the fundamental idea of the dependence of all as subjects upon a common legislation. It is true, thirdly, of one formed according to the principle of the equality of the citizens of the state. The republican constitution is the only one springing out of the idea of the original compact, on which all legitimate legislation of a people must be based. As far as right is concerned, the republican principle in fact lies originally at the basis of all forms of the civil constitution. The only question, therefore, is whether it is the only one which will lead to perpetual peace.

In reality, then, the republican constitution, in addition to the fact that it springs out of the pure concept of right, gives promise of realizing the desired end, namely perpetual peace. The reason of this may be stated as follows:

Where the consent of the citizens of the state is required to determine whether there shall be war or not, as must necessarily be the case where the republican constitution is in force, nothing is more natural than that they should hesitate much before entering on so perilous

a game. If they do so, they must take upon themselves all the burdens of war, that is, the fighting, the defraying of the expenses of the war out of their own possessions, the reparation of the destruction which it causes, and, greatest of all, the burden of the debts incurred, an endless burden because of the continual prospect of new wars and one which therefore embitters peace itself. On the contrary, in a state where the government is not republican and the subject not a voting citizen, war is the easiest thing in the world to enter upon, because the ruler is not a fellow citizen of the state but its owner. War does not therefore interfere the least with his table enjoyments, his hunting, his pleasure castles, his court feasts, and the like. He decides lightly to enter upon it, as if it were a sort of pleasure party, and as to its propriety he without concern leaves the justification of it to the diplomatic corps who are always ready to find him excuses.

That the republican constitution be not confounded with the democratic, as is generally done, the following must be noticed. The forms of the state (*civitas*) may be divided either according to the difference of the persons holding the governing power or according to the mode of government of the people through their ruler, whoever he may be. The first is properly called the form of the *sovereignty* (*forma imperii*). Only three forms of this kind are possible, according as either *one* only, or *some* allied together, or *all* who make up the body of citizens possess the governing power. Here we have autocracy, aristocracy and democracy. The second is the form of the *government* (*forma regiminis*) and has regard to the mode in which the state makes use of its supreme power, the mode of course being conformable to the constitution as an act of the general will whereby the mass of individuals becomes a people. Under this aspect the government is either re-

publican or despotic. Republicanism is that form of government in which the executive power is separated from the legislative. Despotism is the irresponsible administration of the state by laws which the ruler himself has enacted. Here the public will is regarded by the ruler as his own private will.

Of the three forms of the state that of democracy, in the proper sense of the word, is necessarily a despotism, because it establishes an executive power in which All decide about and, possibly also, against One, who may not be in accord with it. Hence the All are not really all. This is a contradiction of the general will with itself and with liberty.

Every form of government which is not representative is, properly speaking, not a form of government at all, because one and the same person can no more be lawgiver and at the same time executive administrator of the lawgiver's will than the major premise of a syllogism can be at the same time the conclusion under the minor. Although the other two forms of state constitution are so far erroneous that they give room for such a form of government, yet with them it is at least possible to have a form of government in harmony with the spirit of a representative system. Frederick the Second, for example, was accustomed to say that "he was simply the highest servant of the state." On the contrary, the democratic constitution makes it impossible to have a representative government, because everybody wishes to be lord. We may say, therefore, that the smaller the number of the personal administrators of the state, and the greater the constituency represented by them, the more possible it is to have republicanism under the constitution, at least finally, through a process of gradual reform. For this reason it is more difficult in an aristocracy than in a

monarchy to reach this only perfect form of constitution according to the principles of right. In a democracy it is impossible to do so except by means of a violent revolution. The mode of government is however of incomparably more importance to the people than the form of the state, though upon the constitution also very much depends the state's capacity of reaching the end of its existence. But the mode of government, if it is to conform to the idea of right, must necessarily be in accordance with the representative system. In this system alone is a republican form of government possible. Without it, whatever be the nature of the constitution, the form of government is despotic and violent. None of the ancient so called republics had this system. Hence they could not help ending in despotism, of the different kinds of which that is the most endurable in which the supreme power is lodged in a single individual.

2. *Second definitive article for the establishment of perpetual peace. — International right shall be founded on a federation of free states.*

Peoples considered as states may be regarded as individual men. In their natural state, that is, without the restraints of outward laws, they are liable to do one another injury because of their proximity one to another. Every one of them, therefore, for the sake of its own safety, can and ought to demand of the others to enter with it into a constitution, like that of the citizens of a state, in which each of them can be secured in its right. This would be a *federation* of peoples, but not necessarily an international *state*. For this would involve a contradiction ; because each state contains the relation of a superior, or lawgiver, to an inferior or subject, while a number of peoples brought together in a single state would form but a

single people. This would contradict the principle laid down, since we are here considering the rights of peoples in reference to one another, in so far as they are to be regarded as so many different states and not as fused into one.

We now look with deep disdain on the attachment of savages to their lawless freedom, their preference to be engaged in incessant strife rather than submit themselves to a self-imposed restraint of law, their preference of wild freedom to rational freedom. All this we regard as savagery, coarseness, and beastly degradation of human nature. One would think that civilized peoples, each constituted into a state, would eagerly hasten to get out of a similar detestable condition in their relations to one another, as speedily as possible. Instead of this, however, every *state* considers its majesty (majesty of a *people* would be an absurd term) to consist in submitting itself to no external compulsion of law whatever, and the glory of the ruler is held to consist in his being free from danger himself and having at his command thousands ready to sacrifice themselves for him in a cause in which they have not the slightest interest. The difference between the European savages and the American consists chiefly in the fact that while many tribes of the latter are entirely eaten up by their enemies, the former know how to make a better use of their captives than to roast and eat them. They use them to increase the number of their subjects and thereby the number of instruments for still more extensive wars.

The baseness of human nature is openly exhibited in the unrestrained relations of peoples to one another, whereas it is much concealed, through the restraint of government, in the civil life of each people, where law is in force. It is matter of wonder therefore that the word "right" has not yet been wholly excluded from the policy of war as

pedantic, and that no state has yet been bold enough openly to declare itself in favor of such exclusion. For Hugo Grotius, Puffendorf, Vattell and others — all miserable comforters, unfortunately—although their philosophically or diplomatically conceived codes have not, and can not have, the least legal force, because states as such are not under any common outward restraint, are nevertheless always sincerely quoted to justify any outbreak of war. No example, however, is to be found on the other hand where a state has been induced by arguments supported by the theories of these influential men to desist from any warlike undertaking. This attachment shown by every state, at least professedly, to the idea of right shows that there is to be found in man, though at the time dormant, a moral principle of superior force which leads him to strive for the mastery over the evil principle which is undeniably in him, and to expect such a mastery from others. For otherwise states which wish to go to war with one another would never utter the word "right," not even to make a jest of it, like the Gallic Prince who said: "It is the prerogative which nature has given to the strong over the weak, that the latter should obey him."

The method by which states prosecute their rights can not under present conditions be a process of law, since no court exists having jurisdiction over them, but only war. But through war, even if it result in victory, the question of right is not decided. The treaty of peace puts an end to the present war, not to the condition out of which a new pretext for war may arise. Nor can this pretext be declared out and out unjust, since in this condition every state is judge in its own cause. It is not true of states, according to the law of nations, as of men in a lawless state, according to the law of nature, that they

"ought to get out of this state," because as states they already have an internal constitution founded on right and thus have outgrown the coercive right of others to bring them under a wider legal constitution, in accordance with their conceptions of right. Yet reason, from its supreme throne of moral, lawgiving power, condemns war absolutely as a means of establishing right, and on the other hand makes the state of peace an immediate duty. This state, however, cannot be secured without a compact of the nations with each other. There must therefore be a compact of a peculiar kind, which may be called a *pacific federation* (*foedus pacificum*), which differs from a *treaty of peace* (*pactum pacis*) in that the latter aims to put an end to *one* war simply, while the former seeks to abolish *all* wars forever. This federation would not be invested with a single power of a constituted state, but would secure simply the preservation and security of the freedom of a particular state and of others federated with it, without any of them having to submit themselves to public laws and to compulsion under them, as men do in a state of nature. The practicability, or capability of objective realization, of this idea of federation, which ought gradually to be extended to all states and in this way lead to perpetual peace, is capable of being demonstrated. For if it should happen that a powerful and enlightened people should form itself into a republic, a form of government naturally tending to perpetual peace, this would furnish a nucleus of federative union for other states to connect themselves with. Thus the states would secure the conditions of freedom according to the idea of international right, and this federation through the adhesion of other peoples might be extended more and more.

It is easy to understand that a people should say to

itself, "We will have no war among ourselves; for we will form ourselves into a state, that is, set ourselves up as a supreme lawgiving, governing and directing authority which shall peacefully dispose of our strifes." But if this state should say, "There shall be no war between me and other states, although I recognize no supreme legislative authority which secures to me my right and to which I secure its right," it is impossible to understand on what ground confidence in the securing of right would be based, except it be on something similar to the union of men in civil society, that is, a voluntary federation, which reason necessarily associates with the concept of the right of nations. Otherwise nothing more can be said of the subject at all.

The right to go to war is inconceivable as an element in the concept of international right, for that would be a right based, not on universally valid external laws which limit the freedom of every individual, but on the one-sided principle of determining by force what is right. By the right of war, then, we must mean that men who are so minded do perfectly right when they destroy one another and thus find perpetual peace only in the wide tomb which conceals all the horrible deeds of violence along with their perpetrators. For states in their relations to one another there can be, according to reason, no other way out of the lawless condition which inevitably results in war than that they give up their lawless freedom, just as individual men do, accommodate themselves to public constraining laws and so form an international state (*civitas gentium*) which will grow and at last embrace all the peoples of the earth. But inasmuch as the nations according to their ideas of international right do not wish this, and consequently reject in practice what is right in principle, if all is not to be lost,

there can be, in place of the positive idea of a world-republic, only the negative substitute of a permanent and ever growing federation, as a preventive of war. Such a federation would hold in check the lawless and hostile passions of men, which however would always be liable to burst forth anew. As Virgil says:

"Furor
Impius intus fremit horridus ore cruento."

3. *Third definitive article for the establishment of perpetual peace. — The rights of men as citizens of the world shall be restricted to conditions of universal hospitality.*

Here, as in the former articles, the question is not one of philanthropy but of right. Hospitality here signifies the right of a foreigner, in consequence of his arrival on the soil of another, not to be treated by him as an enemy. He may be expelled, if that can be done without his destruction; but so long as he keeps his place and conducts himself peacefully, he must not be treated in a hostile way. He can not lay claim to be treated thus because of any *right as a guest*, for this would require a special friendly agreement to consider him for a time as a member of some household. His claim is based on a *right of visitation*, common to all men, by virtue of which he may join any society of men, on account of the right of the common possession of the surface of the earth, over which people can not spread abroad indefinitely, but must finally endure living near one another. Originally, however, no one had any more right than another to occupy any particular portion of the earth's surface. The communities of men are separated by uninhabitable portions of this surface, the seas and the deserts, but in such a way that the ship and the camel, "the ship of the desert," make it possible for men to

visit one another across these unclaimed regions, and to use the right to the surface, which men possess in common, for the purposes of social intercourse. The inhospitable practice in vogue on some sea coasts, as of the Barbary States, of robbing ships in the neighboring seas, or of making slaves of shipwrecked people, or that of the inhabitants of deserts, such as the Bedouins, of regarding their proximity to nomadic tribes as a right to plunder them, is thus contrary to the right of nature. The right to hospitality which naturally belongs to foreign visitors extends no further than that degree of social intercourse with the old inhabitants determined by the limits of possibility. In this way remote portions of the world may come into friendly relations with one another which at last come to be regulated by public law, and thus bring the human race finally nearer and nearer to a state of world-citizenship.

If the inhospitable behavior of the civilized, commercial states of our portion of the world be compared with this barbarian inhospitality, the injustice which they show when they go to foreign lands and peoples (for they consider their arrival the same as conquest) becomes simply horrible. America, the Negro lands, the Spice Islands, the Cape, etc., were considered by them, when they discovered them, as belonging to nobody. For the inhabitants they counted as nothing. Into East India, under the pretext of simply establishing trading posts, they introduced men of war, and with them oppression of the natives, instigation of the different states of the country to widespread wars, famine, insurrection, treachery, and so on through the whole category of evils which afflict the human race.

China and Japan, which had had experience with such guests, have done wisely in limiting their intercourse, the

former permitting access to her coasts but not entrance into the interior, the latter granting access only to a single European people, the Dutch, whom, however, like prisoners, they shut out from intercourse with the natives. The worst of the matter (or rather, from the standpoint of the moral judge, the best) is, that they get no satisfaction out of this violence, that all these commercial societies are on the point of going to pieces, that the Sugar Islands, the seat of the most shocking and complete slavery, yield no real profit, but only an indirect and at the same time undesirable one, namely, the furnishing of sailors for war-fleets, through whom they assist in carrying on wars in Europe. Thus these powers, which make a great show of piety, drink injustice like water and at the same time wish themselves to be considered as the very elect of the Orthodox faith.

Since the community of the nations of the earth, in a narrower or broader way, has advanced so far that an in justice in one part of the world is felt in all parts, the idea of a cosmopolitical right is no fantastic and strained form of the conception of right, but necessary to complete the unwritten code, not only of the rights of states but of peoples as well, so as to make it coextensive with the rights of men in general, through the establishment of which perpetual peace will come. It is useless to flatter oneself that perpetual peace can be brought nearer and nearer under any other conditions.

First Supplement.

Of the guarantee of perpetual peace.

This guarantee is furnished by nothing less than the great artist nature (*natura daedala rerum*). Though

the course of nature is mechanical, yet it clearly manifests the purpose to develop the concord of men through their discord even against their will. Therefore this power, considered as working necessarily according to laws unknown to us, is called *fate*. But from the point of view of the purpose which it manifests in the course of nature, as the profound wisdom of a higher cause directed toward securing the final destiny of the human race and predetermining the course of the world, it is called *providence*. This power we do not of course see directly at work in the artistic constructions of nature. Nor again do we merely infer from them that such a power exists. But, as is always the case in every relation of the form of things to their final causes, we can and must, from these artistic arrangements, *think* such a power as existing, in order to form a conception of their possibility after the analogy of the operations of man's art. The representation to oneself of their relation and agreement with the moral purpose which reason immediately prescribes to us, is an idea which theoretically transcends experience. From the practical point of view, for example from the point of view of the duty of using this mechanism of nature to secure perpetual peace, it is an idea which imposes itself upon us and is well grounded in reality. The use of the word *nature*, when, as here, we are dealing simply with theory and not with religion, is more in keeping with the limits of human reason, which in respect of the relation of effects to their causes must keep itself within the bounds of possible experience. It is also a more modest term than *providence*. For in using the word *providence* we assume to know the mystery of its unfathomable purposes and rashly put on Icarian wings in order to approach nearer to its secret.

Before we determine more exactly the way in which

this guarantee of peace is accomplished, it will be necessary to examine the state arranged by nature for the persons who act upon her great stage, which makes peace at last necessary. Then we will try to determine the way in which she makes the guarantee.

The arrangements provided by nature are these: (1) She has made it possible for men to live in all parts of the earth. (2) She has through war driven them everywhere, into even the most inhospitable regions, in order to people them. (3) Through this same means she has compelled them to enter into relations more or less in accordance with right. In the cold wastes about the Arctic Sea moss grows which the reindeer paws out from under the snow, in order itself in turn to become food for the Ostiak or the Samojan, or to be hitched to their sledges. The barren sandwastes have the camel, which seems to have been created for travelling through them, in order not to leave them unused. All these things incite wonder. Purpose becomes still more evident when we learn that besides the fur-clad animals on the shores of the ice-locked sea, there are also seals, walruses and whales whose flesh furnishes food and their fat the means of heat and light to the inhabitants of those regions. But most of all is wonder awakened by the foresight of nature shown in driftwood which, without it being known whence it comes, she brings to these treeless regions. For without this material the inhabitants could construct neither their boats, nor their arms, nor their huts. They likewise have enough to do in their war against the wild beasts, to make them live at peace one with another.

We must suppose also that it was nothing else but war which drove people into different regions. Of all the animals which man, at the time of the early peopling of the earth, had learned to tame and to domesticate, the

first to be used for war was the horse. For the elephant belongs to a later time when luxury came in with established states. Likewise the art of evolving certain kinds of grasses, called cereals, the original nature of which is no longer recognizable by us, as well as the multiplication and improvement of fruits through transplanting and grafting (perhaps in Europe only the wild apple and pear), could only have arisen where states were already established and property in land recognized. All this could have come about only after men had left the lawless freedom of the hunter, the fisherman and the shepherd, and entered upon an agricultural life, — when salt and iron were discovered, which were perhaps the first widely sought articles of interchange between different peoples. Through this interchange men came into a *peaceful relation* to one another, and even those far removed from one another were brought into intelligent association and friendly relationship.

While nature has taken care that men might be able to live everywhere on the earth, she has at the same time despotically willed that they *must* live everywhere, even against their inclination. She has not however imposed upon them any sense of obligation thereto by means of a moral law, but has chosen war as the means of compelling them to fulfil her purpose. We see peoples, indeed, the unity of whose descent is recognized by the unity of their language, as the Samojades on the Arctic Ocean on the one hand, and on the other a people of kindred speech a thousand miles away in the Altaian Mountains. Between these another people, Mongolian in origin, warlike and equipped with horses, has thrust itself, and thus driven one section of the tribe far away from the other into the inhospitable polar regions, whither certainly they would not have gone of their own ac-

cord. In like manner the Finns in the northernmost region of Europe, where they are known as Lapps, have been widely separated from the Hungarians who are related to them in speech, by Gothic and Sarmatian peoples who have forced themselves between them. The Eskimos in the north, who, entirely distinct in race from the other American peoples, are probably descendants of ancient European adventurers, and the Pescherae at Tierra del Fuego in the far South of America — what can have driven them into these regions except war, which nature uses as a means to people the earth everywhere? But war itself needs no special motive for its explanation. It seems to be engrafted on human nature, and to be regarded indeed as something noble, to which man is incited by the instinct of honor, without any selfish motives. Thus warlike courage, not only among the American Savages but also among the European in the times of knight-errantry, was judged to be of great intrinsic value, not only in time of war (as is reasonable), but also as a ground of war. War has often been entered upon merely to demonstrate this courage. So that war in itself is regarded as having intrinsic worth. Even philosophers have indulged in praise of it as something ennobling to humanity, unmindful of the saying of a certain Greek: "War is bad, because it makes more bad people than it takes away." So much as to what nature does for the accomplishment of her purpose in reference to the human race as a species of animal.

As to her purpose of bringing about perpetual peace, the essential question now is: "What does nature do in promoting this aim, in reference to the purpose which man's own reason imposes upon him as a duty; what does she do in furtherance of his moral purpose; how does she make it certain that what man ought to do but

does not do, as a free agent, shall be accomplished, without detriment to his freedom, by compulsion of nature — and that, too, in all the three relations of public right, namely, national right, international right and cosmopolitan right. When I say of nature, "She wills that this or that shall take place," this is not the same as to say, "She imposes upon us an obligation to do it," for only the free practical reason can do this. The meaning is that she does it herself, whether we will or not (*fata volentem ducunt, nolentem trahunt*).

Even if a people were not compelled through eternal discord to put itself under the restraint of public laws, war from without would compel it to do this; because, according to the previously mentioned arrangement of nature, every people finds at its side another people crowding upon it. It must therefore form itself by internal arrangement into a state in order, as an organized power, to be equipped against the neighboring state. Now the republican constitution is the only one which is fully in accord with the rights of man. But it is the most difficult to found, and still more difficult to maintain. Indeed, it has been asserted by many that such a state could be formed only of angels, because men with their selfish inclinations are incapable of maintaining an organization of so lofty a form. So nature comes to the aid of the rational and universal will, which though honored in itself is powerless in practice. She does this through exactly these selfish inclinations, so that it requires only a good state organization, which men certainly are capable of forming, to so array their forces of selfishness against one another that the one will check the other in their disturbing influence, or even destroy them altogether. In this event the result, for reason, is the same as if neither of the forces existed. In this way the man,

although not a morally good man, is nevertheless compelled to become a good citizen.

The problem of the constitution of a state, however hard it may sound, would be capable of solution even by a race of devils, if only they had understanding. The problem runs thus: "How can a multitude of rational beings, who together desire general laws for their preservation, but every one of whom is in secret inclined to except himself from their authority, be so brought into an orderly organization that, although in their private sentiments they are opposed to one another, they may so restrain one another that in their public relations the result will be the same as if they had no such evil inclinations?" Such a problem must be *capable of solution*. For it is not the moral improvement of men, but only the mechanism of nature which is in question. What we wish to know is, how to use this mechanism in the case of men in a way to bring the strife of hostile inclinations among people into such relations that they themselves will compel one another to submit to restraining laws, and thus bring about a condition of peace in which laws will have full force. This may be seen in the case of actually existing states, though they are very imperfectly organized. In their external relations they approach what is prescribed by the idea of right, though their conduct is not determined by the essential principles of morality. From these principles a good state constitution is not to be expected. On the contrary, much rather from a good state organization is the proper moral development of a people to be expected. Consequently the mechanism of nature, working through the selfish inclinations, which in their external relations naturally work against one another, can be employed by reason as a means of realizing its own purpose, viz., the

reign of law, and thus of promoting and securing peace both within and without, so far as this lies in the power of the state. In this way nature *wills* irresistibly that right shall at last have the upper hand. Thus what men neglect to do, at last works itself out, though in very unpleasant ways.

"Bend but the reed too strong, it breaks;
Who wills too much, he nothing takes."—*Bouterwek.*

2. The idea of international right presupposes a number of independent neighboring states. Although such a state of things is really a state of war, unless there is some federative union between them to prevent the outbreak of hostilities, yet from the standpoint of reason such a condition is better than their fusion into one through the influence of a power which subordinates the rest and passes into a universal monarchy. For laws lose in force in proportion as dominion increases in extent, and a soulless despotism, after it has rooted out the germs of good, at last lapses into anarchy. Every state, however, or at any rate its ruler, desires to put itself into a condition of lasting peace by bringing the whole world, if possible, under its sway. But *nature wills* it otherwise. She makes use of two means to prevent peoples from mixing and to keep them separate, viz., difference of language and difference of religion. This indeed affords opportunity for mutual hate and an excuse for war, but with the growth of civilization and the gradual approach of men to one another it leads to greater unity in principles and to that understanding which leads to peace. Such a peace is brought forth and securely established, not like despotism, by the weakening and destruction of all the forces of freedom, but through that equilibrium which is the result of a most active rivalry between them.

3. Thus as nature wisely separates peoples whom the

will of each state, even with professed respect for their international rights, might unite to itself through cunning or violence, so on the other hand she brings together, through their mutual self-interest, peoples whom the idea of cosmopolitan right would never have secured against violence and war. The spirit of commerce, here meant, cannot tolerate war and sooner or later takes possession of every people. Because, of all the forces under the control of the power of the state, the power of money is the most indispensable, states see themselves compelled, of course not by motives of morality, to further the maintenance of peace, and, wherever in the world war threatens to break out, to prevent it by mediation, just as if they were in a permanent league with each other for this purpose. For great combinations for the purpose of war can in the nature of the case only very rarely be made, and still more rarely can they succeed. In this manner nature guarantees perpetual peace through the mechanism of the human inclinations. Of course she does not do this with a sufficient certainty to enable us to make a definite prophecy of its future establishment. But the certainty is practically sufficient, and makes it a duty to work for the attainment of the end as not at all chimerical.

Second Supplement.

Secret article for securing perpetual peace.

A secret article in transactions connected with public law is, from the objective point of view, or that of its content, a contradiction; subjectively however, judged from the point of view of the quality of the person who

dictates it, there may very properly be matter for secrecy. Such a person may find it of very doubtful propriety to have it publicly proclaimed that he is the author of the proposal.

The only article possible of this kind is contained in the following proposition:

The maxims of philosophers concerning the conditions of the possibility of public peace shall be taken into account by the states which are armed for war.

It seems, however, for the legislative authority of a state, to which of course must be attributed the greatest wisdom, to be belittling to seek among its subjects (the philosophers) instruction as to the principles of its conduct toward other states, though it may be very advisable to do so. Thus the state will consult them *silently*, making a secret of it, that is to say, it will allow them to speak freely and openly about the general maxims according to which war should be conducted and peace brought about, which of course they will do of their own accord if not forbidden. The coöperation of the states in this matter will, however, need no special agreement among them to bring it about, for it is made certain by the felt obligations of the universal moral law set up by the human reason. By all this is not meant that the state shall prefer the principles of the philosopher to the dictates of the jurist, who is the representative of the power of the state, but only that the philosopher must be *heard*. The jurist, who has taken as his symbol the scales of right and at the same time the sword of justice, commonly makes use of the latter, not simply to ward off from the former all extraneous influences, but, in case one side of the balance does not sink, to throw his sword into it (*vae victis*). The jurist, who is not in the moral sense a phil-

osopher, has the greatest temptation to do this, because his only business is to apply existing laws, not to inquire whether these need improvement; and this really lower order of his calling he reckons as belonging to the higher because it is accompanied with power, as is the case also with the other two callings, theology and medicine. Among these allied powers the philosophic holds a very lowly position. It is said of philosophy that she is the handmaid of theology, and such also she is said to be of law and medicine. But it is not quite clear "whether she carries the torch before her gracious mistress or holds up her train behind."

It is not to be expected, nor even desired, that kings should pursue philosophy or that philosophers should become kings. Because the possession of power unavoidably destroys the free exercise of reason. But that kings or sovereign-peoples, who govern themselves according to laws of equality, should not let the class of philosophers disappear or be silenced, but allow them to speak openly, is necessary to both for enlightenment in the performance of their functions. For this class of persons, from their very nature, are incapable of faction and club-organization, and cannot therefore be even suspected of propagandism.

Appendix.

I.

On the disagreement between morality and politics in reference to perpetual peace.

Morality, conceived as a system of unconditionally authoritative principles according to which we *ought* to act, has in its objective significance a necessary relation to practice. It is therefore a manifest absurdity, after grant-

ing the authority of this concept of duty, to still claim that it can not be carried out. For if this were so, the concept would of itself cease to come within the scope of morals. *Ultra posse nemo obligatur.* Hence, between politics as a practical doctrine of right, and morality as a theoretical one, there can be no conflict. Consequently there can be no conflict between moral theory and practice. To make such a conflict possible, we should have to consider morality as a general *doctrine of prudence*, that is, a theory of the maxims in accordance with which one is to choose the means best fitted for the attainment of the ends dictated by self-interest. This would be to deny that there is such a thing as morality.

Politics says: "Be wise as serpents"; morality adds, as a limiting condition, "and guileless as doves." If both precepts cannot stand together in the same command, then there is indeed a conflict of politics with morality. But if both injunctions are to be everywhere united, then the idea of any opposition between the two spheres is absurd, and the question how such a conflict is to be reconciled can not even be raised. Although the saying, "Honesty is the best policy," contains a theory which unfortunately is very often contradicted in practice, yet the equally theoretical saying, "Honesty is better than policy," is infinitely above all reproach. Indeed, honesty is the indispensable condition of that which is politic. The god who guards the boundaries of morality is not subject to Jupiter, the boundary-god of force; for the latter is still under the dominion of fate. That is to say, reason is not sufficiently enlightened to fully comprehend beforehand the predetermining causes which, if known, would enable us to prophecy with certainty the fortunate or unfortunate outcome of the doings of men, according to the mechanism of nature, however we may

hope that the result will be according to our wishes. But what we have to do in order to keep within the path of duty according to the dictates of wisdom, reason teaches us everywhere clearly enough beforehand, as she also does the real end to be kept in view.

Now the practical man, to whom morality is only a theory, sceptically rejects our generous hopes, though he grants the reality of duty and the power to perform it. He grounds his objection upon his pretended foreknowledge that such is the nature of man that he will never *be willing* to set before himself those purposes the outcome of which will be perpetual peace. Of course the determination of *all individual* men, acting in their *distributive unity*, to live under a legal constitution in accordance with the principles of liberty, is not sufficient for the attainment of this end. In addition it is necessary that *all together*, expressing the *collective unity* of their united will, should determine to bring about this condition, in order that there may be a solution of the difficult task. The society of citizens must act as a whole. Above the diversity of the particular wills of all a uniting cause must supervene, in order to bring about a common decision, which no one of them separately can make. Hence in the carrying out of the idea in practice, it is urged, no other beginning of the social state under law can be counted on than that brought about by force, upon whose compulsion public right is afterwards founded. This of course leads us in advance to expect in actual experience wide divergences from the theoretical idea of right. For one can hardly assume such a moral sentiment on the part of the lawgiver that, after the union of the turbulent mass into a people, he will leave it to them to establish a legal constitution through their common will.

This then amounts to saying that when once an indi-

vidual has got the power in his hands he will not allow laws to be prescribed him by the people. A state which has so got control of itself as to be under no external laws will not allow itself to be subject to the judgment of other states as to the manner in which it will seek to maintain its right against them; and even a continent, if it feels itself superior to another which is not at all in its way, will not leave unused the means of increasing its power, even through robbery or conquest. Thus all theoretical plans for the establishment of national, international or cosmopolitan right come to nothing but empty, unattainable ideals. On the contrary, it is urged, a praxis, which is founded on the empirical principles of human nature and does not consider it beneath its dignity to draw wisdom for its maxims from the manner in which things go in the world, can alone hope to find a sure ground on which to erect its system of political expediency.

Of course, if there is no such thing as freedom or moral law founded upon it, but everything which happens or can happen is only the result of the mechanism of nature, then politics, as the art of using this mechanism for the government of men, is the whole of practical wisdom, and the notion of right is only an empty thought. If, however, it is found absolutely necessary to combine this notion with politics, nay more, to make it the limiting and controlling condition of politics, then the possibility of uniting the two must be granted. I can thus easily conceive of a *moral politician*, that is, one who so construes the principles of political expediency that they can co-exist with morality. But I cannot conceive of a *political moralist*, that is, one who constructs for himself a system of morality in such a manner as to have it commend itself to his self-interest as a statesman.

The moral politician will lay down the following as his fundamental principle: "If defects are found in the constitution of the states or in the relations of states, which could not be prevented, it becomes a duty, especially for the leaders of the state, even at the cost of their self-interest, to endeavor to find out how it may be improved as soon as possible, and brought into harmony with natural right, which is presented to us in the idea of the reason as a model." Since, now, the breaking up of the bond of union within a state, or between states, before a better constitution is ready to be substituted for it, is entirely contrary to political expediency, and to morality, too, in this case, it would be evidently absurd to demand that those defects should be immediately removed, by violence if necessary. It may indeed be reasonably demanded of those in authority that they at least keep thoroughly in mind the maxim of the necessity of such a change, that constant approaches may be made to the end in view, namely, the best constitution in accordance with the laws of right. A state may even govern itself like a republic, although according to its existing constitution its supreme authority is despotic, until the people gradually become capable of being influenced by the proper idea of the authority of the law, as if they actually possessed the physical power of the state. Thus they may become capable of self-legislation, the only legislation which is in accordance with fundamental right. If through the violence of a revolution brought on by a bad constitution a more lawful constitution were secured in a wrong way, it would no longer be considered permissible to bring the people back to the old constitution, although during the revolution every one who took part in it either by violence or intrigue may rightly have been subjected to the punishments due

to a disturber of the peace. But so far as concerns the external relations of the state, it can not be required of a state to give up its constitution, though it may be despotic (and perhaps therefore all the stronger in reference to external enemies), so long as it is in danger of being immediately swallowed up by other states. Consequently when a proposal for a change is made, it must be held allowable to put off the execution of it to a more favorable opportunity.

The despotic moralists, who fail in practice, are sure often to come into opposition to political prudence through hastily adopted or over-estimated measures. In the case of such an opposition to nature they must be gradually brought by experience into a better track. On the other hand those politicians who make a pretence of morals, through their allowing of unjust principles of government, under the pretext that human nature is incapable of the good as prescribed in idea by the reason, may, so far as they have the power, make improvement impossible and perpetuate the violation of right.

Instead of taking the course which men of professed political prudence boast of following, they follow what they call practical, every-day methods. They flatter the present ruling power in order not to fail of their private advantage, while their real intent is thereby to sacrifice for their own ends the people and, as far as possible, the whole world. They act like lawyers (practising lawyers I mean, and not those who deal with legislation) when they turn their attention to politics. For since it is not the business of these to reason about the making of laws but to apply the existing statutes of the land, every legal constitution which exists, and any subsequent one enacted by the authorities to take its place, always

seems to them to be the best. Everything seems to them to be in its proper mechanical order. This skilfulness in adapting themselves to any saddle (as the saying is) may lead them to entertain the conceit that they can judge of the principles of a political constitution in general, *a priori* and not empirically, according to the fundamental concepts of right; they may pride themselves on knowing *men*, which of course is to be expected since they have to do with many persons; at the same time they may not know *man* and what can be made of him, because for this knowledge a higher standpoint of anthropological observation is necessary. Now if, possessed of these notions, they take up the subject of political and international right, they can not make the transition without carrying along with them the spirit of *chicanery*. Their customary procedure with a mechanism of compulsory laws despotically laid down they will attempt to follow in the new sphere where the concepts of reason permit only lawful compulsion according to the principles of freedom, through which alone a political constitution in harmony with right is possible. This practical politician, passing by the fundamental idea of right, believes that he can solve these problems empirically, by reference to experience only, declaring that the most permanent political constitutions have been set up in this way, though these have most often been far from harmonizing with right. The maxims which he uses to justify his position, although he does not openly avow them, are thoroughly sophistical and about as follows:

1. *Fac et excusa.* Seize the favorable opportunity to take arbitrary possession either of a right of the state over its own people or over another neighboring people. The justification can be much more easily and gracefully made *after the fact*, and the act of violence made to seem

like a good deed, especially in the former case where the power in control is also really the law-making authority which must be obeyed without asking questions. The justification would not be so easy if the convincing arguments had first to be thought out and the counter arguments heard and answered. The very boldness of the proceeding gives a certain appearance of inner conviction of the lawfulness of the act, and the god Good Luck is afterwards the best defender of the righteousness of the deed.

2. *Si fecisti, nega.* When you have committed a wrong yourself, for example such as to drive your people to despair and consequently to insurrection, deny that it is your fault. Declare on the contrary that it is due to the refractoriness of the subjects, or, in case of the seizure of a neighboring people, that it is the fault of the nature of man, who, if he does not anticipate his neighbor in the employment of violence, is sure to be anticipated by him and enslaved.

3. *Divide et impera.* That is, if there are certain privileged chiefs among your people, who have chosen you simply to be their leader (*primus inter pares*), set them at outs one with another, and with the people. Then stand by the latter, under the promise of giving them greater freedom, and everything will depend upon your arbitrary will. In the case of foreign states the arousing of misunderstanding between them is a tolerably sure way of subjecting them to yourself one after another, under the pretence of aiding the weaker.

To be sure, nobody is now ensnared by these political maxims, for they are all generally well understood. Nor is it felt that there is anything shameful about them, as if their unlawfulness were plain to everybody's eyes. The great powers never feel shame before the

judgment of the common people, but only before one another; as far as concerns these fundamental principles it is not publicity which can put them to shame but only failure to succeed. For in respect of the morality of the maxims they are all agreed. There always remains to them, therefore, political honor upon which they can safely count, that is, the honor of increasing their power, in whatever way this may be brought about.

From all these wriggling efforts of an unmoral doctrine of prudence to establish a state of peace among men instead of the natural state of war, so much at least is clear: Men can as little in their private relations as in their public escape from the notion of right, and they can not trust themselves openly to base their politics simply upon the manipulations of prudence. They can not therefore renounce obedience to the concept of public right, especially of international right. On the contrary, they allow all proper honor to it in the abstract, even though they devise numberless evasions and subterfuges in order to avoid it in practice, and to try to show that crafty and violent authority is the foundation and support of all right. In order to put an end to this sophistry, if not to the unrighteousness which it veneers, and so compel the false representatives of the mighty of the earth to confess that it is not right but force which they are upholding, the very tone of which they assume as if they themselves were in the seat of authority, it will be well to uncover the deception with which they mislead themselves and others, and to search out and make clear the ultimate principle from which the hope of perpetual peace springs. We shall thus find that all the difficulty in the way of its realization arises from the fact that the political moralist begins where the moral politician properly ends. He subordinates his principles

to the end which he has in view, or puts the cart before the horse. His purpose of bringing politics into harmony with morals he thus thwarts.

In order to make our practical philosophy consistent with itself, it is necessary first of all to decide the question whether in problems of the practical reason we must begin with the *material* principle, that is, the end which we have in view as the object of arbitrary desire, or with the *formal* principle, or that based simply upon freedom in its outward relations,—a principle which may be thus stated: "Act so that you can will that your maxim become a universal law, whatever the end in view may be."

This latter principle must undoubtedly come first, because as a principle of right it is unconditionally binding; whereas the former is obligatory only under the supposition of the empirical conditions of a proposed end to be realized. If this end (for example, perpetual peace) were also a duty, its obligatoriness would have been derived from the formal principle furnishing the maxims of external conduct. Now the former principle, that of the political moralist, when it deals with the problems of national, international and cosmopolitical right, makes them all mere matters of *policy* (*problema technicum*); the latter, on the contrary, as the principle guiding the moral politician, to whom all such questions are moral problems (*problema morale*), is in its practical bearings as different as possible from this. It seeks to bring about perpetual peace not simply as a physical good, but also as a condition arising out of the recognition of duty.

For the solution of the problem according to the methods of political expediency much knowledge of nature is required in order that her mechanism may be

rightly employed for the attainment of the desired end. Yet this knowledge is very uncertain so far as the attainment of universal peace is concerned, which ever of the three departments of public right you have in mind. Whether the people can be kept in real obedience and at the same time in prosperity, for a considerable length of time, better through severity or through flattering their vanity, through the domination of a single individual or through a joint administration of several leaders, through an official nobility or through a representative government of the people, is all very uncertain. In respect to these methods, history furnishes examples of opposite kinds under all forms of government, except that of a genuine republic, a form of government which only a moral politician thinks of. Still more uncertain is a statutory international right professedly devised by ministers. Such a right is in reality only a meaningless name, because it rests upon agreements in whose very making the privilege is reserved of violating them. On the contrary, the solution of the problem by the method of political morality is, so to speak, self-evident. It is clear to everybody. This method puts to shame all trickery, and leads straight to the accomplishment of the desired end, prudently remembering however not to be hasty and violent, but to go gradually and steadily on to the attainment of its purpose as circumstances will permit.

The command here, then, is: "Seek first the kingdom of the pure, practical reason and its righteousness, and your object, the blessing of perpetual peace, will come about of itself." For morality has this peculiarity, in itself, and also in respect of the principles of public right which it furnishes, and hence of *a priori* politics, that the less it makes its course dependent upon the

proposed object, whether that object be a physical or a moral good, the more directly does it lead as a general rule to its attainment. This arises from the fact that it is the general will, given *a priori*, whether of a single people or of different peoples in their relations to one another, which alone determines what is right among men. But this union of the will of all, if we only proceed consistently in carrying it out, even through the mechanism of nature, may at the same time be the cause of bringing about the purposed result and of realizing the idea of right. Thus, for example, it is a fundamental dictate of moral politics that a people should unite to form a state only in accordance with the principles of freedom and equality as conceptions of right, and this principle is based, not upon prudence, but upon duty. However much political moralists may reason, on the contrary, that the natural propensities of a mass of men forming themselves into a society will render these principles powerless and prevent them from working out their proper effect, or seek to prove their assertion by examples of poorly formed constitutions (for example, of democracies which did not have a system of representation) in ancient or modern times, yet they deserve no attention; especially, since such a pernicious theory naturally tends to produce the very evil which it predicts. According to this theory man, with the other living machines, is thrown into a class which only need to have the consciousness that they are not free beings, to render them in their own estimation the most miserable of all the creatures on the earth.

Fiat justitia, pereat mundus. This somewhat pompous, proverbial saying is entirely true. It may be rendered in our language: "Let justice be done, though all the rascals in the world thereby perish together." It is a

bold principle of right which cuts right across all the crooked methods devised by craftiness or violence. But it must not be misunderstood, and interpreted as a permission to push one's own right with the utmost severity. This would be a violation of ethical duty. It is to be understood as putting those in power under the obligation not to refuse anyone his rights, or even to diminish them, either out of dislike for him or sympathy towards others. For this purpose is required above all else an inner constitution of the state in accordance with the pure principles of right, and further also a union of it with other neighboring or remote states for the legal adjustment of their disputes by a method analogous to that which would be employed by a universal state. This proposition means only that political maxims must not proceed from the welfare and happiness expected to arise to each state from following them, nor from the end which each state from choice makes its object as the highest empirical principle of political wisdom, but from the pure concept of right as a duty, from the principle of *obligation* given *a priori* by the pure reason, whatever may be the physical consequences of such a course. The world will by no means perish because the number of bad men in it becomes smaller. That which is morally bad has in its very nature this characteristic, that in the effort to carry out its purposes, especially in relation to others of like mind, it is antagonistic to itself and self-destructive. Thus it makes way for the morally good, even though it may be slowly.

There is thus *objectively* in theory no antagonism at all between morality and politics. Subjectively, however, because of the self-seeking propensions of men (which, because not founded on rational maxims, must not be called really practical tendencies), such antagonism may

and will always remain, because it serves as a whet to virtue. The true courage of virtue, if one proceeds according to the principle, *Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito*, in the present case does not consist simply in meeting with a firm purpose the evils and sacrifices to be encountered, but in looking straight in the face and overcoming the far more dangerous, lying and treacherous, yet sophistical principle in us, which basely and cunningly puts forward the weakness of human nature as a justification of every sort of transgression of right.

In fact, the political moralist may say: Ruler and people, or people and people, do each other no wrong, if they make war on each other by violence or cunning, although they of course do wrong in refusing all regard for the concept of right, which alone is able to establish peace and make it permanent. For, it is urged, while the one violates his duty toward the other, who in turn responds by a like spirit of injustice, they serve each other right when they mutually ravage each other, provided they do it so as to leave enough of the race to keep up the sport to the latest times, in order that their remote successors may take warning from them. The method of Providence in the course of the world is in this way vindicated; for the moral principle in man is never extinguished; the reason, which skilfully works out in practice the ideas of right in the way above indicated develops continually through advancing culture, and along with it also grows the sense of guilt for those violations of right. The creation of such a brood of depraved beings, and their existence on the earth, seems incapable of explanation on any theory of Providence, if we assume that the human race never will or can be improved. But this standpoint of judgment is too high for us; we can not theoretically apply our

notions of wisdom to the supreme, unfathomable Power.

To such despairing conclusions are we unavoidably driven, if we do not assume that the pure principles of right have objective reality, that is, are capable of being realized in pratice; and likewise that the people in a state must act in accordance with them, and also states in their relations one to another, whatever objections to this course empirical politics may put forward. True politics can not, in accordance with this assumption, take a single step, without first having consulted morality; although politics in itself is a difficult art, yet the union of politics with morality is no art at all, for whatever knot of strife there may be between them, which politics can not untie, morality at once cuts in two.

Right must be held sacred by men, whatever sacrifice the ruling power may have to make in its behalf. There is no such thing as a pragmatically conditioned right, no half-way ground to be thought of between right and utility. Politics must always bow the knee to right, though it may hope in return by slow stages to reach a hight where it will shine forth in permanent glory.

II

Of the agreement between politics and morality according to the transcendental idea of public right.

1. Leaving out of view the *matter* of public right, that is, the different empirical relations of men in the state and of states towards one another, subjects with which the jurists generally deal, we have left the *formal notion* of *publicity*, the possibility of which is involved in every declaration of right; for without this publicity there could be no justice, which is conceivable only as it is

publicly declarable; hence there could be no right, as only by it is right administered.

Every claim of right must have this capability of publicity. Since, therefore, it can easily be determined whether publicity is possible in any particular case, that is, whether it is consistent or not with the principles of the parties acting, it furnishes an easily usable *a priori* criterion, by which the falsity or injustice of the pretended claim (*praetensio juris*) can be determined, through, as it were, an experiment of the pure reason.

Leaving out everything empirical contained in the concept of national or international right, as for example the baseness of human nature which renders compulsion necessary, we have the following principle, which may be called *the transcendental formula* of public right:

All actions having relations to the rights of other men, whose maxims do not allow publicity, are unjust.

This principle is not to be considered simply as an ethical one, as belonging to the doctrine of virtue, but also as juridical, and directly touching the rights of men. For a maxim which I can not allow to be expressed without thereby at the same time thwarting my own purpose,—a purpose which must be kept thoroughly secret in order to succeed and which I can not openly avow without thereby arousing the opposition of all against the object which I have in view,—such a maxim can not awaken this necessary, universal and therefore rational antagonism of all towards me for any other reason than because of the injustice with which it threatens everybody. This principle is furthermore simply negative; that is, it serves only as a means of determining what is *not* right towards others. It is, like an axiom, self-evident and also easy of application, as may be seen

from the following examples in the field of public right.

In reference to national right within the state, a question rises which many consider difficult to answer, but which the transcendental principle of publicity easily solves: "Is rebellion a lawful means by which a people may throw off the oppressive power of a so-called tyrant (*non titulo, sed exercitio talis*)?" The rights of the people are interfered with, and no wrong is done to him (the tyrant) by dethronement; of this there is no doubt. Nevertheless it is in the highest degree unjust in the people to seek their rights in this way, and they can not therefore complain of injustice if they are defeated in the struggle and afterwards in consequence of their rebellion have to undergo the severest punishment.

In this case much can be said both pro and con, if the deduction be made dogmatically from the fundamental principles of right. But the *a priori* principle of the publicity of public right spares us all this circumlocution. According to this principle the people would ask themselves before entering into the social compact whether they would be willing to have the doctrine of the right of an occasional rebellion publicly proclaimed as one of the maxims of their political procedure. It is easy to see that if, in the creation of a political constitution, the condition were made that in certain cases force might be employed against the supreme authority, it would be necessary for the people to assume to themselves a lawful power over that authority. In this event, however, that authority would not be supreme, or, if both powers were made conditions of the setting up of the state, no constitution would be possible, and the purpose of the people to have one would be thwarted. The unlawfulness of rebellion is hence clear from the fact that a public declaration of adhesion to the doctrine

of the right of insurrection would make the accomplishment of its purpose impossible. The principle would have to be kept entirely secret. Secrecy however would not be necessary on the part of the supreme state authority. He may frankly make it known that he will punish the ringleaders in every rebellion with death, even though they may believe that he has on his part first violated the fundamental law of the land. For if he is conscious that the supreme power which he possesses is irresistible (and this must be assumed in every civil constitution, because he who does not possess power enough to protect every individual in the state against every other has no right to command him), he need have no anxiety that he will thwart his own purpose by making known the maxims which he proposes to follow. It is entirely consistent with the position here taken to hold that, if the people succeed in their rebellion, the head of the state will fall back into the position of a subject and not undertake a counter rebellion for the purpose of securing again his former position; and also that he ought not to have to fear that he will be brought to account for his former management of the state.

2. Touching the subject of international right, we can not conceive of such a right, except under the presupposition of a state of society where right is embodied in law, that is, where those external conditions exist under which the rights of men are really secured to them. Because the very notion of a public right as such means the publication of a common will which secures to each individual what is his own. This juridic state (*status juridicus*) must arise from some sort of a compact. This compact however must not be based on compulsory laws, like that lying at the basis of a state; it must rather be that of a *permanent free association*, like the above mentioned

federation of different states. For without a juridic state of society, actively binding together different persons, either physically or morally, and not leaving them in a state of nature, there can be nothing but a simple private right. At this point also arises a conflict of politics with morality considered as a doctrine of right. To this conflict the criterion of the publicity of maxims may likewise be easily applied, but only on condition that the compact binds the states simply to maintain themselves in peace with each other and against other states, and not at all for the purposes of conquest. The following cases of antagonism between politics and morality also occur, for the solution of which our principle also provides:

(*a*) "If one of these states has promised another something, for example the furnishing of aid, the cession of lands, subsidies, and the like, the question arises whether, in a case on which the welfare of the state depends, it may consider itself free from the obligation to keep its word on the ground that it regards itself a double person, first, as a sovereign answerable to nobody in the state, and, second, as the chief public official who must give account to the state; the conclusion being that under the second title it may consider itself absolved from the obligation taken upon itself under the first." It is evident that if a state, or its head, should make known that this was its maxim, every other state would naturally either avoid it or unite with others to resist its pretensions. Thus it is clear that politics, with all its craftiness, would frustrate its own ends by the adoption of such a principle of publicity. The maxims implied in the above question must therefore be wrong.

(*b*) "If a neighboring power grows to tremendous proportions (*potentia tremenda*) and thus awakens dread,

may we assume that such a power will be oppressive simply because it *can*, and is the right thus given to the less powerful states to make a united attack upon it, even though they have received no injury from it?" A state which should declare this to be its principle of action would thereby bring on itself the dreaded evil all the more speedily and certainly. For the greater power would anticipate the smaller ones, and as for the matter of a union between them, that would be a slender reed of support against one who knows how to employ the principle, *divide et impera*. This maxim of political prudence, again, if openly published, would necessarily prevent the accomplishment of its own purpose. It is therefore wrong.

(*c*) "If a smaller state, by its geographical position, divides the territory of a larger one, which for its own safety requires this territory to be united, is not the greater state justified in conquering and uniting with itself the smaller one?" It is clear that the greater state could not openly adopt such a principle in advance; for either the smaller states would hasten to unite beforehand for self-protection, or other powers would seek to take the prize. Consequently the principle would through publicity render itself useless. It is thus proved to be unjust, and may be so in a high degree; for the smallness of the object does not prevent the injustice connected with it from being very great.

3. The question of cosmopolitical right I shall pass by without discussion, because, on account of the analogy which it bears to international right, its maxims are easily determined and estimated.

Here then in the principle of the incompatibility of any particular maxims of international right with publicity we have a good criterion for determining whether political

methods agree with the principles of morality. But we need now to learn also what are the conditions under which the maxims of politics harmonize with the right of peoples. For the converse conclusion cannot be drawn, that whatever maxims permit of publicity are therefore necessarily right. For he who has the decisive power in his hands does not need to keep his maxims secret. The general condition of the possibility of an international right is the existence of a juridic state of society. Without this there is no public right, but all right that can be conceived of as existing apart from this (in the state of nature) is simply private right. We have seen above that a federative state of the nations which has in view simply the removal of war is the only juridic state between them consistent with their freedom. So the agreement of international politics with morality is possible only through a federative union, a union which is therefore necessarily required by the principles of right. Hence the proper work of political wisdom is the creation of such a union in its widest possible scope, for without such an aim all its wise ways are nothing but foolishness and concealed injustice. There is a bastard politics addicted to this foolishness, whose casuistry puts to defiance the cleverest school of the Jesuits. Its first principle is *mental reservation:* In the making of public treaties use such expressions as may afterwards on occasion be interpreted to one's own advantage, as, for example, by claiming that the *status quo* may mean either *de facto* or *de jure.* The second principle is *probabilism:* Assume wisely that others have evil intentions, or that the probability of your possible superiority gives a right to overthrow other peaceful states. Its final principle is that of the *philosophic sin* (*peccatum philosophicum*): Consider it a mere trifle, easily forgiven,

because it is to the great advantage of the world, when a large state increases its power by swallowing up a small one.

The pretext for these sophistries is furnished by the duplicity of politics in relation to morals, when it employs one or the other branch thereof for its own ends. Both philanthropy and respect for the rights of men are duties. But the former is only conditional; the latter is an imperious, unconditional duty, and one must be perfectly sure that he has not transgressed it, before he can give himself up to the sweet feeling of beneficence. Politics finds it easy to agree with morality in its *ethical* sense, where it teaches men to show respect to their superiors. But with morality as the *science of right*, before which it must bow the knee, politics finds it advisable not to make any compact at all; it rather denies to right all reality, and interprets all duties as mere matters of benevolence. This craftiness of a shady politics could nevertheless be easily thwarted by philosophy through the publicity of these wrong maxims, if politics would only venture to allow the philosopher to give due publicity to his principles.

Wtih this in view, I wish to propose another transcendental and affirmative principle of public right, the formula for which runs thus:

"All maxims which require publicity in order not to fail of their purpose are in harmony with right and politics combined."

For if they can attain their purpose only through publicity, they must be in accord with the general aim of the public, which is happiness; to be in accord with this purpose, and to make the people contented with their condition, is the special problem of politics. But if this object is to be attained *only* through publicity, that is

through the removal of all suspicion of the maxims according to which it is sought, then these maxims must also be in harmony with the right of the public. For only in this right is the union of the purposes of all possible. The further development and exposition of this principle I must defer for another occasion. But that it is a transcendental formula, may be seen from the fact that it is free from all empirical conditions, that is from the matter of the law, and has reference only to the form of universal law.

If therefore it is a duty to try to bring about a general state of public right, if at the same time there is a well grounded hope of realizing such a state, though only gradually and approximately, then perpetual peace, which is to follow in due time the hitherto falsely named treaties of peace (which have been really nothing more than armistices), is not a meaningless idea. It is a practical task whose solution will be gradually worked out. The goal will be gradually approached, and let us hope, because of the general progress of human society, that the day of its coming is drawing near.

THE OBLIGATIONS
OF
VICTORY

BY

William Howard Taft
Ex-President of the United States

"I verily believe we are in sight of the Promised Land"

An Address delivered at the Convention of the League to Enforce Peace, at Madison, Wisconsin, under the auspices of the University of Wisconsin, November 9, 1918.

Published by
LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE
Bush Terminal Sales Building
130 West 42nd Street
New York

THE OBLIGATIONS OF VICTORY

By William Howard Taft

THE international compact which is to follow this war is to be more ambitious than any ever made before. The world is larger, the nations are more numerous, the field of war has been greater, and the political changes are to be far more extensive than the world has ever known.

The only peace comparable with this is that which was made after Napoleon's fall by the monarchs who constituted the Holy Alliance. That was a League of Nations, with a high sounding declaration of disinterestedness and love of peace. It was a failure because the real purposes which governed its formation and life were wrong and unstable. It rested on the Divine right of Kings, and its objects were to recognize dynastic claims and to establish and maintain them. It took into consideration neither the interest nor the will of the peoples under the governments which it was setting up and proposed to maintain. After it had lived a few years, it became a by-word of reproach.

The difference between the Holy Alliance and the League of Nations we propose is in the purpose and principle of its formation. Our League looks to a union of the democratic nations of the world, to the will of the peoples, expressed through their governments, as its basis and sanction. It looks to the establishment of new governments by popular choice and control. It is to be founded on justice, impartially administered, and not on the interests of Kings or Emperors or dynasties. It is to rise as a structure built upon the ashes of militarism, and it is to rest on the pillars of justice and equality and the welfare of peoples.

I have referred to the Holy Alliance not only to answer an argument, but also as a precedent to prove that a treaty of peace rearranging the map of Europe can not be made without a League of Nations. Think of what this present peace has to compass. We can realize it by considering the points of President Wilson's message of January 8th, which make an outline of the terms of the peace which are to be fixed.

Welfare of Backward Peoples

In the first place, we are to have some disposition of the German colonies, in accord with the interests of the people who live in them.

Germany has made such cruel despotisms of her colonies that it is quite likely the Allies will insist that they shall be put under some other power more to be trusted in securing the welfare of backward peoples. Thus we are to set up a new government in East and West Africa, in Australasia, in China, and in some of the islands of the Pacific. Then we are to deal with Russia. If we separate from her the Ukraine, and the Baltic Provinces and Finland, there are three or four new nations to establish. Great Russia is now under the domination of bloody anarchists, and we must free her and give to her good people the opportunity to organize and establish a free and useful government. This is a problem of the utmost complexity. In Austria we are to create a nation of the Czecho-Slavs, embracing Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia. We are to cut this nation out of the Dual Empire, and take it from Austria and from Hungary. We are to do the same thing with the Jugo Slavs on the south of Austria and Hungary and establish new boundaries there. We are to settle the boundaries of the Balkans. We are likely to give Rumania the Rumanians of Hungary and of Bessarabia. We are to establish a new state of Poland out of Russian, Austrian and German Poland, and we are to give this estate access to the sea. The fixing of these boundaries and the determination of the method of reaching the sea present issues of the utmost delicacy and difficulty. We are to determine the status of Constantinople and the small tract now known as Turkey in Europe. We are to fix the limits of Turkey in Asia, to set up a new government in Palestine, to recognize a new government of Arabia, to father, it may be, the creation of a new state in the Caucasus and to establish the freedom of Armenia.

International Commission

The mere recital of them is most convincing of the intricacy of these problems. The Congress of Nations will probably find it impossible definitely to settle them all. It will have to create Commissions, with judicial and conciliatory powers, able to devote time enough to make proper investigation and thus to reach just, defensible and practical conclusions. When the boundaries are all fixed, when the innumerable rights growing out of access to the Baltic, access to the Danube, access to the Black Sea and access to the Aegean, together with rights of way across neighboring states for freedom of trade, are defined, with as much clarity as possible, there still will arise, in the practical operation of the treaty, a multitude of irritating questions of interpretation. In fixing boundaries on distinctions of race and language, the Congress

will encounter the obstruction of racial prejudice and blindness to reasonable conclusions. Neither line of race nor of language is always clearly drawn, so that convenient and compact states may be established within them. To attempt in a great world agreement to settle the boundaries and mutual rights of so many new nations, without providing a tribunal whose decisions are to control, and are to be enforced by the major force of the world, will be to make a treaty that will become a laughing stock.

The New Map of Europe

We know that we have got to rearrange the map of Europe, and, in so far as it is practicable in that arrangement, to follow popular choice of the peoples to be governed. But such a flowing phrase will not settle the difficulty. It is merely a general principle that in its actual application often does not offer a completely satisfactory solution; and after the Congress shall have made the decisions, sore places will be left, local enmities will arise, and if that permanent peace which justifies the war is to be attained, the world compact must itself contain the machinery for settlement of such inevitable disputes. In other words, we don't have to argue in favor of a League to Enforce Peace—the nations which enter this Congress can not do otherwise than establish it. It faces them as the only possible way to achieve their object.

Germany and Austria and Bulgaria and Turkey are to indemnify the countries which they have outraged and devastated. Commissions must be created, judicial in their nature, to pass upon what the amount of the indemnity shall be, and then an international force must exist to levy execution if necessary for the judgment upon the countries whose criminal torts are to be indemnified. We must, therefore, not only have, as a result of the Congress, the machinery of justice and conciliation, but we must retain a combined military force of the Allies and victors to see to it that these just judgments are carried out. Moreover, the Congress can not meet without enlarging the scope of international law and making more definite its provisions. The very functions which the Congress is to exercise in fixing the terms of peace will necessitate a statement of the principles upon which it has been guided. That will lead to a broadening of the scope of existing principles of international law and a greater variety in their applications. Therefore, whether those who are in the Congress wish it or not, they can not solve the problems which are set before them without adopting the principles of our League to Enforce Peace in its four planks

in our original platform—a court, a Commission of Conciliation, enforcement of submission and a Legislative International Congress to make International Law. They will have to create such machinery for the administration and enforcement of the treaty as to the central powers, the new nations created, and Russia. Having gone so far as they must, can they fail to extend their work only a little to include the settlement of all future differences between all the nations that are parties to the League? A League for such future purposes will be no more difficult to make and maintain than the League into which they are driven by the necessities of the situation.

League Not Responsible for Extreme Views

Now I want to take up some of the arguments made against the League. In the first place, a good many have created a straw League and have knocked it down without difficulty. They have attributed to us the views and principles held by extremists who perhaps support our League, but whose extreme views we don't adopt or need to adopt. Thus it is said that we favor internationalism, that we are opposed to nationalism, that we wish to dilute the patriotic spirit into a vague universal brotherhood. That there are socialists and others who entertain this view, and who perhaps support the League to Enforce Peace, may be true, but the assumption that such views are necessary to a consistent support of the League is entirely without warrant. I believe in nationalism and patriotism, as distinguished from universal brotherhood as firmly as any one can. I believe that the national spirit and the patriotic love of country are as essential in the progress of the world as the family and the love of family are essential in domestic communities. But as the family and the love of family are not inconsistent with the love of country, but only strengthen it, so a proper, pure and patriotic nationalism stimulates a sense of international justice and does not detract in any way from the spirit of universal brotherhood.

No Interference with Internal Affairs

Again it is said that in the League we injure nationalism by abridging the sovereignty of our country in that we are to yield to an international council and an international tribunal, in which we only have one representative, the decisions of questions of justice and of national policy. Sovereignty is a matter of definition. The League does not contemplate the slightest interference with the internal government of any country. The League does not propose to interfere, except where the claims

of right of one country clash with the claims of right of another. To submit such claims of right to an imperial tribunal no more interferes with the sovereignty of a nation than the submission of an individual to a hearing and decree of court interferes with his liberty. The League is merely introducing into the world's sphere, liberty of action regulated by law, instead of license uncontrolled except by the greed and passion of the individual nation.

It is said that we are giving up our right to make war or to withhold from making it. We can not take away from our Congress the right to declare war, and no one would wish to do so. But that is no reason why we should not enter into an agreement to defend the impartial judgments of the League and to repress palpable violations of its covenants by those who have entered it. The question must always be for the decision of Congress whether our obligations under the League require us in honor to make war. We have guaranteed the integrity of Cuba, we have guaranteed the integrity of Panama. Does that deprive us of sovereignty? Yet we are under an obligation to make war if another country attacks them.

Germany Must Disarm First

Then the question is as to disarmament. The fourth of the President's fourteen points contains the provision that adequate guaranties must be given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety. That represents an aim and aspiration, but it can not have immediate and practical operation. We are the victors in this war which grew out of the extensive armament and military power of Germany. It will be a legitimate condition of peace exacted by the victors that Germany shall substantially disarm and leave the Allied Powers in a position with armament sufficient to keep Germany within law and right. How far disarmament can be carried must be determined by experience. Disarmament will be accomplished effectively in great measure by the economic pressure that will be felt intensely by all nations after this war, secondly by such mutual covenants and general supervision of an international council as experience may dictate, and third and ultimately by a sense of security in the successful operation of this League to Enforce Peace.

Question of Military Training

For the time being the people who are afraid that the United States will make itself helpless to defend its rights against unjust aggression

are unduly exercised. Any practical League of Nations will require the United States to maintain a potential military force sufficient to comply promptly with its obligations to contribute to an international army whenever called upon for League purposes. Such obligation may well be made the basis and reason for universal training of youth, in accord with the Australian or the Swiss system—a system that trains youth for a year physically and mentally and gives them a proper sense of duty and obligation to the state. There may be a difference of opinion as to whether we should have such a system, but there is nothing in the League to Enforce Peace and its principles which prevents its adoption, and either that or some other means of maintaining an adequate force to discharge our obligations under a League must be found. While we should lay broad the foundations for a League looking as far into the future as we may, we must trust to the future to work out the application to those principles, to amend the details of our machinery and to adapt it to the lessons of experience. We know that the real hope of reducing armament and keeping it down is the maintenance of a League which shall insure justice and apply in its aid the major force of the world. As the operation of that League is more and more acquiesced in, the possibility of the safe reduction of armaments in all countries will become apparent to all and will be realized.

When Germany May Enter

Another question that has agitated a good many people is whether we should let Germany into the League. That depends upon whether Germany makes herself fit for the League. If she gets rid of the Hohenzollerns, if she establishes a real popular government, if she shows by her national policies that she has acted on the lessons which the war should teach her, indeed if she brings forth works meet for repentance, then of course we ought to admit her and encourage her by putting her on an equality with other nations and by using her influence and her power to make the League more effective. The long drawn out payment of indemnities will keep her in a chastened condition and will keep alive in her mind the evils of militarism.

I don't now discuss the difference in the obligations of the members of such a League as between the Great Powers and the lesser powers. All should have a voice in the general policy of the League, but it is well worthy of consideration whether with the burden of enforcing the obligations of the League by military force which the greater powers must carry, they should not have the larger voice in executive control.

As they are the only ones likely to be able to create the major force of the world, they may reasonably claim a right to more administrative power. The rights of the smaller nations will be protected in the Congress in which they have a full voice, and by the impartial judgments of the judicial tribunals and the recommendations of the Commission of Conciliation. There is not the slightest likelihood that the mere executive control by the larger powers would lead to oppression of the smaller powers because should selfishness disclose itself in one of the great powers, we could be confident of the wish of the other great powers to repress it.

Stable Governments Must Dominate

One of the difficulties in the maintenance of a League of all nations will be the instability of the governments of its members if the League embraces all nations. On the whole, the greater powers are the more stable and the more responsible. It is well therefore that upon them shall fall the chief executive responsibility. While the principles of the League would prevent interference with the internal governments as a general rule, the utter instability of a government might authorize an attempt to stabilize it. That this might better be done by a disinterested League than by a single nation goes without saying.

The possibilities of many sided world benefit from a League after it is well established and is working smoothly, it is hard to overestimate. For the present, as the result of this Congress of Nations to meet and settle the terms of peace, we may well be content to have a League established on broad lines, with principles firmly and clearly stated, and with constructive provisions for amendment as experience shall indicate their necessity.

I verily believe we are in the sight of the Promised Land. I hope we may not be denied its enjoyment.

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THE PEACE MOVEMENT AND SOME MISCONCEPTIONS

BY

MRS. J. MALCOLM FORBES

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THE PEACE MOVEMENT AND SOME MISCONCEPTIONS*

It is a satisfaction to be asked to speak to you of the Cause which I believe the most far-reaching of our generation. I know it is as yet an unpopular Cause, but this is because of misconceptions. The ideas and ideals of Peace workers are not yet generally understood, and it is occasions such as this, where broad-minded persons come together for the purpose of looking into one another's aims and work, which are going to remove misunderstandings.

I maintain that as fast as it is understood, the movement for the substitution of law for war will make adherents of every man and every woman in our land, and in all civilized lands.

The chief reason for the widespread misapprehension of the Peace Movement has come, I believe, from the name "Peace." Truly a beautiful word, but not suitable for the title of a movement at once radical and bold, formed for the abolition of the war system.

Had the men and women who, in the beginning of the last century, banded themselves together for the overthrow of slavery, called themselves by some title which had a like flavor of piety and finality, I believe that the Anti-Slavery Movement would have met with as many hindrances as has the Peace Movement. Largely because of the word "Peace," persons not yet in the Movement imagine that those who are working to bring about the new order are making use merely of appeals to sentiment, talking in gentle tones of how to bring in the millenium, and crying, Peace! Peace! whereas, the truth is that the *war against war* is and has long been an aggressive campaign of education, its

* Address delivered at a meeting of the Executive Board of the National Civic Federation (New England Section), May 4, 1916.

teachings proclaimed in no mincing or uncertain tones. *The Peace Movement is a determined onslaught on the old and barbarous system of war, and a persistent pointing of the way to constructive international relations.* The Peace worker deals not in doves nor olive branches. He must summon all the clearness of thought and logic that he can command; and he must needs stand firm in his faith, heeding neither the ridicule nor the sneers of the unconverted.

When a man new to the Movement hears the words, Peace Society, Peace Advocate and Pacifist, he not unnaturally associates the movement for which they stand, with passive and mild attributes; he thinks he would almost be ashamed to join a Peace Society, for he says he does "not believe that man is intended to live without fighting." Then the explanation has to be made that the " fighting" he means (healthy struggle and competition) is not synonymous with the killing of men. The Peace Movement *is* a battle. In the words of Phillips Brooks:

"It is not that the power to fight has perished, it is that the battle has gone up on higher grounds."

In addition to this fundamental misapprehension there is at present much misunderstanding because of the so-called "Preparedness" Movement, which is demanding the attention of every patriotic American. One hears statements implying that there are two antagonistic societies at work: the Preparedness Society on the one hand, and the Peace Society on the other. This is a misconception. It is true that nearly all Peace societies are opposed to colossal armament, believing that over-large armies and navies invite war, and are opposed to legislation which subjugates civil to military interests, but the Peace Movement as a whole stands for adequate defense. There is certainly as great a difference of opinion as to what constitutes "*adequate* defense" found among Peace workers as among militarists—but no Peace worker thinks the millenium has come or that nations can yet disarm; on the other hand we maintain that there are many ways in which a nation may defend itself besides guns and dreadnoughts, and

that these newer ways make for a better and more permanent defense. Peace workers stand for a more comprehensive Preparedness than mere military efficiency: that Preparedness which subserves international interests, rather than national interests alone.

I should like to read a few paragraphs from statements which were issued this winter by the Massachusetts Peace Society (to which belong many men and women of the State); and by the Massachusetts Branch of the Woman's Peace Party, which is one of the strongest, although one of the newest of the Peace organizations. We call this Massachusetts Peace Society pamphlet, "Law Must Replace War." It reads partly as follows:

"(1) MILITARISTS SAY that the Peace Movement is opposed to adequate national defense.

The truth is that what we oppose is not national defense, but the international war system which makes military defense seem necessary. The Peace Movement has use for both those who advocate increased provision for national defense and those who believe that 'preparedness' invites war.

(2) MILITARISTS SAY that the Peace Movement is unpatriotic.

The truth is that the Peace Movement expresses the highest type of patriotism,—that patriotism which sees that national welfare depends upon international cooperation in all matters of international concern. Its object is international justice in accordance with the principles of international law.

(3) MILITARISTS SAY that the European war has proved the futility of the Peace Movement.

The truth is that the developments of the past year have demonstrated the correctness of the position taken by the workers for peace. The terrible menace of militarism now stands revealed,—its ruthless destruction of the very things that civilization most cherishes.

(4) MILITARISTS SAY that peace advocates want 'peace at any price.'

The truth is that the peace we want is that based on

just and friendly international relations: it has no connection with that passive acceptance of injustice and tyranny which the phrase 'peace at any price' suggests.

(5) MILITARISTS SAY that peace advocates are impractical and visionary sentimentalists.

The truth is that the constructive program of the Peace Movement commands the active support of leading statesmen, eminent legal authorities, economists, business associations, labor organizations, and of many men and women noted for practical achievement."

The other Statement reads as follows:

"In view of the widespread misapprehension as to the principles held by the Woman's Peace Party, the Executive Committee of the Massachusetts Branch desires to issue a statement which we believe to be a correct interpretation of the platform of the Party in its application to present conditions.

"The Woman's Peace Party was formed to protest against the war system and to work for the substitution of law for war. Peace at any price has no place in its platform, nor does it advocate non-resistance.

"Pending further steps to be taken jointly by the nations toward making world organization effective, we recognize that armies and navies must exist in the present state of international morality. But we believe that other and better means of preserving the vital interests of nations are already available. We emphasize the fact that there is more than one kind of defense. We thoroughly endorse plans for a League to insure Peace which provides drastic, concerted non-intercourse as a penalty for aggression by any nation, with action by an international police as a last resort.

"We feel that the state of fear and suspicion now being fostered in our country by the propaganda conducted by some newspapers and magazines as well as by individual militarists, is to be deplored. We look with apprehension at the placing of men personally interested in the manufacture or sale of munitions of war on National Advisory Boards and Congressional Committees. There is a serious danger that our country may become committed to a policy of such increased war preparations as will overstep real necessity and may place us in the grip

of a situation from which later it will be extremely difficult to free ourselves.

"No nation standing alone to-day can ever be sufficiently prepared to face a hostile coalition such as is possible in the modern world. Only in concerted action and co-operation can justice and security be attained. This war has demonstrated as never before the essential interdependence of nations. We can no longer, if we would, stand apart and work out our own salvation without reference to the interests and aspirations of other nations. Whatever policy is now adopted by this country as regards increase of armaments will compel other nations to follow its example. A grave responsibility is laid upon the people of the United States.

"We are opposed to compulsory military training in schools, and to compulsory military service. These are wholly out of keeping with American traditions and ideals.

"Concerning the vexed question of supplying munitions to belligerents by citizens of neutral nations, we feel that our government should take no action during the war. This and other matters should be considered after the cessation of hostilities in the reorganization of international law.

"The Woman's Peace Party stands for International Justice which alone can secure permanent peace. It stands for those principles of democracy held by the founders of our Republic, and which to-day are imperilled. We urge all thoughtful, patriotic women to work with us."

In the Massachusetts Branch of the Woman's Peace Party we are urging the *Newer Preparedness*, by which we mean such measures as *promote justice* between nations; measures that tend to *reduce friction* between nations; and measures which *produce cooperation* between nations.

Among these measures of the *Newer Preparedness* are:

(1) The League to Enforce Peace, which puts into concrete form that for which nearly all Peace societies and leaders have been striving for years.

(2) The creation of an Oriental-American Commission, which shall study the complex and important questions at issue between Japan and China and the United

States, and which shall from time to time make recommendations to the governments involved.

(3) The passage of the law advocated by the American Bar Association, giving federal control over aliens, in order to prevent local conditions in the several States from having undue influence in causing friction with other countries.

(4) The development of the Monroe Doctrine into a Pan-American Doctrine.

(5) Action to provide for the elimination of private profit from the manufacture of armament. This cannot be done till after this war, since international as well as national questions are involved.

The Woman's Peace Party has urged upon Congress "That a joint committee be appointed to conduct thorough investigation, with public hearings, and report within the next six months upon the condition of our military and naval defences with special reference to the expenditure of past appropriations."

We feel that it is both unbusinesslike and senseless to increase enormously—I do not say slightly, I say enormously—our present appropriations, until we have at least tried to patch the holes in the sieve through which a vast amount of the money contributed by our country for armaments is now running off. All persons inside and outside of the army and navy declare that only a portion of the money we yearly appropriate for defense goes where it should, and everyone knows that much of it goes into useless army posts and much of it into wretched and unnavigable naval basins. Shall we sit down and allow this waste to go on forever? We Peace workers say No!

Is it not in line with our careless and wasteful "Americanism" (not our ideal Americanism) to maintain this sieve, and to keep on calling for greater and greater sums for armaments? Is it not logical that we should see how far our appropriations, if properly administered, can make our present equipment efficient?

Why do not our Preparedness friends—and they are and must be our friends—carry on a whirlwind campaign for stopping up this sieve, and for reducing the

"pork barrel"? Most of the Preparedness propaganda which is now being carried on in our country is concentrating people's thoughts on our nation alone, on increasing our possessions and physical strength, with no thought for the welfare of other nations, or for the service which we can and should render to others. Is not this a narrow outlook?

Let us, while we are putting our own house into better order, promote measures which will help and not hinder our neighbors. Let us remember that in this modern interdependence of nations, the welfare of each nation is bound up with the rest.

Even from a purely selfish point of view, we shall be far less efficiently defended from future troubles if we are looking and laboring for our own interests only.

We feel that the *Newer Preparedness* is a very much broader movement than the kind of Preparedness which is threatening to become a replica of what Germany has been urging on her people for the last forty years, and which has led to war. But it is not Germany alone who has been preparing for war, misnamed "Peace," by inoculating all her boys and men with the militaristic spirit.

Let us keep our eyes open; let us keep our minds alert to recognize evil from good, that we may be able to pluck the tares from the wheat in these vital questions of Preparedness, Patriotism and Americanism.

Now for a bit of history: Although the Peace Movement in the last ten years has advanced by leaps and bounds, it had been marching forward, with few serious setbacks, since 1815, when the first societies in the world were organized. The first group was started in New York and is still working under its original name—The New York Peace Society. This year it is giving its whole strength to advancing the League to Enforce Peace.

The Massachusetts Peace Society was organized in the same year by a group of men and women who met in the study of Dr. William Ellery Channing's church in Boston. Later it became the parent of over thirty State branches under the name of The American Peace

Society with headquarters in Washington, D. C. A new Massachusetts Peace Society was formed six years ago, and is already one of the most vigorous of the State branches. It has been fortunate in having as its Presidents, Mr. Samuel B. Capen, Mr. Samuel J. Elder, and Professor Bliss Perry, who is about to begin his second term of office.

In the last one hundred years Peace Societies have multiplied enormously, not only here in America, but all over the world, so that there are now many hundreds of separate organizations with scores of branches.

But the seed was sown hundreds of years ago, and in order really to understand it one should study this Movement as he would any other great human development; he must know its aims, history and achievements.

Long before there was any Peace organization, there were prophets who spoke of the vision which had come to them; and though these voices seemed to speak in the wilderness, the words they uttered did not fall on deaf ears.

We find among early Greek writers some of the most powerful arraignments of war. Isaiah and Micah, with their glorious visions, were Peace prophets in Israel; and nineteen hundred years ago was born in Bethlehem the Prince of Peace, whose words are yet but little understood.

During the first two centuries after Christ, his followers refused to fight at all; then the church temporarily yielded to love of pomp and power, war was apotheosized instead of condemned, and the vision of the faithful was dimmed.

In the fourteenth century was born in the city of Coutances, Pierre Du Bois, who issued a plan for an international representative organization which, strange to say, was practically followed six hundred years later when the first Hague Conference met in 1899; though probably few individuals present had ever heard of this French lawyer.

Among the thinkers who put forth plans for International Peace, was Henry IV of France, who wrote "The Great Design," which proposed European federation as the means to attain the end.

Not long after this, Hugo Grotius, Holland's revered scholar and benefactor, gave to the world "The Rights of War and Peace," of which our statesman, Andrew D. White, wrote: "Of all works not claiming to be inspired, 'The Rights of War and Peace' has proven the greatest blessing to humanity."

In the seventeenth century George Fox with his followers in England endured beatings and persecutions for standing steadfast to their faith. They were called "Quakers" because they made the enemies of Peace to quake by their burning words against war.

In the same century William Penn for years kept peace with the American Indians, through putting into practice his theories of justice and cooperation. In 1693 he wrote "The Present and Future Peace of Europe," in which he advocated a Congress of Nations and a League to Enforce Peace.

Immanuel Kant, master mind of Germany, urged the organization of the world in his essay on "Eternal Peace," which was published at the very time that our Constitution made the American group of thirteen Federated States a world power. Kant insisted that World Peace could never be permanently attained until international organization was effected.

In the years following our Declaration of Independence the prophets came in greater and greater numbers, both here and in Europe. The "Father of Our Country," soldier though he was, spoke against war in no uncertain terms, declaring: "My first wish is to see this plague to mankind (war) banished from the earth, and the sons and daughters of this world employed in more pleasing and innocent amusements than in preparing implements and exercising them for the destruction of mankind; to see the whole world in Peace, and the inhabitants of it as one band of brothers striving who should contribute most to the happiness of mankind.

"I shall never so far divest myself of the feelings of a man interested in the happiness of his fellow-men as to wish my country's prosperity might be built on the ruins of that of other nations. Peace with all the world is my sincere wish. I am sure it is our true policy."

Then denunciations of the system followed from Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Samuel Adams, Josiah Quincy, David Low Dodge, William Ladd, Elihu Burritt, Noah Worcester, Charles Sumner, William Ellery Channing, Ralph Waldo Emerson, William Lloyd Garrison, Edward Everett Hale, and many others.

In Europe, Cobden, Bright and Victor Hugo were courageous champions of the new ideals, as was also Gladstone.

Early in the nineteenth century was born Jean de Bloch, a Polish Jew. He began life as a peddler, but later rose to power and fame, becoming a great administrator. Not only did he finance thousands of miles of railways, but he became an intermediary between the Czar's ministers and the powerful bankers of Europe. A lifelong student of war, he studied especially the relation of war to transportation. His great book, "The Future of War," was an analysis of statistics and scientific facts, gathered by the military experts of Europe, which his synthetic mind revealed in their bearing upon our civilization. This book, which passed under critical review of six generals, was long considered only less influential in the promotion of peace than "The Rights of War and Peace." It was assuredly one of the forces which led the Czar to call the first Hague Conference.

Is it not significant that over twenty years ago, Jean de Bloch said in conversation with William T. Stead:— "War has become more and more a matter of mechanical arrangement. Modern battles will be decided, so far as they can be decided at all, by men lying in improvised ditches, which they have scooped out to protect themselves from the fire of a distant and invisible enemy. As a profession, militarism is growing less attractive."

In 1909 there appeared in England a little book entitled, "Europe's Optical Illusion," written by Norman Angell, a man then wholly unknown to the world. Before the year was over, Count von Metternich, German Ambassador to England, had delivered a speech which was a frank paraphrase of this book; it had been quoted at length in the French Assembly; it had attracted the

attention of King Edward and of the Emperor of Germany, and it was stirring the admirals and generals of Europe. Sir Edward Grey declared that the "illusion," *viz.*, the erroneous idea that economic advantage follows military victory, had first dawned on his vision through reading this book.

The chiefs of four European States asked for "a book in place of a booklet"; whereupon, a year later appeared "The Great Illusion," which embodied the gist of the criticisms of the earlier booklet and presented cogent and penetrating refutations of the same.

Mr. Angell has been accused by Admiral Mahan of ignoring the primary cause of most wars—"sentiment, prejudice, and a perverted sense of honour"; but his very first book proves that he is a past-master in the analysis of these and other causes of war and of the psychology of the mob.

Since then several important books and scores of magazine articles have appeared from the pen of Norman Angell and his words are heeded all over the world.

Important works on International Relations and Peace *versus* War are now appearing almost from day to day. One of the notable books of this year, "Social Progress and the Darwinian Theory," is by a rising American author, George Nasmyth, who is in the foremost rank of the younger leaders in the rational or scientific Peace Movement represented by Norman Angell, the Russian sociologist, Novicow, and others.

Some persons, although in sympathy with the Movement, have asked why the Peace Movement should be carried on *now;* why not wait until the war is over? The answer is that *this is the very moment* to bring to the conviction of every man and every woman in our country that the war system must be condemned as the method of settling international disputes, and that it *is* in man's power to get rid of it; that in its place we must establish the system of law and order, under which alone is possible justice to all, and a continuation of civilization.

One of the erroneous ideas at present current in some quarters is that the workers for abolition of the War

System are not in sympathy with relief work. A preposterous accusation! I believe there is no group of persons who feel more sympathy and interest in the fate of wounded soldiers and prisoners of war than those who are working for the overthrow of the system of war.

We believe in the Red Cross work and its further extension and we hope that the American Red Cross will soon count its millions of members and not continue to lag behind European and Asiatic countries in this important matter.

In some societies "war relief and war prevention" have been combined. Anti-War Knitting Circles have been instituted: the plan being to combine knitting or sewing for the war sufferers with the acquiring of knowledge of the International Peace Movement. Striking Peace and War pamphlets or plays are read to the group at work.

We Peace workers believe in the Boy Scout Movement of America, and are determined that it shall continue to follow the lines laid down by its founder, General Baden Powell, who has always been emphatically opposed to its being militarized. His basic idea is to train boys for *normal, i. e., civic* citizenship; and to turn their courage and energy into channels of constructive service to their cities and to their countries. It is to be deplored that the other and newer organization, called the United States Boy Scout Movement, is being made essentially military; and it is unfortunate that it should not have chosen a less imitative name.

The accusation sometimes made that Peace teaching is liable to undermine patriotism, can be urged only by persons possessed of but superficial knowledge of the anti-war movement, for when we work to banish the war system from the earth, are we lowering the heroic ideals of manhood? Are we training our boys to be "mollycoddles"? Far from it! We bring up our boys to be ready to die for their country by *serving* humanity's need; and for daily, not occasional, service only.

Are not high forms of courage, devotion and self-sacrifice found in many of the careers open to both men and women, such as those of missionaries, doctors, nurses, sailors, firemen? It is a grave mistake to assume that the

one and the highest form of service to one's country is that of the soldier. At best that is only *one* form of service, and in the majority of cases the soldier is not exposed to discomfort, peril and death in the constant way that is the doctor or nurse or life-saver. Many other professions might be named which also are full of opportunity for devotion and self-sacrifice to ideals.

We who are working for Peace are the first to recognize the superb courage and devotion shown by the heroes of war, and we know that the world hourly needs such qualities, but we realize that there is entire scope for their manifestation without any battles of blood.

In this last year a false affirmation has been frequently heard, *i. e.*, that the women who went to the Hague as delegates of the Woman's Peace Party last April were expecting to *stop the war*. This was not true. They went to unite with the women of the belligerent and of neutral nations in making such a protest against the War System as must impress the world's conscience; to urge on the governments of the countries at war the calling of a conference of neutral nations; and to try to organize a conference for continuous mediation.

That a conference of nations shall be called as soon as the time is ripe, has been urged by Senator Root; and is constantly in the mind of President Wilson and of many statesmen in the neutral as well as in the belligerent countries.

The Woman's Peace Party was formed because Jane Addams felt that we American women must not stand by as onlookers merely, or as knitters merely, with this tragedy across the seas. In December, 1914, Miss Addams wrote to women representing many organizations in various parts of this country, asking them to assemble in Washington to see what could be done. Many responded to the call, and after three days' conferences, a platform was agreed upon, and the Woman's Peace Party came into existence.

Mr. Hamilton Holt, Editor of the *Independent*, wrote as follows: "They (the Woman's Peace Party) issued a manifesto, unsurpassed, we think, in power and moral fervor by anything that has been issued here or abroad

since the great war began. They adopted a Platform radical, sound, statesmanlike, constructive."

There may be differences of opinion regarding some of the eleven planks of the Platform, but in the words of our Declaration of Principles, "we have given freedom of expression to a wide divergence of opinion in the details of our Platform . . . . in a common desire to make our woman's protest against war and all that makes for war, vocal, commanding and effective," and the whole object of the Woman's Peace Party is to push constructive Peace work.

We want with us every woman who believes that the system of war must be abolished.

The late Justice Brewer said: "There never was a time since the beginning of days, that woman longed for bloodshed and the carnage of war, and the more fully she realizes its waste and destruction the more earnest will become her opposition. Nowhere in the world is she so potent a force in public life as in this country, and you may be sure that that force will be ere long concentrated in steadfast opposition to war. She cannot be sneered or laughed out of her faith."

"Nothing will carry on your Peace Movement as this war is going to do," was said to me in August, 1914, by one of our practical statesmen; and this is being verified, for the revulsion against war is now as stupendous as the war itself. The glamour has been dissipated, and the evils that war breeds are being exposed to the onlooker as never before in all history.

This present war is indeed helping on the Peace Movement, for at last two groups of men and women have come over into our ranks, who heretofore could not see the necessity of so doing.

One of these groups contains those persons who, before July, 1914, were saying, "Men always have fought, and always will fight, and what is the use of trying to stop wars?" They see now that if civilization is not to destroy itself, we must *force* men to keep the Peace, even when grouped in nations; just as we *force* men to keep the Peace in our cities and States. And this forcing is done in the main by public opinion, *i. e.*, moral force.

The second group contains those idealistic but unimaginative persons who thought war wholly a glorious thing because their only knowledge of it had been gained through history and poetry. As most of the literature of our schools and homes deals with the nobler human qualities which war—as well as earthquake, fire and flood—brings out in men, the knowledge thus gained had not brought to these persons a realization of the brutal developments which are also a part of war; so they would say, "War is a fine thing, and the world needs it now and then!"

To this type of mind one always wanted to quote the words of William Ellery Channing:

"It is said that without war to excite and invigorate the human mind, some of its noblest energies will slumber, and its highest qualities—courage, magnanimity, fortitude—will perish. To this I answer that, if war is to be encouraged among nations because it nourishes energy and heroism, on the same principle war in our families, and war between neighborhoods, villages and cities ought to be encouraged; for such contests would equally tend to promote heroic daring and contempt of death.

"We do *not* need war to awaken human energy. There is at least equal scope for courage and magnanimity in blessing as in destroying mankind. . . . Away then, with the argument that war is needed as a nursery of heroism!"

Both these groups are now recognizing the truth of what Anti-War workers have been saying for years—that war among nations is like the duel between individuals; and that evolution and history show the decline of war, and that war must go!

Cardinal Gibbons said a few years ago: "The time is fast coming when, like the duel between individuals, the international duel will be relegated to the museum of social monstrosities."

You remember Emerson's words: "It is not a great matter how long men refuse to believe the advent of Peace; a universal Peace is as sure as is the prevalence of civilization over barbarism, of liberal governments

over feudal forms. The question for us is only How Soon?"

How Soon? Yes, that is where the work for Peace societies comes in; it is for us to hasten the day! The day can be hastened if men and women will put their thought and strength into this war against war.

To quote again from Emerson's Essay on War: "If Peace is to be maintained, it must be by brave men, who have come up to the same height as the hero, namely, the will to carry their life in their hand, and stake it at any instant for their principle; but who have gone one step beyond the hero of war and will not take another man's life."

It was Bishop Brent who wrote from the Philippine Islands, soon after the European war broke out:

"All of us who have steadily been learning the meaning and value of Peace according to the ideal given us by the Prince of Peace cannot fail to be wrung with anguish by the tempest of hatred, selfishness and slaughter which is sweeping over Europe. . . . There is little that can be done by us to terminate this awful war. . . .

"But it seems to me our first duty is to examine ourselves and see how and where we as individuals are contributing to a social and national condition that makes war not only possible but easy. . . .

"There is no man, however humbly he counts himself a follower of Jesus Christ, who can fail to be roused to new earnestness by the war. Some of us may be called to do something extreme. But whether by much or by little we must stand boldly forth without counting cost."

It is surely the duty of every person who believes that war is a hideous anachronism in this age, to join at least one of the Peace societies. "In unity is strength," and if the Peace army in every country can have full membership, the system of war cannot endure a day.

Isolated indeed from the great currents of today's civilization is the man or woman who stands aloof from the work for Permanent Peace; who does not in some way help on this holy crusade of the twentieth century—the crusade for Justice and Brotherhood.

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World's Affairs Wait on Treaty Ratification

STATEMENT BY THOMAS W. LAMONT

THOMAS W. LAMONT of J. P. Morgan & Co. and former member of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, in a statement severely scores the Senate for its failure to ratify the Peace Treaty.

Mr. Lamont says that since it became evident to the world of commerce that the action of the United States might nullify the treaty there has been an alarming fall in the rates of foreign exchange; for this no remedy can be had so long as delay continues at Washington; no plan for the extension of foreign credits, so necessary to maintain America's export trade, can be evolved.

"It is hard to conceive," says Mr. Lamont, "the attitude of mind that insists upon such calamitous fumbling with the most critical situation that the world has ever seen."

Mr. Lamont's statement follows:

"Since my return from Paris I have, until now, in response to frequent urgings, declined to comment upon the existing situation with respect to the treaty, and to the industrial problems that are hanging upon the ratification of it. I am a member of the Republican party, and have had confidence that the Republican Senate majority, whose patriotism cannot be questioned, would, after the careful investigation and consideration which it was its duty to give, vote an early ratification of the treaty. But I, in common, I believe, with the country at large, have become greatly disturbed at the continued uncertainty and delay—a delay which, in my judgment, is already responsible for having rendered social and industrial conditions in both Europe and America distinctly worse.

"The whole world is crying for peace, for a chance to renew its normal life and work; and America, by continued inaction, refuses to grant her consent to the settlements necessary. Since it became evident to the world of commerce that the action of the United States Senate might nullify the treaty, there has been an alarming fall in the rates of foreign exchange. For this no remedy can be had as long as the delay continues at Washington; no plan for the extension of foreign credits, so necessary to maintain America's export trade, can be evolved. It is hard to conceive the attitude of mind that insists upon such calamitous fumbling with the most critical situation that the world has ever seen. The only explanation is, that there is still almost incredible misunderstanding, both of the treaty provisions themselves, and of the manner in which the affairs of the world await America's assent to peace.

"One point should be cleared up now, and that is the misapprehension existing in many quarters as to President Wilson's attitude at Paris. I hear it repeated that he was unwilling to take counsel with his delegation. That is untrue. He constantly and earnestly sought the advice of his associates. I hear it said that in fighting for the League of Nations he yielded up vital points in the main treaty. In the Shantung settlement perhaps Japan's attitude as to the League was a consideration. Aside from that, I know of no clause in the treaty that was tempered or modified at all by Mr. Wilson's solicitation for the League. President Wilson, being a human being, undoubtedly has certain defects; but, as a member of the opposite political faith from his, and as taking a continuous, albeit unimportant part in the work at Paris, I am bound in all fairness to say that throughout the complexities and anxieties over there President Wilson acted with moderation, common sense, and great patience; he played no politics and what is more, he showed constantly extraordinary courage in fighting for the idealism that we call American. His course there was such that it should command the admiration of his fellow citizens regardless of party.

"As to the treaty itself, the situation, then, is this: America played an enormously important part in the war. Without her co-operation it could not have been won. In the same way, in making peace her allies and associates in the war looked to her for leadership. It was the effort of the American Mission at Paris to give to the settlement of peace the same unselfish, just and generous effort that America had shown in the war. Working steadily upon these principles for months at Paris, the American Commission was active in negotiating a treaty which commanded the approval of our own and of the delegation of twenty-two other powers.

"Admittedly, the treaty is not a perfect document. By no theory is it ever possible, among a score of divergent interests, and in a chaos of states confused politically and half paralyzed economically, with the whole social structure tottering, with a half-score of nationalities torn, bleeding, saddened and dazed by the sufferings and horrors of war—in no way, I say, can perfection in the drafting of a human document be attained under such conditions. Compromise ought to, and must be made. They were made by all parties to the treaty,—less, as a matter of fact, by the American delegation than by the others, although the material interests of our country were far less involved than those of the other powers; and though, on the theory of maintaining an unselfish attitude, we could have been excused for conceding at least as much as any of our allies. As Senator Knox well put it, years ago in a speech favoring international co-operation:

"'Every material and moral advance in the solidity of nations, for universal, as distinguished from local or domestic purposes, is achieved by concessions restraining to a greater or less degree the liberty of action of individual states for the benefit of the community of nations and in obedience to the demands of an international public opinion.'

"The American delegation in the main, then, carried through its ideas, and was enabled to do so because there was openly accorded to it a position of arbiter of justice. Repeated instances arose where the other commissions requested the American delegation to prepare a solution which in effect the others would indorse in advance. I point out these facts to emphasize that, even with the compromises

that were evidently essential to make, to America was granted, in large measure, a position of guidance and leadership. It is not true that the United States was 'hooked' by the other powers, in either the main clauses of the treaty, or in the League of Nations Covenant.

"This peace settlement then, upon which all Europe has been hanging for months, for which all industry (employer and employee alike), all restoration and return to a life of order, have been waiting, is brought to Washington for ratification or rejection. It is plain that, despite the attitude of certain senators, the majority of the Senate is disinclined openly to reject the treaty. It is equally plain that some senators are contemplating its rejection by the much more objectionable method of making certain alterations in it, none of them of great importance, but with a net result of compelling us to go back to Germany and ask her to have the grace to execute a new treaty with us. This we cannot do without also begging our own allies to reopen negotiations with Germany, and to assemble their own parliaments (which in the case of England, of Belgium, and of some other states, have already approved the treaty) to argue for perhaps further long months over the proposed American alterations.

"Close examination of the points which are styled as dangerous by those senators who desire to amend the treaty fails to disclose any perils whatsoever. President Wilson, in his meeting with the Foreign Relations Committee on August 19, went with great care into these points. Why reopen the whole peace negotiation; why let Europe go from bad to worse while we are discussing a condition that does not exist, and that was never even contemplated at Paris? Minor though these points at issue are, there is no reason why any one of them should not be brought up, and if need be clarified at the initial meeting of the League of Nations in Washington next October. We should appreciate that the Covenant of the League is not a rigid, but a mobile instrument. Hardly more than the rough machinery for the workings of a Society of Free Nations was set up. At Paris it was expected that the perfection of the instrument would take years to bring about; that meantime, there would be almost constant changes proposed and made.

"As to the main treaty, the clause about Shantung is the only one exciting controversy. Well, nobody likes that clause—President Wilson, as he has intimated, as little as any one. But it is one thing to dislike that clause and another thing to bring about an immediate change in it. Japan drove the Germans out of Shantung; and back in the earlier days of the war, before America had come in at a time when things were going badly, and when Japan's support was sorely needed, Great Britain and France promised Japan, in response to her demand, that so far as they were concerned, Japan should inherit Germany's position in China. Now when three years later the question came up at Paris perhaps it might have been possible for President Wilson to say in effect to Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Clemenceau: 'You made a poor bargain with Japan, and you must tell her I won't let you carry it out.' But how could Mr. Wilson have actually taken such a position? Fortunately, his decision was rendered somewhat less difficult by reason of the fact that the Japanese delegation solemnly and repeatedly stated its intention to make early modification of the Shantung settlement.

"I, myself, believe that in this we must rely upon two things; First, upon

Japan's good faith, and second,—if that should fail, which I can hardly conceive—then upon the effective workings of the League of Nations. But as to Shantung, just how our Senate today can by amendment to the treaty force England and France to go back on their agreement with Japan, and just how we can say to Germany, who has accepted the loss of her position in China, that we want her to withdraw that acceptance and consider some new plan, it is impossible to conceive. Meanwhile, certain of our senators continue grossly to question the good faith of Japan, to insult her, and to render infinitely more difficult the settlement of other momentous questions that have to do with the whole future of the Far East.

"Finally, the treaty that was evolved imposes justly severe terms upon Germany. Those terms should be put into effect at once. If they are not, Germany will be able to evade her obligations, and the American people will in every way suffer serious loss. Senator Knox declares that those terms are so hard on Germany that the whole treaty should be rejected. Does he favor treating Germany in a way to encourage her to start another war? Does he and those of his colleagues who are trying to defeat this treaty forget that it was Germany who plunged the whole world into darkness and woe, in a struggle that brought death to at least ten million beings, incapacity to twenty million more; the breakdown of law and order; the wasting of over two hundred billion dollars of treasure, and calamities from which the world can hardly recover within a hundred years? The aim of the nations assembled at Paris was to draft a treaty that was just, but so framed as to prevent Germany or any other nation from repeating such crimes as these.

"To this end the treaty sets up the initial machinery for a League of Free Nations. The United States Senate cannot pull apart that machinery without making the whole treaty void. Any such action as that will spell renewed Bolshevist effort throughout Europe, spreading, as there is already evidence, to America; will mean continued chaos among those newer nationalities that America has helped establish; worse than all else, will bring starvation this coming winter over there, not to thousands, but to millions of human beings.

"No one will object to clarifying interpretations, even though they are unnecessary. But if the United States insists today upon sending the treaty back with changes and reservations, we shall certainly witness the calamities that I describe; and furthermore, by continued delay, we shall probably postpone action until finally we shall have the United States entering the League of Nations hand in hand with Germany, novitiates together in this wonderful enterprise that is to set the world free from the slavery of war!

"That may be what the American people want, but I don't believe it."

Reprinted from *The New York Evening Post*
September 8, 1919

FROM A VISITOR TO GENEVA

To the Editor of the *Herald:*

Eight years after the close of the war we turn our minds again to thoughts of this great cataclysm, to pay homage to the gallant dead and to ask ourselves what was the cost and what the gain.

Europe knows full well the cost. A child or a husband gone in nearly every home, a burden of debt almost unbearable. Each country there, victor as well as vanquished, knows that it lost the war. England lost—her trade disrupted; her taxes enormous; in the grip of a disastrous strike; thousands out of work. France lost—her government shaken; the franc in violent fluctuation; and with the feeling that she has been deserted by her strongest friends. Italy, prosperous, perhaps, but buying her prosperity at what a cost! The Czar of Russia never planted his heel on his peasantry more firmly than Mussolini has planted his on Italy under the name of Fascism. In many ways Germany, the vanquished, as we see her today, comes nearer being the conqueror.

Although this is a dark picture, there is a light breaking through which some day may so illumine the world that men may say the millions dead did not die in vain. The League of Nations is that light. As I sat in the assembly hall in September and saw the ancient enemies, France and Germany, clasp hands, only eight short years after they had been at each other's throats; as I noted the signing of the pacts of Locarno; as I studied the many other treaties of unlimited arbitration that the other nations have negotiated; as I listened day after day to the envoys of the nations, great and small, discussing and adjusting the countless problems that confront their daily lives, and sensed the friendliness of all, I felt the greatest exaltation of my life. I seemed to be taking part in the early days of the greatest movement toward lasting peace that the world had ever known, and it seemed the war had not been fought in vain.

But when I came home, what did I find? America so rich, so contented, so complacent, so self-satisfied. I was saddened and discouraged. Although we had prospered greatly, it seemed that we had sold our soul. Sunk in the depths of materialism, we, too, had lost the war. No "entangling alliances" for us, even though they might be for our safety and the peace of the world; no friendly intercourse; no give and take—"let's keep prosperity to ourselves."

And then came Armistice Day. Preparedness was the theme. Preparedness for what? Preparedness for the next war? A recital of our prowess, of our greatness and our righteousness, and only lip-service to the ideal of neighborly, Christian behavior. On that very day President Coolidge voiced what he believes to be the Senate ultimatum on the World Court; the Court for whose existence we have a large share of responsibility; the tribunal to which nations, great and small, may come for justice; the place where might meets right and right shall prevail.

We entered into negotiations with forty-nine other states to find a way by which we might come in and keep apart from the League—quite proper if it must be so. We refuse to negotiate. We refuse to explain. We lay down the law. We ask for privileges superior to all others—a travesty on the very name of justice. We demand the right to stop, at our pleasure, the normal functioning of the Court. The others said that they were willing to negotiate further, to find a satisfactory way for us to come in. We said, "Sign on the dotted line." "Take us or leave us." We issued an ultimatum while in the midst of international negotiation.

However, it is difficult to believe that this is the true spirit of America. Before many years roll by I believe we shall see things differently: that we will become friendly and neighborly and co-operative; that we will take our place in the forefront of this great international endeavor for the peace of the world, where today we are among the last.

But enough. This Armistice Day to me was the saddest since the close of the war.

CONRAD HOBBS.
419 Summer Street, Boston.

Reprinted from the *Boston Herald*,
November 19, 1926.

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The Interdependent World

From *The Christian Century*
September 8, 1921

DR. CHARLES W. ELIOT has shown how, by reading for fifteen minutes daily a selected number of books filling a five-foot shelf, one may become acquainted with the best of the world's thought. To understand and digest* Prof. G. F. Nicolai's "Biology of War," read in short installments every day for a year and then re-read, would, we believe, give the thoughtful teacher who digested it more in one book of science, philosophy, and practical suggestion for teaching fundamental principles than any other reading in a given time. For research, in ancient and modern history, in science of all departments, in poetry, philology, practical business, and ancient and modern philosophy, the book is a wonder of learning which reminds one of the work of the marvelously learned Grotius. This does not mean that it is pedantic or dull, only that the author seems to have taken all knowledge for his province. The greatest marvel is the judicial poise, the insight, and the good-will shown in every chapter, taken with the fact that the book was written in a prison-cell.

How such a feat was mentally possible, or was permitted; how the manuscript got smuggled from Germany to Switzerland and was carefully translated and annotated; how the professor, broken in health, escaped in an aëroplane to Den-

mark is a romance which has few counterparts even in the many extraordinary episodes of the world war.

The teacher who relies on prescribed textbooks and compendiums, and has never ventured outside the mechanics of pedagogy, will find the "Biology of War" hard reading and may not understand what relation it has to his profession. But the volume of 550 pages is primarily written for the teacher. The last man who will read it or understand it is the man of military profession. It is a philosophy of human relationships carefully reasoned out, and was inspired by a spirit of rebuke to the ninety-three representatives of German science and art and religion, whose hot-blooded appeal in October, 1914, became a notorious document.

The book opens up vistas of thought that make one gasp in wonder, as when one from the plains gets his first glimpse of a snowy mountain-peak. The unity of the world of mind and matter; the interpenetration of science, art, and politics by the one informing spirit; the whole false philosophy of a narrow nationalism, of domination and war, as believed by so many of Nicolai's own countrymen, are here elaborated in occasionally such simple form that even the schoolboy can understand. For instance:

> No living man can be conceived as other than part of an organism. A man talks and learns only because he sees others doing so; that is, because he has some connection with these others. He can work only because he relies on the work of other men. For instance, I can write only because somewhere men have felled trees, other men have cut them up. Others again have converted them to paper, and finally a whole series of men have conveyed the finished product to me. Another endless series of men furnish me with a pen, another with a pen holder, and another with ink. But in order that these words may be printed, more endless hosts throughout the world have been busy. Some mined the lead for the type, others the iron for the machines, others again produced the oils and dyestuffs for the printer's ink; and each of these workers requires tools and food, the production of which has employed more enormous groups of people.
>
> Thus if we go back to ultimate causes perhaps the world may have had to help in order that even the smallest thought of an author may be transmitted to his reader. . . . Neither intellectually nor physically would man be conceivable except he be regarded as part of a great organism.

This doctrine, simplified, restated in various forms, and made the subject of school themes, should be a fundamental

element in all grammar school and high school teaching. Beginning with tracing the origin of everything in the home from the banana and coffee bean to the photograph of a Raphael, the child's vision must be extended with the cycle of the months to the perception of the organic nature of an interdependent world. The outburst of narrow nationalism which has recently Balkanized Europe, erected hampering political and economic barriers and set the clock back for generations, must be shown as the tragic outcome of a false attitude towards the world and against man's true nature. All progress must face toward coöperation, not separation.

War is not only abnormal but futile. Its glorification is an essentially modern thing and its justification by pseudo-science still more recent. The profound demonstration of this as biologic and historic fact is given, but it is not so that he who runs may read. The thinker must dig out the thought and slowly digest it to comprehend it. But the essence of it all can be made comprehensible to the high school student and partly perceived even by the child who is only beginning geography and history. It is much to be desired that a short, popularized edition should be published to bring to the common man the main principles of this volume.

Everything in the lessons on history, geography, civics, literature, and patriotism should be made to emphasize the central truth of human interdependence. Said Nicolai even in the midst of the world war: "The war is only an episode, and intercommunication, going to and fro, is an epoch . . . intercommunication, which does not include merely trade, post, and railroads, but, after all, everything forming a tie between man and man; and a survey of the history of evolution would soon prove that all this [human relationships] springs from the same origin — love. Humanity, love, and intercommunication, therefore, mean the same thing. What, therefore, ought to be done is to write a history of intercommunication from the point of view of humanity and likewise to promote it." The full significance of these words dawns on the reader only after much study of the text.

No greater boon could be given the rising generation than teachers inspired with the Kantian insight as regards the

spiritual nature of the world. Nicolai's doctrine is based on Kant. He says: "Is it not at once obvious that of all conceivable moral maxims none could be so unsuited to war as the injunction, 'Act so that thy action might become a universal maxim'? For if I shoot an enemy, I cannot do so according to Kant, unless I also desire him to shoot me. Kant's philosophy is absolutely irreconcilable with war. It is Kant or war." Nicolai scores the philosopher who claimed that "only a good Kantian could be a good soldier," and says, "The way Kant has been misused is even more repellent than the way religion has been misused."

The details of the world war will now fill school histories, and whether war comes in future will depend upon the philosophy of human relationships that is to be taught the rising generation. If the teacher would get at the kernel, instead of the husks of what he is to teach, let him study the bold German who declaimed against the folly of his countrymen and in the midst of war serenely looked beyond to an epoch of enlightenment and reason. The final chapter is superfluous and unsatisfactory and might well have been omitted. It displays a Comptian attitude of mind which Nicolai's beloved Kant would have been the first to repudiate. It does not, however, affect the main thesis so marvelously elaborated.

* Published by The Century Company, New York City. Price, $3.50.

MILITARY DRILL IN SCHOOLS.

By W. Evans Darby, LL.D., London.

That system of education is most preferable which develops the greater number of faculties, and which does so most thoroughly. The aim of education should be to make good and useful citizens. But a man is not a good citizen who is only partially developed, who, whatever his intellectual powers may be, collapses in the midst of his labors for lack of bodily stamina, and gets thrust to the wall by stronger competitors, because of his physical weakness. Success in life depends as much upon physical strength as intellectual force. The stability and strength of a nation depend as much upon the physical, as upon the mental condition of its people.

It is now generally recognized that no system of education is complete, unless it provides for the development of the bodily powers as well as the mental faculties. Physical training is avowedly of as much importance as intellectual culture. For the real welfare and efficiency of the individual, the two should go hand in hand.

In connection with the most modern and approved educational systems and appliances, it is advocated that children should be instructed in the elements of physiology and hygiene and be taught the rules for the preservation of health, such as the use of good food, water and air, proper exercise, sleep and clothing; and that while they are taught these theoretically, they should be made to understand them practically, by having properly ventilated and sanitary class-rooms and schools, as well as by the attention given to the position and physical welfare of the children themselves during school hours and in their school work. All this is as it should be, and such physical education cannot fail to have a perceptible and beneficial influence upon the whole after life.

In addition to this, it is maintained that the children should be taught a sound system of exercise; their muscles should be developed; their bodily functions stimulated, so as to result in health and vigor; and they should have the sound mind in a healthy body which is the best equipment for life. It has been advocated that in order to secure adequate results, there should be a director of physical exer-

cises, who should inspect schools and report as to whether the system was being properly administered.

Excellent theory, and if nothing more were aimed at, there could be only general acquiescence and unqualified praise.

Unfortunately the practice is vitiated by the prevailing militarism, which is the most prominent feature of the times in which we live. Military ideas and requirements would make the elementary school a place of primary education for the army, and assume that for the desiderated physical culture, military drill is indispensable.

In Germany, Austria, France and Russia, a national system of physical culture has been adopted. That, however, is avowedly a part of the national system of military training, even when it is itself least military in character. It is the result of cruel experiences gained in war, and of the continual rivalry of the nations, which are maintained in the existing state of armed peace. It is a necessity of the constant preparations for fresh conflicts, which is the natural result of war and the war spirit, and has, unfortunately, come to be the normal condition of the European nations.

M. Gambetta, in 1871, after the Franco-German war, attributed the defeat of France and the loss of Alsace and Lorraine to the physical superiority of the German soldiery. A national system of physical training of the young—for it is in youth such training is most beneficial—followed, as a matter of course, from that belief.

In Great Britain, the assumption that military drill is the indispensable form of physical culture appears to be as widespread as on the Continent, although here it is not accompanied by a national system; for happily as yet, universal compulsory military service does not exist among us.

It is well known that in the large public schools cadet corps are enrolled, with officers regularly appointed by government authority. And though, theoretically, service in these corps is not compulsory, practically it is; and parents have had to face the alternative of allowing their boys to learn the art of soldiery, or to withdraw them altogether from the schools. Last year a number of these cadet corps from well-known public schools took part in the Aldershot manœuvres, and the public press was jubilant over the fact that the boys conducted themselves almost as well as the regulars. Parish authorities and a quasi-christian philanthropy, in its homes, training ships, and other institutions, frequently train young lads directly for the army or navy; but pauper boys can hardly help themselves, and

the naval and military training is a part of the philanthropy. Besides all this, however, there is an almost universal idea that the military drill instructor is indispensable in every school curriculum. In elementary schools, even in ladies' and private seminaries, the drill sergeant, generally an old soldier, or the local government official, is as much a part of the teaching staff as the head master or mistress. The government, astute enough in taking care of its military establishments, has stationed a number of drill instructors throughout the country, whose services are always available, and whose occupation oscillates between the training of the youth belonging to volunteer or military corps in the military art, and the education of the children in our day-schools in the rudiments of same art.

What the military authorities desiderate, was indicated by General Lord Wolseley, from his position one of the most representative military officers of the day, in a recent speech which attracted some notice. According to the *Times*, 10th February, 1890, "he regretted that when universal education was started in England, every Board School had not had attached to it some sort of military organization, or some military instructor, entrusted with the duty of drilling, and thus to foster amongst them a spirit of military discipline."

He was addressing a reputedly religious body, and this, probably, made him consider the drill sergeant a disguised missionary, for he is reported to have continued: "The essence and foundation of such discipline was obedience to those placed in authority, of whatever kind. Obedience to one to whom they could look as their commanding officer was the first step towards reverence, and reverence was the first step towards faith; and no country from which faith was eliminated, could, in his opinion, be great, powerful, or even lasting." According to his lordship, the greatness, power and permanence of a nation, and in some sense its religious life, were enhanced by military drill—an hypothesis contradicted by the lessons of history and the essential nature of faith.

Another military authority, Colonel G. M. Onslow, in a lecture delivered a short time ago in the offices of the London School Board, before a very different audience, on the necessity of physical culture and recreation for children in Elementary Schools, took a far more rational and tenable position, while he showed that Lord Wolseley's desideratum was to a large extent actual fact. His words are important, not merely from the military character and position of the lecturer but because they go to the very heart of the question. In the

course of an able discussion of his subject he said that, "In the Elementary Education Act of 1870, he saw no mention of physical exercises, but provision was made for boys to have military drill two hours a week. But why should the drill be military? He looked upon this two hours a week as time wasted. There should be a general system of exercises. In the same Act the girls were not even allowed military drill, but practical cookery was mentioned. If it was thought that military drill would benefit the boys' physique, why were the girls left out, and made to put up with cookery? Physical instruction was quite as necessary for girls as for boys. The bodily strength of future generations of Englishmen depended as much upon the stamina of the women as upon that of the men; for if the boys were to become the fathers, the girls were to become the mothers, of the future generations."

The lecturer claimed that physical education, theoretical and practical, should be made compulsory throughout the country; that it should be State-directed, and conducted on a scientific and rational principle; that it should be recognized as an important part of a child's education; and he showed how physical culture and recreation are essential for the physical and moral well-being of the youth of both sexes, and what national benefits would accrue therefrom. But he nevertheless urged the very important and crucial question, Why should the drill be military?

Our reply, advisedly and emphatically is, that it should not be military, and for the following among other reasons:

1. Because as a method of physical training military drill is both inadequate and injurious.

Experiments, which were conducted in a public school, with a view to ascertain the relative value of gymnastics and of mere drill, showed that the average results yielded by the former were more than three times as great as those yielded by drill alone. Relatively, therefore, this method of physical culture is inferior. Military drill is defective, inasmuch as it does not to any extent meet the physiological demands of the body. Its effect upon boys is not salutary. It does not, as the community at large have believed, make a youth erect, or give him a graceful and manly bearing. On the contrary, it tends to make him stiff and angular in his movements, as well as to droop and round his shoulders.

This fact has long been recognized by the military authorities; and a set of calisthenic exercises or free gymnastics, known as the setting

up of drill, has been adopted to correct the tendency, and is incorporated in all treatises on military training. Upton in his "Manual of United States Army Infantry Tactics" says, "As the importance of 'setting up' cannot be over-estimated, the exercises must be often recurred to, and all soldiers will be frequently practised therein."

This is not the only expedient adopted to give the soldier his smart appearance and military figure. There is another method commonly known as "tailorizing," by which youthful soldiers may easily acquire a full chest, square shoulders and a straight back.

Dr. Dudley A. Sargeant, Director of the Hemenway Gymnasium, Harvard University, who is an acknowledged authority, adds: "In reference to the gracefulness that is thought to characterize the movement of young cadets, I can only say it is not the outcome of drilling and marching. The soldier is trained to square corners, straight platoons, and angular movements. Curves and embellishments are not encouraged, in speech, or in action. If you would account for the graceful poise of our National Cadets you must see them from one to two hours a day in charge of the dancing master."

It may be an unwelcome task to explode a fallacy which has commended that drill to parents and teachers, and which has given it the widespread popularity which attaches to it. But truth is always best, and this matter is so important that no part of the truth should be concealed.

Dr. Sargeant sums up his conclusion, in an admirable little brochure on the subject, in these striking words: "After taking the most favorable view possible of military drill as a physical exercise, we are led to conclude that its constrained positions and closely localized movements do not afford the essential requisites for developing the muscles, and improving the respiration and circulation and thereby improving the general health and condition of the system. We must further conclude that in case of any malformation, local weakness, or constitutional debility, the drill tends, by its strain upon the nerves and prolonged tension on the muscles, to increase the defects rather than to relieve them.

"Finally, if the ultimate object of the drill was to prepare young men for the life and duties of a soldier, we should be forced to conclude that the drill itself would still be defective as a means of developing the chief requisites for men in that profession.

"This defect, we are pleased to state, is recognized by the great military nations of Europe, and measures are taken to give all the

recruits from three to twelve months' gymnastic training to develop them as men, before they are expected to conform to the requirements of the soldier."

2. Because the moral effects of the drill are not all that have been claimed for it.

The Boys' Brigade movement, the new military development in the Christian Churches of Great Britain, professes to use military organization and drill as a means of moral culture. This profession challenges close investigation. In its constitution it states that "military organization and drill shall be used as a means of securing the interest of the boys, binding them together in the work of the Brigade, and promoting among them such habits as the Brigade is designed to form." These habits are then defined to be, "discipline and obedience," which shall be enforced by all "the officers." The result of "military organization and drill" therefore is disciplined obedience. This may seem a good thing, until it is asked, to what authority? To any authority whatsoever. It is assumed that obedience is in itself good, without any regard to the kind of authority. That, however, is the convenient creed of the despot, which has been always destructive of freedom. In moral culture it can have no place. For moral culture aims at making men self-disciplined, self-governed, not automata moved by the will of another. For a moral being, the only obedience that is admissible and that can be aimed at in religious and moral culture is obedience to moral authority, to right, to conscience, to the divine imperative of duty, and Christianity teaches, to Christ the Lord of the conscience, the true interpreter of duty. Military drill and discipline aim at producing flexible automata, obedient to the will of the commanding officer, and its success is measured by the flexibility of the machine. It is bondage, not freedom. Moral hypnotism it may be; moral culture it is not. Physical strength and plasticity do not mean moral force and independence; and the excellence of manhood lies in these. Even were the "obedience" all that is claimed for it, there are other attributes of character; and these are overlooked. Dr. Sargeant says again: "Coolness, courage, presence of mind, and that rapid and responsible exercise of judgment in emergencies, so valuable to the man of business, as well as to the soldier, are not developed by the drill itself, though I will admit that other moral attributes, such as obedience, patience, fortitude, and forbearance," all passive in character, it will be perceived, "may be brought to a high degree of perfection."

As a means of moral culture, therefore, military drill is defective, for it develops some attributes of character, to the neglect, if not actually at the expense, of others equally necessary.

3. Because military drill is inseparable from its purpose and associations.

It is drill and discipline, with a definite purpose, from which it cannot be dissociated. If it were possible to eliminate the purpose of the drill which gives it character and the associations which spring out of that purpose, the character of the drill would be changed. The definite object of the drill is to impart and develop skill and facility in slaying men. But killing one's fellow-men is rightly considered murder. The musket and sword, or its substitute, come to be necessary parts of the drill. The Boys' Brigade has its dummy, or real, rifles and military accoutrements, and these are purely instruments of killing. In drilling children by military discipline, there is implanted in them the spirit born of the character and associations of the drill, the spirit of the soldier who is trained to kill and to destroy; there is developed in them the war spirit, the spirit of murder. It is vain to expect that the drill can be used and the moral influence of its associations be escaped. Military drill, therefore, of necessity favors and fosters ideas and practices which belong to the brute and barbaric side of human nature, rather than to the cultured and civilized, the development of which is the object sought in the very existence of the school. It familiarizes the young with the idea of the taking of human life. It takes for granted a series of terrible fallacies that war cannot be dispensed with, that the natural state of man is hostility to his fellow-man. It sanctions and assumes the militarism of which it is a part and for which it is training. Disguise it as we may, the simple fact is "that the primary object of establishing military drill in our schools and colleges is a professional one, that is, to give instruction in military tactics to educated young men, in order that they may be of service to the country or community in the case of war," and to prepare the rank and file of future armies, in the primary and elementary schools of the land.

The end condemns the means.

4. Because military drill may be dispensed with in physical training.

It is by no means necessary; its quality is doubtful; and, under the most favorable circumstances, it has to be supplemented. For the purpose of physical development there is no necessity to teach boys soldierly duties and the use of the rifle. There are all the appliances

of calisthenics and gymnastics; and the proper use of them has been developed into a science; there are the various games which promote physical force and freedom: and there are the various industrial arts which are themselves a means of physical training. It is encouraging to observe that the governments are awakening to a recognition of these facts. Recently, a letter appeared in the leading London newspapers, signed by a score or more of the members of the London School Board, appealing for funds to encourage physical exercises in elementary schools. "The Educational Department," they say, "by its Code of this year, at length recognizes the need of physical exercises for the children in the public elementary schools, and allows instruction in swimming at the public baths to be counted as school attendance."

This is a step in the right direction. What is required is that physical training shall be free from all moral taint, and that it shall be adapted to its purpose.

The *Daily News*, commenting on the purpose of this appeal, intimates that one object of the promoters is to assist School clubs for cricket, football, tennis, and other invigorating games. It then continues:

"It is in the comparative absence of regular organized play that our elementary schools, both Board and voluntary, are most seriously at fault. No higher kind of school is now considered complete without abundant provision for play, and in some great public schools the games are encouraged to an almost absurd extreme. Every one knows the famous saying attributed to the Duke of Wellington, that his battles were won in the playing fields of Eton; but school games not only tend to develop the dash and vigor of our race, they are a great factor in the formation of that *esprit de corps*, without which a school is sadly incomplete."—*Daily News, July 4th*, 1890.

By all means let mind and body be developed to the utmost, but let it never be forgotten that there is a higher purpose in all this culture than mere destruction; that the human race has richer possibilities than can be reached on fields of conquest, or by wasting its energies in mutual conflict; and that the dash and vigor and *esprit de corps* developed by school games and physical exercises may find higher spheres of action than the battlefield, and a fitter outlet and more beneficent achievements than any that can be covered by the term "MILITARY."

The American Peace Society,
Washington, D. C.

7578.325

UNIVERSAL MILITARY SERVICE AND DEMOCRACY

BY

GEORGE NASMYTH, Ph.D.

AUTHOR OF

"SOCIAL PROGRESS AND THE DARWINIAN THEORY:

A Study of Force as a Factor in Human Relations"

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By George Nasmyth, Ph.D., author of "Social Progress and the Darwinian Theory: A Study of Force as a Factor in Human Relations"

If any person had predicted two years ago that the people of America would be seriously discussing the adoption of universal military service in 1917, he would have been looked upon as a visionary. But since the outbreak of the war in Europe, the rising tide of reaction which resulted from the international reign of terror; the increasing power of militarism in the world; and the great preparedness campaign which was carried to a successful conclusion in 1915 and 1916, have led, step by step, to an increasing agitation for universal military service, as an essential part of the system of national defense.

The advocates of universal military service are not limited to military officers like General Leonard A. Wood[1] or to partisans of a "big stick" policy in dealing with other nations, like Colonel Roosevelt. The growing importance of the subject is witnessed by the recent accession to their ranks of President Emeritus Charles W. Eliot,[2] widely known as a protagonist of democracy, and of Prof. Ralph Barton Perry, who has attempted to show that democracy has nothing to fear from universal military service.

Moreover, laws have actually been passed in the closing hours of the session of the legislature in New York State providing for military training in the high school

[1] *The Military Obligations of Citizenship.* Princeton University Press, 1915.

[2] "Universal Military Service" by Charles W. Eliot in *World's Work*, Nov., 1916. See also *The Free Man and the Soldier*, by Prof. Ralph Barton Perry, *Scribner's*, 1916.

and universal military service for all young men between the ages of 18 and 21.[3] Finally the national defense act passed by the United States Congress in July, 1916[4] gives to the military authorities the power to "draft" men into the army whenever voluntary enlistments shall be insufficient, so that universal military service or conscription, to use a more convenient term for the same idea, has been established as a legal principle in the Empire State and in the nation.

The fact that these laws were passed in the closing hours of legislative sessions, without adequate discussion and without complete understanding on the part of the people on the issues involved, makes it inevitable that the debate shall be re-opened in the near future. The principle at issue is fundamental, in a democracy, and the most widespread discussion of the subject should be welcomed by all who believe in the power of an enlightened public opinion to decide rightly on fundamental principles.

Universal Military Service and Preparedness

The case for universal military service rests on entirely different grounds than does the general case for preparedness. If we did not have our other five lines of national defense which protect us from any attack from European or Asiatic powers, there might be some justification in this universal military service in America. But with two oceans, one 3000 and the other 5000 miles in width; the navy, the second largest in the world; sub-marines, which make the transport of large bodies of troops across great distances a most hazardous undertaking; automatic and electric contact mines and coast fortifications, such as have made it impossible for the Allies successfully to land

[3] For the provisions of the Slater Bill and other bills for compulsory military training in New York, see *The Bloody Five*, published by the *New York Call*, 444 Pearl Street, New York City.

[4] For the details of the method by which the "draft" provision was inserted in the National Defense Act, see Representative J. M. Huddleston's speech in the *Congressional Record* reprinted by the American Union Against Militarism, Munsey Building, Washington, D. C.

troops on the shores of Germany or even Turkey, even when the Allies were backed by a naval force three or four times greater than that of the Central European Powers—with all these first lines of defense, not even the most fearful and extreme of our militarists pretend that an army of seven to ten million men, which the system of universal military service would give us after a few years of building up reserves who had passed through the military machine, would be necessary to repel an actual invasion on American soil. Even Colonel Roosevelt does not demand a standing army of more than 250,000 men and a reserve army of 400,000 men to meet his requirements for an "adequate" national defense, and no one has seriously urged that our preparedness needs require an army of universal service proportions.

But the volunteer system will fail, it is argued. Even the standing army of 250,000 men and the militia of 400,000 provided for in the national defense act cannot be raised by the voluntary method.

An Army of Social Service

If this force is needed, it can be raised by the right kind of an appeal to the American people. This involves a fundamental transformation of an army from its old-world character of a machine trained solely for wholesale murder, to a new world army of social service.[5] An army of labor trained in the work of reforestation, of irrigation, of building great highways, instructed in methods of camp sanitation and effective coöperation; from which every man would come out a more useful member of society and a more productive economic unit, would make a far different appeal to American young men than the standing army on the present system, or even a National Guard of the socially elite. With this employment in useful production should go adequate compensation, just as

[5] See *Invincible America* by Harry G. Traver, published by the Society of Constructive Defense, 50 Church St., New York City, and see also William James' *The Moral Equivalent of War*, published by the American Association for International Conciliation, Sub Station 84, New York City.

there goes adequate compensation for police work, for the work of firemen and life-savers. Under a really democratic system of social service such as this, there will be no difficulty in finding all the men that are needed, without resort to conscription.

But since the case which can be made out for compulsory service is so weak from the point of view of military necessity, its advocates fall back on other arguments. Universal military service, they claim, will promote democracy; it will unify the nation; it will increase patriotism; it will form greatly needed habits of obedience and discipline. These arguments constitute, in brief, the case for conscription, around which the great debate will rage, and they are so important that they should be subjected to the most searching analysis.

Democracy

Does universal military service involve equal sacrifice on the part of rich and poor alike? If both are killed, of course, both have made the last great sacrifice, and so far as their individual lives are concerned, it is equal. But for the families of the two men the difference is very great. For the family of the poor man, the loss of the bread-winner means that the widow must go out to work, that the children must be deprived of an opportunity for education, that their whole lives must be limited because they did not have the opportunities they would have had if their father had lived. For the rich man, on the contrary, no such sacrifice on the part of his family is involved. His wife is not compelled to go out and work, his children are not deprived of the opportunity of receiving a liberal education. If a conscription of wealth were advocated as a companion measure to a conscription of lives, there might be some justification for the argument on a basis of democracy. But a conscription of lives alone, such as is advocated by the believers in universal military service, is fundamentally unjust, if the family, instead of the individual, is considered as the real unit and the foundation of the nation's life.

Even if sacrifice of life is not involved, the sacrifice of time required for universal military service imposes an unequal burden upon the rich and the poor. For the rich man, Plattsburg is an enjoyable vacation, and a longer period of military service would not be any great hardship, but for the poor man it means a definite interruption of his economic life, the stopping of his earnings, a postponement of the time when he can afford to marry, an interruption of his difficult task of getting a foothold in his trade or small business. In Germany, it is estimated that the economic loss involved by taking a young man from the farm, for example, is equivalent to about $500 a year, and the father has to hire Polish or Italian laborers to take the place of the son who goes to serve for two years in the Kaiser's army, but for the rich man, military service offers a career, an entrance to the ranks of society, the opening of positions in the government service and educational advantages of technical training in the officers' colleges. No element of equality of sacrifice can be discovered in the two cases.

Those who believe that class distinctions can be broken down and democracy created by regimenting men into masses and forcing them to drill together, have missed the central idea of democracy which is based on the principle of voluntary coöperation, of equality of opportunity, and the abolition of caste privileges. Those who believe that democracy can be imposed from without by force and point to the examples of France and Switzerland, should analyze the conditions in those countries more deeply. As soon as we penetrate below the surface, we find in each of them a great conflict between the forces of militarism and democracy. This conflict rages in all countries where universal military service is established, and it has been revealed in all its bitterness by the vivid, lightning flashes of the Dreyfus affair in France, the Zabern incident in Germany, and the Ulster crisis in the British Army—all parallel instances of successful struggles for the supremacy of the military over the civil powers of government. In France the *revanche* movement which brought about

the Russo-French Alliance, the three year conscription law of 1912, and the outcome of the Morocco crisis of 1911, all represented victories of the military caste over the forces of democracy and the popular government.

Switzerland has not had an aggressive militarism of the Pan-German type, it is true, but this is not due to any lack of desire on the part of the Swiss military officers who are like military officers the world over. It has been due to the fact that Switzerland is a small country and any propaganda for a career of "national destiny," or the conquest of the world would render its advocates ludicrous. The military spirit, however, and its fundamental opposition to democracy is essentially the same in Switzerland as in Germany or France, as is witnessed, for example, by the testimony of Swiss Social Democrats at the International Socialist Congresses[6] in Stuttgart and other centers.

Everywhere militarism has been the most formidable enemy of democracy. For every million soldiers you must have at least 30,000 officers, and these 30,000 officers must make the military profession their life work. They must cultivate an iron will and a spirit of domination as essential elements of success, and necessarily they chafe with impatience at the discussions and restraints of democracy and the civil powers of government. Altogether they constitute a source of ever present danger to the peace of a nation which is powerful enough to be a menace to the world.

The testimony of representative British and German statesmen—Viscount Bryce, former Ambassador to America, and of Bismarck himself, is illuminating in this connection.

The reason why we have had one hundred years of peace in the English speaking world, according to Viscount Bryce, is because we have had so little militarism in America in the past. In the introduction to Prof. Dunning's book on *The British Empire and the United States* Bryce says

[6] See *The Socialism of Today*, 1916 (Henry Holt and Company), pp. 614. "The Swiss comrades pointed out that their militia was commanded by officers of the ruling class and was used by the bourgeoisie against the working people." Report of the International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart in 1907.

that during a number of years the American masses would not have opposed war with England but "fortunately . . . . the country was free from a pernicious military caste which worked such frightful evil in Europe, being indeed driven to desire opportunities for practising the work for which the profession exists."

This is the testimony of a British statesman. On the other hand Bismarck in his *Reflections and Reminiscences*, Chapter XXII, tells us definitely how the Prussian militarists tried to push him into war, how he used this militarist pressure to throw the country into war with Austria in 1866 and with France in 1870, and how he had to resist the powerful militarist pressure towards war in 1867, in 1875 and on other occasions. Bismarck says on page 102, volume II:

> It is natural that in the staff of the army not only younger active officers, but likewise experienced strategists, should feel the need of turning to account the efficiency of the troops led by them, and their own capacity to lead, and of making them prominent in history. It would be a matter of regret if this effect of the military spirit did not exist in the army; the task of keeping its results within such limits at the nations' need of peace can justly claim, is the duty of the political, not the military, heads of the state.
>
> That at the time of the Luxemburg question, during the crisis of 1875, invented by Gortchakoff and France, and even down to the most recent times, the staff and its leaders have allowed themselves to be led astray and to endanger peace, lies in the very spirit of the institution.

If the breakdown of civilization in Europe has anything to teach America, surely it is the danger of any increase in the forces or the philosophy of militarism.

Discipline

The second argument for universal military service is that it will promote discipline. It will teach obedience and respect for authority, it is urged, and these elements are greatly needed in American life. The trouble here is the kind of discipline which military service provides. It is a discipline enforced from without and breaks down as

soon as the restraining force is removed. The whole object of military training is to secure instantaneous obedience without thought, to make a man a part of an automatic military machine so that if he is ordered to sink the *Lusitania* or destroy the city of Louvain, he will obey instantly and unquestioningly. Such unthinking obedience is far removed from that self-imposed discipline, that respect for laws because they have been enacted by common consent and for the welfare of the people; of freedom of discussion, of speech, of press, of assembly, and of conscience, which are the foundation stones of a self-governing democracy.[7] The history of Prussia illustrates clearly the inevitable results of military discipline. At first, the German people opposed conscription bitterly, but after a few generations of men had been put through the military machine and taught the right kind of obedience, all opposition ceased. Germany became a servile state. More and more power was given into the hands of the military caste, and the events which have occurred since August 1, 1914 have well been called "The Nemesis of docility."

National Unity

The third argument is that it will promote Americanism, it will heal all our divisions of race and nationality, eliminate the hyphen, and unify the American people.

The experience of European nations which have tried to meet similar problems by this method is in flat contradiction to such an assumption. In Austria militarism has reigned with undisputed sway, but universal military service for generations has failed to unite Germans and

[7] See an excellent article on educational aspects of the subject by Prof. John Dewey in *The New Republic*, April 15, 1916. For the objections to military drill as a physical exercise see the testimony of Dudley A. Sargent, M.D., Director of the Hemenway Gymnasium, Harvard University, reprinted in *A Protest against Military Training in Public Schools*, published by the Woman's Peace Party, 116 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago.

See also *Military Training for School Boys*, a symposium by eighty recognized leaders in Education, Physical Training, etc., published at Room 25, 304 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Bohemians, Poles and Czechs and Slavs in the ideal unity which our militarists picture for us as the inevitable result of conscription. In fact, it was a matter of common knowledge that the death of Emperor Franz Joseph was to be the signal for a simultaneous revolution in which all the races of Austria should seek freedom from the unity thus imposed upon them by conscription and force, and only the outbreak of the great war has prevented the disintegration of the Austrian Empire. It may be that war has a unifying influence and that the Austrian Empire will be solidified by the terrible ordeal through which it is passing. That remains to be seen. But in any case, I do not understand the advocates of universal military service to be urging war as a remedy for the lack of unity in our national life. The history of Poland, of the subject races and nationalities of Russia, and of Turkey is a refutation of the claim that national unity can be secured by universal military service.

America needs unity, a national consciousness, and a national will, but no reactionary, militaristic, obsolete, old world instrument, such as conscription, can unify the American people.

Patriotism

A fourth argument for universal military service is that it will promote patriotism, it will teach a man to be ready to sacrifice himself for others and to lay down his life for his country in the service of a great idea. The difficulty with this plan is that there are various kinds of patriotism and the tendency of militarism is to emphasize the wrong kind—the patriotism which corresponds to a narrow nationalism and to Jingoism and the patriotism which is based upon the hatred of other parts of the human race who happen to live the other side of a boundary line. Patriotism and nationalism of the wrong kind are defeating their own ends in Europe. For the sake of our country, as well as for humanity, we must develop another type of patriotism than universal military service has given us in Germany or any of the European countries, a patriotism which will

look upon America as a part of the world and will take pride in the contributions which America can make to the family of nations. Independence for the sake of independence, a new nation merely that there might be one more army and navy in the world, was no part of the purpose of the founders of the Republic. As Henry Adams said of the great author of the Declaration of Independence:

> Jefferson aspired beyond the ambition of a nationality, and embraced in his view the whole future of man. That the United States should become a nation like France, England or Russia, or should conquer the world like Rome, was no part of his scheme. He wished to begin a new era. Hoping for a time when the world's ruling interests should cease to be local and should become universal; when questions of boundary and nationality should become insignificant; when armies and navies should be reduced to the work of police,—he set himself to the task of governing with this golden age in view. . . . He would not consent to build up a new nationality merely to create more navies and armies, to perpetuate the crimes and follies of Europe; the central government at Washington should not be permitted to indulge in the miserable ambitions that had made the Old World a hell and frustrated the hopes of humanity.

We need greatly a rebirth of true patriotism, just as we need a more fundamental democracy, deeper national unity, more self-discipline, but universal military service is not the panacea for these ills. A true American patriotism can be created only by a return to the great principles of the founders of the Republic, a new vision of the mission of America in the world, a great world task such as the establishment of a League to Enforce Peace, calling for the sacrifice of old provincialisms and outworn traditions in the service of humanity, as a whole. In this way, under the great constructive leadership of a world statesman, America can be unified. In this way we may recover our vision of democracy and we may lead the world into a higher patriotism, purified in the fiery furnace of this world crisis. By these new paths which lead out into a future full of hope and service, it may be that in the coming years the soul of America will be born again into a new and larger life, but never by the path of conscription, of fear and servile obedience. and the mechanical methods of militarism.

A much deeper principle is involved than is usually discussed in connection with universal military service: What kind of a society do we wish to live in? For, if the principle of compulsion is accepted in the case of military service, it must logically be accepted for service in munition factories, on the railroads, in coal mines and in all the industrial and economic life upon which modern wars depend. In other words, once having granted the principle of compulsion on the ground of military necessity, all the fundamental principles of democracy must be sacrificed and our country must be "Prussianized" from within. Freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and freedom of the press[8] are all opposed to military effectiveness and must disappear step by step if freedom of conscience, the advance trench of democracy, is carried by the militarists; for in the last analysis, universal military service means conscription of conscience.[9]

The new political persecution represented by the adoption of conscription differs from the old religious persecution in this: whereas, in the Middle Ages the heretic could save his life by keeping his mouth closed and his opinions to himself, in the modern political persecution of Twentieth Century militarism, the heretic who may believe that an aggressive foreign policy is unjust, or a war which his country has declared is unprovoked, is compelled not only to keep his opinions to himself, but is forced to go out and kill his fellowmen against whom he may have no cause for enmity whatever.

America is the only great nation left in the world in which militarism is not enthroned and the principle of conscription established. In order to defend our institutions and our democracy from imaginary dangers from without, we are urged to surrender to this much more real and formidable enemy of militarism and conscription

[8] The War Department is now advocating legislation giving the military authorities power to establish a censorship over the press in time of war.

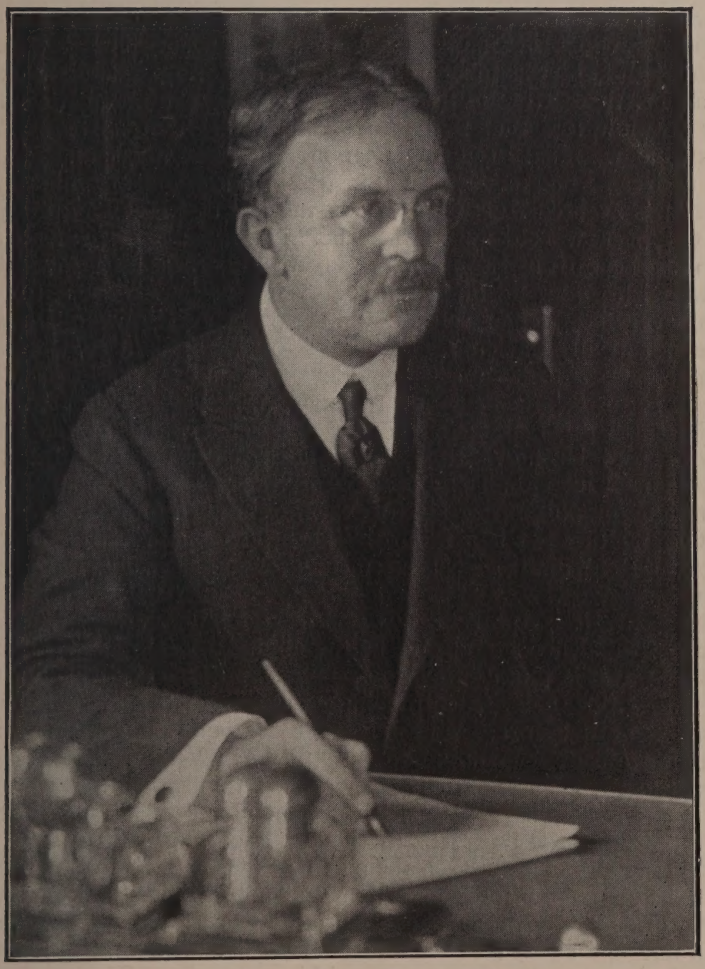
[9] See Norman Angell's admirable article on the psychological aspect of universal military service as a conscription of conscience in *The New Republic*, April 8, 1916.

from within. Upon the outcome of the great debate on "Conscription vs. Democracy" depends the question of whether the last fortress of democracy in the world and the greatest adventure in human history shall go down in failure. All patriotic Americans, all who believe that America has a mission and a great message of democracy to give to the world should enroll themselves in defence of America's freedom and democratic institutions presenting a united front against this attempt to militarize the whole American people.

Sometime in the future, if Europe remains an armed camp after this war, and if militarism is enthroned in the world, it may become inevitable for America to adopt conscription, and, in Jefferson's words "to perpetuate the crimes and follies of Europe," "to indulge in the miserable ambitions that had made the Old World a hell and frustrated the hopes of humanity." But if conscription ever does become inevitable let us not add blasphemy to our other crimes by adopting militarism in the name of democracy. No, let us do it with the clear knowledge that we are dealing a death blow to the greatest experiment in democracy the human race has ever tried. Let us do it with the consciousness that we have participated in a great world tragedy, and that, with the triumph of militarism in the New World as well as the Old, we shall have seen government of the people, by the people and for the people, perish from the earth.

Universal Military Service

By Oswald Garrison Villard



UNIVERSAL MILITARY SERVICE

By OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

Within the year a very startling change has taken place in the preparedness movement which burst upon us with such amazing unexpectedness in 1915. Although appropriations of staggering proportions—the greatest ever made in a Christian nation in time of peace—have been made for army and navy, we are now told that that is not enough and that universal military service is what we must have to render us safe from invasion. More than that, this undreamed of un-American institution—compulsory military training, which it is averred Australia was on the point of throwing off just before the war, is now held up to us as being both a cure-all for all our ills and that most beautiful of things—a perfect democratic institution.

Do we wish to defend our country? We have but to adopt the system of training every boy to be a soldier, and the problem is solved. Do we wish to become industrially efficient? Then let us forget all about vocational training, but give every American a year under arms, and presto! we shall outdo Germany in scientific efficiency and management. Is our youth lawless and undisciplined? Universal compulsory service will end that once for all. Is our democracy halting? It is the tonic of a democratic army that we need in which all men shall pay for the privileges of citizenship by a year of preparation for poison gas and of learning how to murder other human beings. Our melting-pot is a failure? Then let us pour into it the iron of militarism, and it will fuse every element at once. Finally, if we need an American soul—and the war has suddenly taught us that this glorious country lacks a soul—it is the remedy of universal military service that is to supply our spiritual needs and give us the ability to feel as one, to think as one, to steer towards our destiny as of one mind, imperialistically.

It is all so alluringly, so entrancingly easy, the wonder is that we have never thought of it before. Why have not our young Americans thronged our recruiting offices demanding to be enlisted? Why is it that we have seen pass through Ellis Island thousands upon thousands who were fleeing conscription abroad, many with self-mutilated hands. Why is it that we have not noted that the hundreds of thousands of graduates of our regular army were far more efficient than the ordinary men in civil life?

First, let us examine the assertion that conscription is a really democratic institution because it makes rich and poor sleep in the same tents. Now, will any one claim that universal service has democratized Germany? There we find caste after caste even within the army. The men who can pass a university examination are specially favored by being permitted to

serve one year, while those whose fathers were too poor to give them this schooling must serve three. Again, there are all sorts of anti-democratic tendencies within the service, some regiments being the abiding place of men of highest title and others of noble men of lesser rank. Here, as in the French and American armies, the very first thing that you stumble upon is the fact that an army as such is a military hierarchy—it is so described in the military text-books that I studied when taking a military course at Harvard. In Germany, in fact, the autocracy rules the army, and the aristocracy is fortressed by it. More than one debate in the Reichstag has been enlivened by the bitter attacks against the favoritism shown to the Imperial Guards and to other fashionable regiments. The spirit of arrogance and aristocracy which the military life, with its dueling, its mediaeval code of honor, fosters, is about as anti-democratic as anything in the world. When men, merely by reason of the coat they wear, deem themselves sacrosanct and especially privileged, even to the extent of running through civilians by whom they fancy themselves insulted, or by preparing to turn their machine-guns upon their civilian fellow-townsmen, as Colonel Reuter did in Zabern, it is obviously absurd to contend that the system of which they are the products smacks, save in the remotest, of anything democratic.

Indeed, one would like to see any German recruit who might be so innocent as to believe that the German army was a democratic affair five minutes after any expression to that effect had reached a non-commissioned officer's ears. When anyone speaks to me of the democracy of universal military service, there arise before me the unutterable cruelties of non-commissioned officers and some of the officers—visions of the thousands of men coming to our shores to avoid the barracks, with their open immoralities, their bitter hardships, the loss of three years of so many working lives. The "Red Rosa," Rosa Luxembourg, with her 10,000 authenticated instances of cruelties to German soldiers, inflicted by their own countrymen behind the screen of official authority, explained to us why many young Germans emigrated before becoming of military age. In speaking of the case of one soldier horribly abused at Metz, the "Red Rosa" declared: "It is certainly one of those dramas which are enacted day in and day out in German barracks, although the groans of the actors never reach our ears." At once the German army prosecuted her, and she was imprisoned for telling the truth. And those who believe that serving with the colors makes men more loyal to their rulers are respectfully referred to the fact that in Germany there has grown up a party of three millions of voters absolutely opposed to the existing form of government and society. Now, you may say that this fact and the similar one that France has actually had Socialistic ministries at the helm, has had nothing to do with universal service. To which I reply that I am as much entitled to claim this a result of universal service as its advocates have to assert that this is responsible for the Prussian efficiency, which we are asked, but I for one refuse, either to worship or to bend the knee to. Is it altogether a coincidence that in America and Great Britain, where there is no universal service, the Socialists have the smallest foothold?

As a matter of fact, Prussian efficiency in the German army is but one result of an efficiency that drills mentally the youth of the land long before they reach the army. It is in the schools and universities of the empire that efficiency is to be found first of all. I speak with some knowledge because I went to a German school myself and have had excellent opportunities to see for myself just what universal service means. I know, moreover, from official records that no less than ten thousand three hundred young Germans have committed suicide in the last thirty years, or at the rate of one a day while undergoing universal service. I know that its whole tendency, whether in France or in Germany, is to reduce men to a dead level, to make men cease thinking for themselves and to compel them to think as others wish them to think. I know that it does not train the physically unfit or build up the weak; these are not taken into the service at all. I assert, without fear of denial, that the purpose of universal service is to turn out killers, not workers, and that if the efficiency of civil life profits by it that is accidental or incidental. Any German officer would laugh you out of court if you were to suggest that he gave one thought to turning out else than the ablest killer of human beings he could possibly create.

If it is universal military service which renders Germany so efficient, then why is it that France is not equally efficient, or Russia, or Servia, or Belgium, or Holland, or all the rest? Has anybody ever asserted that universal service has done anything to ennoble Russia or to civilize or to render more modern this most backward and reactionary of all the nations? No, the one pre-eminent, incontestable, irrefutable thing that it has done for Russia is to keep its tyrant safely on his throne. Universal service, I believe, is the best instrument ever devised for keeping down the democratic tendencies of a people instead of exalting them, and of insuring permanence to Kaisers and kings. Deny it, if you can. Europe is there to prove my words.

But I hear: Why talk about Germany? Why not talk about our country where there are no kings and tyrants? Well, one must talk about Germany because the whole devilish idea of making men slaves to militarism was invented there, and we have a right to note that as a result of that very system we have in Germany today the most hated nation on earth. Note that, those of you who would in any degree pattern after her ways! But how about Australia and the conscription of boys there? Well, for one thing, in fifteen years that compulsory service has sent into court or jail no less than 22,000 Australian boys for refusal to serve or for minor infractions of discipline. And there, thank God, universal war service has just been defeated by a majority vote of 200,000 in war-time in the face of every possible appeal to patriotism. There the statement is persistently made in labor union and other circles that the training of boys will cease as soon as this war is over. There, too, they now realize that military drill does not necessarily mean a military bearing after the drill is over, and they, too, know that the Germans, the greatest of the world's militarists, had never thought of training their boys for war until

they entered the army. On the contrary, they have seen that the carrying of guns means physical injury to growing boys and that what they needed was gymnastics to fit them not only for the duties of life, but, if you please, for military service also.

As for Switzerland, there is no comparison between a little mountain country of four millions and our own great republic. But in one respect, the Swiss system does set an admirable example to the United States; it allows no general to exist save after the declaration of war. Its highest officer is a colonel. No major-generals parade the country urging "preparedness"; no brigadiers bewail the terrible fate that will overtake Switzerland if her standing force is not doubled at once. Yet even in Switzerland, if report be true, there is an anti-army party, people who complain that their military business has become ominous ever since so many of the younger officers have been serving in the German army and become imbued with the spirit of the Prussian General Staff. There, too, men have been sent to jail for refusing to serve.

Where Switzerland is so small, we have one hundred millions of people; we have neighbors on our borders whom we could easily crush if we chose. To the south of us a score of republics fear every military move we make. Since it is an historic fact that even before the war in Europe the menace of our rapidly growing fleet was urged in the Reichstag, in the British and Japanese Parliaments, as the reason for further increase of their naval armaments, any introduction of universal military servitude in the Western world would inevitably send a chill over the entire American continent and be viewed with alarm by the rest of the world—notably in Canada, which would be bound to follow suit for dread of us.

But, assuming that we are going to think of nobody else, and to blind our eyes to the obvious effects abroad of our arming,—what does universal service mean? If it is to be for one year, fully nine hundred thousand young men will be annually withdrawn from productive labor; if it is to be for two years, and on the German model, our standing army would be at least a million, four hundred thousand, or double that of Germany in 1914. It would mean so vast a machinery of control and discipline and so many permanent officers that no other department could compare with it in expense or in the multitude of its permanent employes. Has anyone in America who is advocating universal service yet computed the cost, direct or indirect, to the nation—it cost $140,000,000 to maintain an army of 100,000 in 1915, and we are spending in 1916-17, for 123,000 men, $372,000,000, who cannot be recruited? If so, I have not seen it. Even on the dilettante Swiss and Australian basis, it would be stupendous. If carried out under federal supervision, it would enormously increase our most favored class of citizens, —our military and naval servants—and their pension rolls. Abroad the conscripts receive only a few cents a day for their service, which is practically unpaid (in Turkey, even in war time, the soldier gets but twenty-five cents a month). Would our American youth stand for this when our National Guard has just now, by skillful political influence, succeeded in getting itself

on the federal payroll—the first time that men have been so paid, yet remained important political factors in civil life?

Does anybody who reads these words believe that the South, which will not let a colored man drill in a militia company, or in many places own a shot-gun or revolver, believe that its consent could be obtained to making a soldier out of every colored boy? Have you thought of what this putting our sons into barracks would mean for the moral health of the community? It was a Republican Secretary of War, who said that our American army is, morally speaking, the worst by statistics of any civilized army in the world. He might have added that it was far inferior even to the Chinese army in this respect. Do you believe that the same army authorities would do better if they had all our sons to safeguard? Read what Père Forbes, what Desmoulins, what Francois Coppée said about the immorality in the French army as far back as 1900, and how they wished to wipe out militarism there, and see if you really wish to even run the risk of repeating these conditions here.

Why not consider whether military training does inculcate the kind of discipline we all wish for our youth? I maintain that there is a far higher and better type of obedience than the military, for I do not value an obedience drilled into men by a brute force that creates repugnance and hatred for authority and not love or affection for it. Only the other day a teacher in one of our best known New England schools told me that they have more trouble with boys that come to them from military schools than from any others. They are constantly trying to break the rules when no one is looking. I have in my employ a man who served in the German army and qualified as a reserve lieutenant. Then he spent about ten years in our coast artillery, rising to the highest non-commissioned rank. The engine room over which he now presides is so abominably dirty and carelessly managed in its externals if I do not inspect it, that I am on the point of discharging him, until I realize that he is the victim of military training which goes on the theory that you obtain efficiency only by constantly inspecting or by taking men unawares, as at night on post. It teaches less that the responsibility lies upon you and much more that it is upon someone else just a little higher up.

Perhaps you are saying that the very lack of men willing to serve necessitates conscription. Well, if Americans do not wish to serve voluntarily in time of peace, how will they feel about compulsion? We know how they felt about it in New York City in 1863, just when the Confederacy had reached its high-water mark. Could they have voted on it then, the voters of this city at least would have done precisely what the Australians have. It will be idle to call attention to the alleged equality which universal service imposes; in our land-grant colleges, until this fear of getting into a war with Germany overtook us, the most unpopular course was the compulsory freshman drilling required by Congress—the most unpopular with one exception—compulsory attendance at prayers. As soon as a Freshman became a Sophomore, his interest in military affairs vanished, just as military men

in Massachusetts have been testifying that drill in schools did a positive harm to the recruiting prospects of the militia. Should not those who believe that compulsory universal training will mean a greater sense of responsibility toward the Government soberly ask themselves whether if a man has done his bit under compulsion he will not throw down his gun with a feeling that he is freed from any further claim for civic or other duties because he has given a whole precious year of his life in payment of his debt to the State?

But, you ask again, what is this country to do to protect itself? The first and foremost thing is so determinedly to shape its foreign policies and to be just and fair towards others, to insist upon a league of peace and an international court so as to remove any possibility of war. You say that the first of these is impossible, fanciful and theoretical. Behold, the history of this country confutes you, for it is beyond question that this republic has never had a foreign war that was not of its own seeking. What America has done in keeping out of war it can do again. Not by doing injustice, as we are to the Japanese; not by ignoring or belittling their just grievances against us; not by letting those grievances grow until they and the menace of our navy, now twice as large as Japan's, drive them into hostilities; but by being friendly and just as for more than a century we have lived at peace with France,—noble, brave-spirited, glorious France,—and England, our neighbor to the North.

Of course, what this all means is entire recasting of our national life and ideals, social and political. Everything industrial is to be subordinated to preparing our youth for fight. What could be a greater change for us? Not even if you were to change this republic over to a monarchy. Every aspect of our political and social life would have to be recast and remodeled, all because of this new, craven fear that we cannot preserve the liberty that is so dear to us and the institutions that have not been attacked in 130 years, by any of the devices of civilization; that they can only be safeguarded by devices for human slaughter. In other words, we are to put our faith not in things spiritual, but purely in the doctrine of force, upon which any combination of nations might beat us even if we were everyone of us armed and trained to the German standards.

Finally, we come to the most important argument of all against conscription by whatever name it be disguised. It means the very subordination of conscience, of freedom of conscience, it means the limitation of individual and personal liberty—and this in a country whose Pilgrim founders were conscientious objectors against compulsory religion, whose ranks have been recruited for 75 years by hundreds of thousands of objectors to military service who came here to escape the very conscription we are now asked to enforce. Universal servitude, whether German or Swiss or Australian, makes directly against the American ideal, the glorious American spirit of free-born individuality, for it inculcates blind obedience to the will of others, subordination to those who are masters not necessarily because of superior wisdom or fitness, but because of the accidents of rank. To many Ameri-

cans this compulsion would act as poison precisely as it is to some of the finest spirits in Europe. Many of them would never consent to it. Here am I, for one, who cannot help saying that I would rather have my sons grow up under another flag than have them become unwilling military conscripts in the country to whose service along the lines of independent journalism I may claim, I hope, to be giving all that is good within me; to whose advancement as an exemplar of peaceful liberty and enlightenment I have nothing I would not sacrifice.

But there's a higher allegiance today than any one can owe to one's country; it is to the family of nations; to humanity itself, which is today fleeced and bled, blinded and deluded by nothing so much as militarism. The spirit of human brotherhood, the millions of martyr dead in Europe, dictate above all else opposition to militarism at every turn and particularly to its most dangerous manifestation, universal conscription.

No, to lead the world aright, the United States ought not to be debating today whether it prefers the voluntary military system or universal conscription, but how rapidly it can induce the other nations by precept, by example, by enlightened leadership, to limit all armaments to the dimensions of police forces. Fortunately, the European struggle bids fair to prove the futility of war as it has never been proved before. Fortunately, there is evidence in every land that the world is to be a different place when the soldiers return from the trenches. The reaction, when it comes, will have its echoes here, and will, it is to be hoped, find men marveling how any Americans could possibly have espoused that which is the chief prop of kings, czars and kaisers and their militarists, and even for a moment have turned their backs upon the voluntary system which breeds enthusiastic followers of the flag, where conscription produces deserters, bounty-jumpers and mock-patriots.

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THE MASSACHUSETTS PEACE SOCIETY

A PRACTICAL INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM

BY

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251 Causeway Street
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A PRACTICAL INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM

I

THE European war has awakened the world to a new consciousness. It is becoming increasingly apparent that the enlightened peoples of all countries are almost unanimous in their condemnation of the continuance of the war system as a means of settling international disputes. But the mere condemnation of the war system is not enough. It must be directed forcibly to the attainment of certain specific ends: otherwise, public opinion will simply spend itself in an effervescence of futile generalities which will accomplish little of practical import.

One of the most interesting things in connection with this public opinion against war is the way in which it has gradually formulated itself concerning definite things to be accomplished. If only public opinion could have come to itself sooner! For instance, it is now perfectly clear that the wisest thing that the neutral nations of the world could have done at the very beginning of the European conflict was to get together and form a unit of powerful influence on the side of peace and for the protection of neutral rights and interests. Not long ago Earl Grey, presiding at a London meeting, called for the purpose of advocating an agreement among the nations for the enforcement of international law, said that the present conflict probably would never have taken place had the program of American pacifists been adopted, namely, that the nations signatory to the Hague

Conference undertake collective responsibility for such enforcement. Several times recently in the United States Congress resolutions have been introduced looking toward a calling together of the neutral nations in the interests of world order. This suggests a mode of procedure which may yet be adopted during the progress of the present war, and which certainly ought to be adopted during the progress of any future war, if unfortunately there should be such. There were forty-four nations of the world signatory to the Second Hague Conference. Ten of these nations are now (April 1, 1915) busy in the worst conflict that the world has known. This leaves thirty-four nations not at war, whose interests, nevertheless, are being seriously prejudiced every day that the war lasts. When the rights of any neutral nation are violated, when the safety of her people and the security of her business interests are threatened, it becomes at once imperative to protest against the infringement of such rights and interests. But it is always dangerous for a single nation to make such a protest by itself. Misunderstandings in diplomatic exchanges, long pent up prejudices and emotions are apt to be aroused which may plunge such a protesting nation into the very war against whose procedure its protest is directed. But if the neutral nations protest together, the protest has great weight and becomes a very important factor in maintaining the order of the world.

II

While the European war lasts, therefore, the first item in the program of the new internationalism is the calling together of a conference of the thirty-four neutral nations signatory to the Second Hague Conference. The United States, as the leading neutral power, might well

assume the responsibility of calling such a conference. People scarcely realize yet what such a conference would mean and what far-reaching things it could accomplish. First of all, it could act as a unit in insuring the rights of the neutral peoples as long as the European war shall last. For this purpose and for other purposes to be named this conference might well continue in session or within call until the close of the war; for crises of a serious nature are likely to occur at any time, requiring immediate and concerted action. But this is not all. Such a conference of neutral nations would be the best agency for mediation whenever a time for the offer of mediatory services seems favorable. The offer of mediation by any one power might be resented, and in any event, might be ineffective: whereas the offer of mediation by all the neutral nations of the earth would appear as a disinterested appeal for world order and would be much more likely to be accepted. Above all, such a conference of neutral nations would in itself be a splendid example of international co-operation of the very sort for which the new internationalism is working. Furthermore, when the terms of peace shall be negotiated at the close of the war, the neutral nations acting together can have much more influence in seeing to it that the terms of peace shall not be such as to create a situation which might lead to future war or prejudice the interests of the neutral nations themselves.

III

Let us look at this last matter a little more closely. The deliberations of the warring nations at the close of the war, when they conclude their negotiations for the peace of Europe, will be one of the most important and far-reaching events of all history. It will be an

event that will not only profoundly affect the future fortunes of Europe, but will be of vital importance to the whole civilized world. Some international thinkers have even gone so far as to insist that since the neutral nations are so inextricably involved in the future of Europe, the neutral nations should have a direct and active part in the negotiations of the warring nations which frame the terms of peace. Only recently the International Peace Bureau at Berne, of which H. La Fontaine is president, issued a circular to the peace societies in all lands, in which appeared the following pronouncement:

"First and foremost, we must insist on neutral powers taking part in the peace negotiations, if only because their interests are at stake and because the agreements intended to insure a lasting peace must, if they are to be efficacious, take the whole world into account."

It is just possible that, however desirable it may be, this direct participation of the neutral nations in the peace negotiations will not prove feasible. Europe is under the war system and, unfortunately, will probably insist upon concluding its technical terms of peace without outside interference. The countries engaged have been fighting a long, hard, bloody war: a war which every warring nation regards as a war of desperate defense: a war in which each nation has spent not merely vast resources of an economic sort, but thousands upon thousands of the lives of its best young men. After a desperate war of such magnitude, it is but natural that the peace negotiations will be conducted in somewhat the same temper as the war itself was waged. Any advantage gained by any particular nation will have been dearly bought and will not be easily relinquished. Of course, this is the great danger of the situation: the

danger which the participation of neutral nations in the negotiations is designed to meet.

But I wonder if there is not a surer and more feasible way of influencing the terms of peace at the close of the war in favor of a stable international order. Remember this: at the close of the present war public opinion in Europe will have more influence upon government than ever before. This great catastrophe has affected the average man and woman in Europe as no other catastrophe within the memory of man. Before the war, public opinion in Europe had gradually been educated to more and more of an international viewpoint. National and race differences had been lessened through the myriad means of intercommunication between races and nations and through friendly co-operation in all the great vital interests of civilization. The war came upon public opinion as more or less of a surprise and a shock, and it is not at all inconceivable that when this war shall close, public opinion shall have been educated through its bitter and tragic experience to make itself heard and felt as never before in the history of Europe. Autocracies and bureaucracies there still will be; but they will tend to be more merely nominal in their absolute powers than in the past. European rulers and counselors had already learned before this war that the conviction of the masses must be reckoned with. After this war they will have to reckon with it still more seriously; for nothing teaches individuals or nations like the school of experience, and the European war has taught the average man lessons which will not be forgotten for generations to come. Democracy may indeed be slow in coming, but public opinion, nevertheless, will have a vast deal to do in preventing terms of peace of a sort which would be likely to menace the future security of the common

man in Europe. Now, public opinion is the great hope and reliance of the peoples of the neutral nations of the earth. For the public opinion of the world is interrelated, and the convictions of the masses of the people outside of Europe, if made definitely and distinctly known to European peoples, will have a vast part in molding the European mind. Above all, the public opinion of America, the country in which more than in any other the masses of the people read and think and express their thoughts freely,— this American public opinion, I say, will have more influence upon European public opinion, as well as the public opinion of the world, than that of any other nation. Now, who makes this American public opinion? You and I. What shall we have to say with regard to the terms of peace at the close of this war? Well, we shall say at least the following things and insist upon them with all the force of our collective conviction. First, the terms of peace to be concluded in Europe must be of such a sort that they will not only avoid creating new reasons for future retaliations and revenges, in short, for future wars, but they must remove, so far as is possible in the nature of such negotiations, the causes of strife which have existed for so long and which have been the occasions of the upbuilding of that vast militaristic system under whose burden the European peoples groan. Second, the world should insist that the terms of peace shall not be such as to involve the crushing of any nation engaged in this conflict. It is well indeed that militarism shall be crushed forever; but it would be nothing but a calamity if any European nation should be humiliated to such an extent that the world would lose her cultural integrity, her distinct contributions to civilization, her self-respecting co-operation in the constructive work of the world.

Germany must not be crushed; England must not be crushed, nor Belgium, nor France, nor Russia, nor Austria-Hungary, nor any other country, no matter how much we may be of the opinion that one or the other is to blame for the international anarchy now prevailing. Third, it is almost unanimously agreed among international thinkers of the present time that the terms of peace should not involve the transfer of any territory from one nation to another against the will of the majority of the inhabitants of that territory. These three things, at least, public opinion can help to accomplish, and they must be brought before the mind of the world incessantly and persistently until they have become part of the intimate convictions of civilized mankind everywhere.

IV

So much for the *immediate* world program of the new internationalism. But note that all these immediate measures look forward to one great goal: the permanent peace of the world. These immediate measures are not enough to accomplish this permanent peace: they are merely deeds by the way,— important deeds, but not sufficient. What, then, is the next great thing that the world must do to bring about the new world order which it demands?

It is quite clear that this new world order must be planned for in an intelligent and efficient way and that the very first step to be taken after the war is over is the calling together of a world conference comprising all the nations of the earth, including those now in conflict. The calling of such a conference at The Hague was contemplated long before the present war began; and now the reasons for calling such a conference are

multiplied a thousand-fold. It is not absolutely essential that this conference be held at The Hague; but two world conferences have already been held there, and these two conferences have already accomplished so much toward world co-operation that it would seem to be highly advisable that the next meeting of the nations shall take the form of a Third Hague Conference. People at large scarcely realize the wonderful progress toward international understanding achieved at the first two Hague Conferences. The First Conference, which met in 1899, was in the nature of an experiment, which a number of doubting statesmen predicted would fail. Yet at this conference twenty-six of the world's fifty-nine independent powers were represented, these powers standing for three-quarters of the world's population and resources. In some respects this conference symbolized the greatest international event in the history of the race. The Second Conference, held in 1907, lifted the possibility of international co-operation beyond the stage of mere experiment and justified the hope that a world federation for the conserving of international interests and the welfare of humanity at large was no longer a merely impractical dream. At this Second Conference were represented forty-four of the world's powers and practically all its population and resources. Of course, the actual achievements of such conferences must be slow, but they are none the less sure and worth while. As the Hon. Elihu Root says:

"The immediate results of such a conference must always be limited to a small part of the field which the more sanguine have hoped to see covered; but each successive conference will make the positions reached in the preceding conference its point of departure, and will bring to the consideration of further advances towards

international agreement opinions affected by the acceptance and application of the previous agreements. Each conference will inevitably make further progress and, by successive steps, results may be accomplished which have formerly appeared impossible. . . . The most valuable result of the Conference of 1899 was that it made the work of the Conference of 1907 possible. The achievements of the two conferences justify the belief that the world has entered upon an orderly process through which, step by step, in successive conferences, each taking the work of its predecessor as its point of departure, there may be continual progress toward making the practice of civilized nations conform to their peaceful professions."

Let the next great assembly of the powers be held at The Hague. Through the munificence and far-seeing vision of a noted American, a great building, the Peace Palace, has already been erected for this very purpose, and its portals are ready to open in welcome to the deliberations of all nations and all races. Some humorists, with more regard for humor than the deeper significance of historic events, have amused themselves and a certain section of the public by picturing the Palace at The Hague as being "To Let," thus suggesting that the whole conception of such an edifice has been proved a failure. Well, let it go at that: the Peace Palace at The Hague is "To Let"; and after the present war the nations of the world ought to be glad enough of this fact to draw up an everlasting lease of it, so that it may be henceforth used for the peaceful and constructive discussions of those international problems which heretofore nations have attempted to settle by force, but which henceforth they shall settle by reason. No one had more to do with persuading Mr. Carnegie to build The Hague Palace than did Andrew Dickson White, formerly president of

Cornell, later ambassador to Germany. Of this palace, while in prospect, Dr. White rightly said:

"Such an edifice would convey to the mind of the average thinking man throughout the world tangible evidence that such a tribunal already existed, and would so influence public opinion that, whenever there should afterward arise threatening questions, the governments and peoples would naturally say to parties inclined toward a warlike solution: 'Why not try first The Hague International Court? A large body of judges of the highest standing in the various nations is already provided, and from these you can make your choice. There is also an International Court House standing wide open for you. . . .'

I insisted that, while there was an admirable purpose to be served by the Peace Palace as a home for international conferences and courts, its most immediate practical and tangible use was as an 'outward and visible sign' to the whole world that full provision had been made for the international tribunal, and that such a tribunal could be called together at any moment."

The next great question is, what shall be the specific business of this great world conference? Its chief business will be to secure to the world the following four achievements:

(1) The gradual but sure creation of an adequate international law as a rational basis of international order.

(2) An international tribunal for the settlement of all international disputes.

(3) Universal disarmament.

(4) An international police to sanction and maintain the world order so long as any force anywhere attempts its defiance.

Let us take up these several projects one by one.

V

First, an adequate international law. Just as in individual states the common welfare of persons, their social interests and rights, are expressed through law and guaranteed by law, so must the common welfare of nations, their international interests and rights, be expressed through law and guaranteed by law. For, what is law? It is the outward expression, the visible sign and symbol of the social consciousness and the social conscience. Without it, society might have some sort of order, but it would not be sufficiently articulate, sufficiently self-conscious, to be secure, efficient and progressive. Nations can no more be left to themselves to act alone with regard to international measures affecting other nations than individuals can be allowed to do just what they please, regardless of the fortunes of their fellows. The mere wish that civilization might express to settle international differences hereafter through rational measures rather than by force is not sufficient, no matter how ardent that wish may be. This wish, this desire, in order to prevail, must become objectified, codified, and as familiar to the consciousness of civilized men as the fundamental propositions of the constitution of a nation are familiar to its good citizens and are deemed by them inviolable, no matter what may be the temptations of self-interest and the passing wants of the moment. No longer can we trust ourselves as single nations, either as democracies or monarchies, to decide for ourselves great questions of international policy. I say neither democracies nor monarchies can be so trusted. Not monarchies: for the monarch is a human being, as fallible as are all human beings, with a natural tendency to sacrifice world welfare to national patriotism

and aggrandizement; and these temptations are magnified in proportion to the power which he holds and to the weakness of the personality which he happens to possess. Not democracies: for while, in Lincoln's phrase, you cannot fool all of the people all of the time, it is not so difficult to persuade an excited majority in times of stress that national patriotism means self-interest to the extent of asserting the so-called rights of the individual nation over against the manifest welfare of the world at large and over against the real and permanent welfare of the nation involved. Thus it is that, for the sake not only of international interests but of that true national welfare which depends upon the conservation of international interests, international law of an adequate sort must be created and must gain the respect and allegiance of all the nations that create it. This does not mean that any nation is robbed of its freedom, for does it not help make the law by which it is bound, and is it not thus a member of what might well be termed an International Democracy?

Well, the Hague Conferences have already made beginnings which look toward the creation of such an international law, so necessary for international order. As Prof. William I. Hull says in his splendid book, "The Two Hague Conferences," "The twenty conventions and declarations adopted by the two conferences form a code of international law which is, in the aggregate, of much volume and great importance."

One cannot leave this topic without saying that heretofore the extremely important matter of the creation of an adequate body of international law has been slighted more than it should be by many of those who have been seeking the accomplishment of a new world order. The achievement of this law will, of course, be a gradual

matter; indeed, it will be a matter of perpetual growth and improvement: but the supreme thing to attain just now is the unswerving and persistent purpose of all the nations to create such a law and to be loyal to it in terms of an international patriotism which shall never allow itself to be misled or betrayed by the narrower interests, often powerful and well-nigh irresistible, of the particular nations.

VI

But the creation of such an international law as has been described involves the creation of a world court, or courts, where cases of dispute between the nations shall be brought for settlement and where international law shall be adequately administered by expert and impartial judges. That such a court is not at all impracticable is proved by the fact that during the last one hundred and twenty-two years over six hundred international disputes have been settled by courts of arbitration. Some will reply to this that the cases settled by such courts have been trivial. But this is by no means true. Many of the cases peaceably settled by such courts have been cases that were once regarded as disputes involving "national honor" and "vital interests," which statesmen once thought to be impossible of settlement by any international tribunal. The fact is that thinking people have come to see that the "vital interests" of a nation cannot be separated from the vital interests of the world, and that there is no higher "national honor" than the assuming of that supremely honorable courtesy toward other nations which demands and concedes fair play and reasonable deliberation on all questions involving the larger human welfare. Furthermore, the Permanent Court of Arbitration al-

ready inaugurated by the Hague Conference marks the auspicious beginning of a world court to which all the nations shall have free recourse in the settlement of their difficulties. It might be added that a world court administering an established international law is a much more practicable institution than the traditional court of arbitration. For a court of arbitration very often considers the merits of the case before it in terms of that rather unknown quantity involved in the exercise of common sense and untechnical equity. The result is that cases submitted to mere arbitration, without the backing of an adequate international law, have frequently resulted in decisions which meant nothing more nor less than a mere compromise, unsatisfactory to both parties and yet accepted in the name of peace rather than in the name of justice. The world court of the future will administer an international law created and acknowledged by all nations. Thus its decrees will be much more acceptable, and as a result, it will be much easier for nations to submit their differences to such a court, since they will be assured that the decision will not be a matter of mere compromise, but of justice.

The Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague has already proved its serviceableness in the cause of international understanding by settling thirteen cases between October 14, 1902, and May 6, 1913. We as Americans are proud to remember that the very first case considered by this court was one submitted by our own country and the United Mexican States. Since this dispute was settled, the United States has applied to this court twice: once in the North Atlantic Fisheries dispute with Great Britain, which was settled in 1910, and once again in the dispute over the claims of the "Orinoco" Company with Venezuela, settled amicably

in the same year. Another case in which the United States was involved was concerning the right of preference claimed by blockading powers; a case made notable by the fact that all the countries in dispute, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Venezuela, Belgium, Spain, France, Mexico, Netherlands, Sweden, and Norway, committed themselves to the jurisdiction of The Hague Permanent Court. This set a precedent which augurs well for the future pacific settlement of international disputes. As James Brown Scott has said:

"Our own experience has shown us that differences of nationality are not insuperable difficulties; that the existence of states possessing local self-governments offers no serious impediment to the judicial settlement of controversies which would produce war between equal and sovereign nations; that a Supreme Court is necessary for the interpretation of an instrument to which the 46 states composing the American Union are parties, and we believe that an International Court, created by the 46 nations of the world recognizing and applying international law, is as necessary for the interpretation of international conventions and the settlement of judicial questions as a Supreme Court is to the 46 states composing the American Union. We believe, further, that this court can be created by the nations; that it will be created by the nations if and when they recognize the importance of its existence and the services it may render to international justice."

VII

But an adequate international law and an international court,— even these are not enough to secure world order at the present stage of the development of international relations. In our own local governments the existence of law and the decisions of courts are not enough to keep the peace. If John Smith wishes, he can openly defy

both the law and the decision of the court. What do we then do with John Smith if he persists in thus disregarding these institutions for the securing of social order? There is only one thing left to do: we resort to force; we have him arrested, whether he likes it or not,— we have him confined if necessary. In other words, the law and the courts rely upon the force of a police to execute and make operative their decrees. Without that force, neither the law nor the court would be of any real value. So it is with an international law and an international court. There must be some way of compelling defiant nations to observe the world order. Now, just what this means of compulsion shall be is a question of no little debate. Many have thought that all that the international law and the international court will need is the sanction of the public opinion of each nation added to the sanction of that ever growing and powerful unit, international public opinion. No doubt public opinion is a most important factor in securing obedience to law. No doubt any law would be utterly useless unless public opinion were behind it demanding its enforcement. But while public opinion is thus absolutely necessary for the enforcement of law, it is certainly far from sufficient. There are people in this world who care nothing about public opinion, or who care so little for it that they are willing to defy it for the sake of gaining personal ends. These people must be dealt with by some more drastic power than mere public sentiment. If this is true with regard to individuals, it is still truer with regard to nations. Just as in the case of an individual, a nation may care very little for international public opinion if it happens to go counter to its own cherished aims and ambitions; and this defiance of public opinion on the part of a nation is sometimes reared to the glory of a

supposedly just cause through the conception that an exalted patriotism demands it and that the nation's traditions and hopes, its integrity and honor call for self-assertion, even involving the defiance of the welfare of the world. Thus, even more than among individuals, the nations who league themselves together in terms of law and order must have some power absolutely conclusive to compel defiant members of their group to stand by the larger international loyalties whenever they are tempted to defy them. What shall this means of compulsion be? Some have suggested an efficient policy of "non-intercourse." Very probably this would be a sufficient compulsion. Many have thought that just as a unit of individuals has its police as the strong right arm of the law, so the unit of nations must have some sort of international police, an international army and navy if you please, to be the strong right arm of the world order. It seems quite probable that, as long as there are nations backward enough in their appreciation of their international obligations to defy international law and to rely upon force in the settlement of their disputes with the rest of the world, such an international police will be necessary. It is sometimes objected that the existence of such an international force would be the recognition of the very sort of thing that we are trying utterly to eliminate from international affairs,— namely, force as a means of settling international disputes; but there is as much difference between such an international army and navy, expressing international law and order, and a national army and navy, defying international law and order, as there is between the police of a local government, enforcing the decrees of local law, and the individual who runs amuck with a gun with no sanction save his own selfish impulse and desire. There is a place for

force in the world, not as the coercer of the international conscience, but as the expression of the international conscience. Force as the expression of international reason is the deification of force; force as the coercer of international reason is the prostitution of force. The next stage in the world's history will be marked by the splendid transition to a civilization in which force becomes subservient to reason and law, rather than being the creator of opinion and law as in the past.

The efficiency of an international police depends, of course, upon the agreement of all the nations to do away with their individual armies and navies, except so far as they may need them for the purposes of internal order, as, for instance, the putting down of strikes, riots and local rebellions. *No nation can disarm alone: that would be impracticable and perhaps suicidal in the present stage of the world's history. No: the great powers must disarm together.* The absurd competition in armaments must end. Already the burden of taxation for the support of these armaments on the part of the masses of the people of all countries is becoming unbearable. Besides, this competition in armaments in the last resort results in an endless circle, utterly futile in the attainment of its real design. If one nation adds a unit of armament and another nation, because of this, adds two units, and then the first nation adds a third unit, which is the gainer by the process? Neither gains; but that is not the worst of it,— both lose to the extent of the enormous expense to which they have gone and to the extent of subtracting millions, perhaps billions of dollars from the legitimate constructive work of national upbuilding. How this disarmament is to be brought about is a detail which statesmen must solve at the earliest possible moment. It is quite possible

that after this war European nations will have sufficiently learned the tragedy resulting from this needless competition in armaments to the extent of being more willing than ever to listen to some rational proposal which will look toward the entire reformation of the militaristic system now in vogue.

That there are many objections that might be raised to the efficiency of an international police is to be frankly recognized: but there are no objections that are insuperable. For instance, one objection is that such an international army and navy as is proposed will be made up of the fighting men of various individual countries and that these fighting men will, in case of stress, feel more patriotism to their particular countries than they will to the larger world interest. In other words, it is urged that it would be very difficult to get an international army with the proper *esprit de corps* and based upon an adequate world patriotism. If we were relying merely upon such an international army, this would, no doubt, be an unanswerable objection: but we are relying upon such an army plus a new international mind, a new international public opinion,— the very public opinion which will bring such an army into being; the public opinion which will have to be convinced before such an army even exists that the interests of individual nations cannot any longer be severed from world interests and that when national patriotism conflicts with world patriotism, national patriotism must revise itself for its own honor, for its own interests. With material disarmament must go that greater thing, moral disarmament. In fact, when the world order is once secured by its expression in a world law, a world court and a world police, such a police will have as little to do with the average nation as the police of a city has to do

with the average individual. Just as the average man has no desire to defy the law and rarely, if ever, has any encounters with the force which backs it, so it will be very rare indeed for any nation, once the international mind expresses itself, to defy international law and call upon itself the overwhelming compulsion of an international police. Indeed, when the world has committed itself to such a system of law and order, even the world court will not have so many disputes brought to it as some people anticipate. The great majority of disputes will be settled by friendly means of a more intimate character: such as diplomacy and special commissions appointed to look into the facts in dispute and deliberate upon them in terms of fair play and common sense. There is rarely any question of a court of law and a resort to police on the part of friends. For one hundred years the United States has been at peace with Canada, despite the fact of a continuous boundary line of 3,840 miles, unprotected by armies or forts, except Fort Friendship, Fort Reason, Fort Co-operation, and Fort Justice,— the strongest forts in the world. Perhaps the most signal instance besides this of what international understanding may finally bring about is to be found symbolized in the monument erected upon a peak of the Andes by Chile and Argentina over ten years ago. Fifteen years ago these two countries were in imminent danger of going to war over a dispute with regard to the ownership of about eighty thousand square miles of territory. Through the efforts of broad-minded citizens of both countries the question was at last submitted to the arbitration of the King of England, who appointed an expert commission to examine the facts and to submit their decision. When the decision was rendered, both countries gladly accepted it and were so pleased

with the outcome of this settlement of a difficult international question that they

"in June, 1903, concluded a treaty by the terms of which they pledged themselves for a period of five years to submit all controversies arising between them to arbitration, the first general arbitration treaty ever concluded. In a further treaty they agreed to reduce their armies to the proportions of police forces, to stop the building of the great battleships then under construction, and to diminish the naval armaments which they already possessed.

The provisions of these treaties which have now been in force nearly two years, were carried out as fast as practicable. The land forces have been reduced, the heavy ordnance taken off the war vessels, and several of the vessels of the marine turned over to the commercial fleets. Work on the four great warships was immediately arrested, and some of them have been sold. One or two of them, unfortunately, went into the Japanese fleet off Port Arthur, in spite of the fact that both governments had, in the treaty, pledged themselves not to sell any ships to nations engaged in war. The vessels were bought under disguise by a firm in New York, and then turned over to Japan; after which neither of the governments would sell any vessels to either Russia or Japan.

The results of this disarmament — for it is a real disarmament — have been most remarkable. With the money saved by the lessening of military and naval expenses, internal and coast improvements have been made. Good roads have been constructed. Chile has turned an arsenal into a school for manual training. She is building a much needed breakwater in the harbor of Valparaiso, and has commenced systematically the improvement of her commercial facilities along the coast. One or two of Argentina's previous war vessels have gone into her commercial fleet and are now plying back and forth across the Atlantic in honorable and lucrative business. The great trans-Andean railway through the heart of the mountains, which will bring Buenos Ayres and Santiago within eighteen hours of each other and

bind them together in the most intimate relations of trade and travel, will be completed this year.

But more significant than any of these material results has been the change in the attitude of the Argentines and Chileans toward each other. All the old bitterness and distrust have passed away, and the most cordial good feeling and confidence have taken their place.

The suggestion of Bishop Benavente as to the erection of a statue of Christ at Puente del Inca was quickly carried into execution. As early as 1901, on the initiative of Senora de Costa, president of the Christian Mothers' Association of Buenos Ayres, one of the largest women's organizations in the world, the women of Buenos Ayres, who had already manifested the deepest interest in the new movement, indertook the task of securing funds and having a statue created. The work was entrusted to the young Argentine sculptor, Mateo Alonso. When his design was completed and accepted, the statue was cast at the arsenal of Buenos Ayres from old cannon taken from the ancient fortress outside of the city. . . .

The base of the statue is in granite. On this is a granite sphere, weighing some fourteen tons, on which the outlines of the world are sketched, resting upon a granite column twenty-two feet high. The figure of Christ above, in bronze, is twenty-six feet in height. The cross supported in his left hand is five feet higher. The right hand is stretched out in blessing. On the granite base are two bronze tablets, one of them given by the Workingmen's Union of Buenos Ayres, the other by the Working Women. One of them gives the record of the creation and erection of the statue; on the other are inscribed the words:

'Sooner shall these mountains crumble into dust than Argentines and Chileans break the peace to which they have pledged themselves at the feet of Christ the Redeemer.' "

VIII

These are the great fundamental things which civilization must accomplish before the international order is

established and war is forever abandoned in favor of reason as a method of settling the world's problems. All these will be made possible by the average man and woman, by whom that large public opinion is molded through which the international mind comes into existence. We have depicted the ideal, and the ideal must be thoroughly understood and kept in mind always in all efforts which are being made for the attainment of the ultimate peace of the world. But there are more immediate things which the average man and woman must keep in mind; humbler, more every day duties which must not be neglected. The trouble with most people is that they content themselves with the larger dream, trusting that it will be attained somehow, somewhere, without realizing that they, themselves, are individually responsible for the attainment of the dream. What can the average man and woman do here and now to hasten the realization of the world order for which enlightened minds have struggled so long?

First of all, we can read the great literature which has appeared during the last few years with regard to the problems of international relations and become thoroughly conversant with it, so that it becomes part and parcel of our everyday consciousness. In terms of this reading, we can think constructively and contribute our own individual thought, however meager, however unimportant, to the great mass of thought through whose utterance public opinion is molded and the world's progress is directed. Second, we can converse with all with whom we come in contact on this great topic and thus spread our influence by imperceptible degrees to an extent which we can never individually calculate. At first sight, talk seems cheap; and yet, if we but realize it, the great reforms of history have been accomplished

more by the conversation of enlightened minds than by any other agency. In ancient Athens, who was it that exerted the greatest influence upon the Athenian State? Socrates. And yet Socrates never wrote a word, so far as we know. He made his profound influence upon history through conversation: through the incessant utterance of his ideas to individuals in small groups in the home and in the market-place,— anywhere where he could get anyone to hear him. Thus it is that in America the great formative influence in molding the progress of the American people is the discussion of American citizens one with another with regard to the great issues of the day.

Then there are our clubs. There is hardly one of us who does not belong to one or more clubs or lodges. At this stage in the history of the world such associations of people should not forget their responsibility in promulgating, so far as they can through their collective influence, the greater ideals of international welfare which are everywhere current. For instance, no literary club should plan its year's program without including prominent consideration of the great world problems which have been suggested by the present European war. Speakers on such topics are available; or if these cannot be secured, there are the great classics on international relations, on which some member of the club may write a paper or lead a discussion, and concerning which the whole club may contribute their thought. Then there are our churches, which have sometimes been all too backward in considering the practical considerations which have to do with the ushering in of that kingdom of peace which was the vision of the Nazarene and for which He lived and died. Nor must we rely merely upon organizations already in existence. New organiza-

tions for the promotion of international understanding and co-operation should be effected. For instance, reading circles, whose one purpose should be to become better acquainted with the international vision, should be organized in every city and town of the United States. Furthermore, no human being who earnestly cares at all about the realization of a world at peace should hesitate a moment in allying himself with at least one of the great peace organizations which at the present time are doing so much to spread the gospel of international co-operation among the peoples of the world. For instance, the American Peace Society has a branch in nearly every state of the Union. Every citizen of the United States, in so far as he is sincere in his desire for the promotion of world peace, should belong to his own state branch of the American Peace Society, for it is only by such universal co-operation that we can expect the ideal of international unity to be speedily realized.

Again the average person can do very much to remove misunderstandings with regard to what the peace movement really means. Those who do not understand it are very prone to suppose that the peace movement is a matter of sentiment merely. The mass of the public should be speedily taught that back of the peace movement are some of the most practical minds in the world, including those of eminent statesmen, efficient business men, and practical scientists. *The peace movement should not be confused with non-resistance.* Very few peace advocates have ever been so unwise as to insist that any nation should practice such an impossible doctrine. Sometimes the impression has gone abroad that all the peace movement means is disarmament of this nation or that. The average man

or woman who believes in international co-operation ought to help to remove this impression and make people understand that *no great peace advocate is urging that the United States, for instance, shall disarm before the other nations disarm.* Certainly internationalists agree that there should be *universal* disarmament; but they also agree that *no nation can disarm first,— that all nations must disarm together.* We are idealists; but we must impress the world with the practicability of our ideals, and especially with the practicability of the immediate means which we advocate for the attainment of them.

Perhaps the greatest thing that can be done in bringing about an era of international reason is the education of the young in the public schools. The young boy and girl should be taught how much the culture, the civilization of every nation owes to the culture, the civilization of every other nation of the world, so that he shall not feel that the peoples of other nations are really aliens, but shall realize that to his own country's upbuilding have been contributed thoughts and deeds from those whom he is accustomed to call "foreigners." American history is rich in opportunities for this sort of teaching. We sometimes speak of America as being the melting pot of the various races of the earth; but it is also the melting pot of all the various cultures of all times and of all peoples. Once a people appreciates what it owes to another people in great ideas, it will be very reluctant to start on a killing expedition against those to whom it owes such genuine obligations.

One of the most encouraging aspects of the American public schools is the fact that their pupils are made up of the children of all races and of all nations. Slav, Teuton, Anglo-Saxon, Latin study side by side and

learn to ignore racial and national differences in the daily experience of the possession of a common humanity. After all, children are alike the world over. They like the same games. They laugh at the same things. They have the same ambitions, the same sorrows, the same tragedies and the same comedies in their everyday lives. Sharing these as they do in the schoolroom and on the playground, they tend to understand each other better. This understanding is precisely of the sort which the nations of the world need, and which our heterogeneous pupils working together with a common end well exemplify.

There is an insistent movement on foot for the teaching of citizenship in the schools. Those who are interested in this movement are not satisfied with teaching a pupil merely the rights and obligations of citizenship in our own country, but desire to impress upon the growing mind the duties and obligations of citizenship in the World State. Thus it is, a new sort of patriotism is capable of being developed in the minds of the young; a patriotism to humanity at large, regardless of national boundary; a patriotism which will by no means lessen the patriotism which one owes to his own country, but which will be a part of that patriotism, and which will thus transform the flag into a symbol of not merely national glory, but of international honor.

All that has been said easily makes it apparent that the attainment of international peace depends more upon a right attitude of mind than upon anything else. Friendship, whether personal or international, is much more a matter of right attitudes than of logic expressed in all sorts of social safeguards and machinery. Stress has been laid so far upon what might be called "the international mind" as part of the attitude men need to acquire, but one might also emphasize as equally indis-

pensable "the prospective mind": the mind that not merely looks about and includes all existent beings in its interests, but looks forward and views the human race in terms of a never ending progress, which is capable of infinite possibilities. Civilization is not static: it is intensely dynamic. Human nature is not static: it is capable of boundless change and improvement. It is needful for us to realize this last fact, because there are so many people who keep telling us that it is human nature to go to war; that it always has been human nature; and that it always will be human nature. If there is any argument that is feeblest, it is this. There is nothing in this world that can be said to belong to a permanent human nature, except the quality of not being permanent at all. There is nothing so changeable as human nature; and that is the glory of it. It is that which makes man divine in his ideals and possibilities. As a matter of fact, men have not always warred; in truth, war has been the exception, and great minds, as well as the minds of the common people, have always looked forward to a time when some reasonable method would be devised which would make war forever impossible. In the journal, *La Revue*, of February 15, 1909, a writer by the name of B. Beau wrote a very good satire on the traditional defense of war as being a necessity of an unchanging human nature. He entitled his article "A Defense of Cannibalism." It is supposed to be a speech of a medicine man addressed to his tribe in answer to anti-cannibalistic propaganda that a Christian missionary was making among them. The argument has been reprinted as a document of the American Association for International Conciliation. There is no space here to reproduce the argument in detail. The following short extract, however, will at once remind one of the sorts

of things that some people say in defending the war system. Says the medicine man:

"A stranger has come among us to teach us a new religion. There are among the doctrines which he preaches a great many things which are indifferent to us, but there are also some very dangerous for the tribe. He declares, for example, that cannibalism ought to disappear from the earth and that it is necessary to renounce our custom of eating human flesh.

There have been in all ages individuals to whose stomach this aliment was repugnant. But this is a rare physiological idiosyncrasy. Even those who suffered from it regarded it as an infirmity. This is the first time that an attempt has been made to make a dogma of this pathological distaste.

The propaganda of this stranger might prove fatal. At the last public feast where ten prisoners were immolated, three of our warriors have refused to touch the flesh. That is why I have resolved to demonstrate to you that this doctrine is absurd and that those who permit themselves to be seduced by it will be traitors to their tribe.

In all ages, as far back as the memory of the oldest men can reach, enemies killed in battle have been eaten and prisoners have been fattened into proper condition for killing. When a custom is so ancient it is not dependent upon the will of men. It is not an accident of their history, but a law of their nature, instituted by the gods themselves. Hearts too tender may deplore it, but against natural fatalities it is vain and puerile to wish to fight. . . .

Repudiate then, Oyampis, these new ideas. Anti-cannibalism is a doctrine essentially chimerical. Men have always eaten one another; they will continue to do so in the future as they have in the past. And the best way to avoid being eaten ourselves is to enfeeble neighboring tribes as often as possible by liberal bloodletting."

* * * *

"When the medicine man had finished, the warriors

shouted their approval. The missionary, on account of this reaction in favor of the ideas he had combatted, feared that he might be made to contribute to a feast of reconciliation, so he took flight. It was to his prudence doubtless that we owe the advantage of having read the argument of the cannibal.

Besides, could he have made a decisive reply?

Nevertheless, the Caribs themselves no longer eat one another."

The application of this parody upon the usual argument for war is obvious. There is no human ideal which vitally involves the welfare and improvement of the human race that cannot be achieved if we will it. As Browning puts it:

"All we have willed or hoped or dreamed of good shall exist. . . .
The high that proved too high, the heroic for earth too hard,
The passion that left the ground to lose itself in the sky,
Are music sent up to God by the lover and the bard;
Enough that he heard it once: we shall hear it by and by."

IX

This, then, is the program of the new internationalism, in its broad outlines. These are the things that men and women must keep in mind constantly as ideals to attain and things to do. But the ideals must become living ideals, and the deeds must become earnest and effective deeds, or our dreams are naught. From what has been said it is easily apparent that this is no isolated movement, but that it involves the co-operation of all those manifold forces which belong to the sure progress of mankind toward the achievement of the hopes and struggles of the ages.

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ON

THE NEW INTERNATIONALISM

BY JAY WILLIAM HUDSON

PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY, UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI
DIRECTOR EDUCATION DEPARTMENT, MASSACHUSETTS PEACE SOCIETY

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Do We Want Rifle Practice in the Public Schools?

ANSWERS by Justice Hughes, President Eliot, President Nicholas Murray Butler, President David Starr Jordan, Professor Charles Zueblin, Jane Addams, Andrew Carnegie, Edward Everett Hale, and others.

4741

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20 SOUTH TWELFTH STREET
PHILADELPHIA

6M. 1914. 2 ED.; 4 REPRINT.

DO WE WANT RIFLE PRACTICE IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS?

THE proposal to introduce rifle practice into our public schools has been made recently with such seriousness and from such high quarters as to demand attention from all interested in the progress and welfare of our schools.

The following pages contain the opinions of some of the most prominent educators and leaders of thought in the United States in regard to this proposal. These opinions are mostly from replies to a recent letter asking for an expression on the subject.

The advocates of systematic rifle practice for boys as part of the public school curriculum urge that a nation of trained marksmen is a valuable preparation for war. They assume that training a nation for the practice of war is of greater importance than training a nation for the practice of peace, thus seeming to ignore the broader pedagogical and practical aspects of the question.

The views of the eminent men and women who have contributed to this pamphlet are presented for the deliberate consideration of those to whom the management of our schools is entrusted.

JUSTICE CHARLES E. HUGHES

From a speech delivered in New York City, 1907.

"We can no longer look to war for the development of either national or individual character. The heroics of war have been replaced by mathematical calculations. If it was ever anything else, it is now unmitigated horror, exhibiting chiefly fiendish aspects of ingenuity and scientific skill in destruction. Under our modern conditions of civilization the supposed beneficent results of war in the development of courage and stamina must in any conceivable event be shared by so few of our teeming populations that even the most sanguinary must realize that the time has gone by when, by any stretch of imagination, it can be regarded as a general disciplinary agent. And in the controversies of peace and in the bloodless struggles for the maintenance of truth and justice in our personal and civic relations must be found the arena of the future in which character may find severer tests than ever were afforded by historic battlefield."

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER,
President of Columbia University.

"I beg to say that I am, of course, opposed to the introduction of rifle practice into the program of studies and exercises for the public schools. The proposal is so absurd that it would hardly seem necessary to give any reason for opposing it."

DAVID STARR JORDAN,
Chancellor of Leland Stanford Junior University.

"I do not think that accurate shooting necessarily makes for militarism. I do not, however, believe in the introduction of rifle practice in the public school curriculum."

CHARLES W. ELIOT,
President Emeritus of Harvard University.

"Rifle practice seems to me unsuitable for school exercise, because the pupils are not old enough for it, even if it were a desirable form of bodily training. Military drill, quite apart from rifle practice, seems to me one of the poorest forms of bodily exercise, very inferior to most gymnasium exercises, and to all free sports. There is too much routine and automatic action in it, and too much repression of individual freedom. The only good part of it is the setting-up drill, which can easily be made a gymnastic exercise without military accompaniments. Rifle practice is, in my judgment, only fit for an elective exercise at the college or technical school age. At that time it interests profitably some young men who feel the hunting instinct or who mean to serve in the militia. Even then it is a difficult exercise to maintain, because it requires the use of an expensive and perhaps distant range.

"You will observe that I am opposed to rifle practice because it seems to me, on general pedagogic principles, unsuitable and untimely in the public schools."

HENRY CHURCHILL KING,
President of Oberlin College.

"I should be sorry to see rifle practice introduced into the public schools of the country. I think the evils would largely outweigh the advantages."

ISAAC SHARPLESS,
President of Haverford College.

"I should deplore the introduction of rifle practice or any other practice which would tend to develop a military spirit in the public schools of the country. The tendencies of the age

are toward industrial and international peace, and any block in this progress is a serious menace to the ultimate prosperity and standards of the country.

"I was somewhat surprised and quite delighted to find, in a recent visit at Cambridge University, England, that these sentiments were largely shared by educated Englishmen and that the tendency to discourage rifle practice was quite marked."

PROFESSOR SAMUEL T. DUTTON,
Teachers College, Columbia University.

"I am decidedly opposed to introducing rifle practice into city public or private schools. I believe there are other forms of physical and mental training which are better for young people and that the use of a rifle under any circumstances by children should be a matter to be controlled by parents only.

"There are several objections to the introduction of rifle practice into schools. One is that the use of dangerous weapons in any kind of sport does not need to be stimulated. It is attended with a certain element of danger and in many ways needs to be restrained rather than encouraged. Secondly, to introduce this form of activity implies that as a nation we are likely to go to war. No sane person believes that under present conditions there is any need of war. A sufficient army and navy for police duty can be provided, and this, supplemented by the state militia, is enough."

PROFESSOR JOHN DEWEY,
Columbia University.

"It would be a long step backward in the traditions of the American people and of American education to introduce rifle practice into our public schools. Aside from the general objections from the standpoint of civilization, humanity and

moral progress, which ought to be absolutely final, the objections from the standpoint of school administration and discipline are most serious. It would introduce another distracting factor where high school boys are already over distracted and stimulated, and would increase the evil force of the exciting and distracting conditions that already, especially in our cities, are more than powerful enough. It is undemocratic, barbaric and scholastically wholly unwise."

PROFESSOR CHARLES ZUEBLIN,
University of Chicago.

"Rifle practice in the public schools would be peculiarly abhorrent to me. I hope our schools may instil ideals of peace. As disarmament seems at present utopian, I think the Swiss military system, demanding one year of each able-bodied man, might be utilized to develop skill of marksmanship of mature men, whose main activities would be useful work for the government. But athletics and manual training are infinitely preferable in the schools."

JANE ADDAMS,
Hull-House, Chicago.

"I am, of course, shocked at any proposition to introduce rifle practice into the public schools.

"The increasing number of accidents and murders due to the totally unnecessary and illegal 'carrying of concealed weapons' makes it difficult to understand why familiarity with fire arms should be encouraged. If war is to continue, at least let us insist that the use of fire arms shall be confined to the soldier as strictly as the surgeon's knife is limited to the man professionally prepared to use it."

PHILANDER P. CLAXTON,
United States Commissioner of Education, Washington, D. C.

"I do not think we want rifle practice in the public schools of the United States except in those that are known as military schools. It may be valuable for boys to gain skill in marksmanship, and it is no doubt still important that a large number of our citizens should be able to do effective military service in time of invasion. The public schools, however, are not the place in which to give this training and preparation."

CAROLINE HAZARD,
President of Wellesley College.

"I shall be very sorry to have rifle practice, or anything which involves the use of arms, introduced into our public schools. The modern custom of having toy pistols as playthings for young boys seems to me a most injurious one, and if it should be carried farther, and practice in fire arms included as part of the school education, it seems to me a decided step would be taken in the wrong direction.

"We are better situated than any country in the world almost, to maintain peace with our neighbors, and the thought of war and strife should not be made a familiar one to our young people."

MARY E. WOOLLEY,
President of Mount Holyoke College.

"You are quite right in thinking that I believe that the introduction of rifle practice into our school system would be a backward step, and a real menace to the progress of the peace movement. I cannot see that there is anything to be said in favor of its introduction, while I feel that the strongest arguments may be urged against it.

"It seems to me, first, a waste of money, when the schools of the country are often handicapped by the lack of suitable buildings, sufficient equipment and adequate salaries for the teachers. Secondly, I believe that it is a waste of time. There is constant complaint that students are overcrowded with work and have not time for recreation and physical exercise. Rifle practice certainly would not give the best sort of physical exercise, or the kind of recreation which is desirable. Its influence in promoting a spirit of warfare, rather than of peace, goes without saying."

LUCIA AMES MEAD,
Boston.

"So far as I know, no nation has yet used its people's taxes to teach school boys the art of killing. The training has no pedagogic value. It would cost money, sorely needed to teach the use of the tools of industry, to prepare for the perennial fight against pauperism, disease and crime.

"Rifle shooting in the schools would be an unprecedented measure, implying some new national danger to justify it. No such danger exists except in the minds of yellow journalists and some military men. For 119 years we have had only five years of war with foreign powers, and were invaded only in 1812. We no longer fear England, for we leave our northern frontier unguarded. We have no quarrel with any nation and our real enemies are those within our midst. Teach the power of organized ostracism as a substitute for guns; a nation that feeds Europe ninety days a year can always bring a force to bear far greater than a navy. Neutralize our Philippines, and we shall need no more guns to defend our western shores; establish peace budgets, and with the wise expenditure of one dollar for conciliation for every thousand spent on war, we can substitute methods for winning friends for methods of killing supposititious enemies."

NATHAN C. SCHAEFFER,
Superintendent of Public Instruction in Pennsylvania.

Extract from his Inaugural Address as President of the National Education Association, Los Angeles, 1907.

"Peace has become so great a shibboleth that the introduction of rifle practice into the public schools is now advocated as a peace measure. The experience of our recent wars, it is held, has pointed out that, while there is no difficulty in case of war in getting all the volunteers that the country requires, and they can be given a reasonable amount of drill in a few weeks, it takes them a long time to learn to shoot, and that unless they can shoot accurately they are of little value as soldiers. If, however, the young men who are graduating from our high schools in the different states should be skilled riflemen, the country can rest content with a small standing army, knowing that in case of war it can put into the field at short notice a force of volunteers whose skill in rifle shooting will make them fully the equal of any army which may be brought against them. The system is therefore a great factor for national peace. As a teacher from the state which William Penn founded, I must put a big interrogation point after this theory. The fact that boys at the age of thirteen can learn to shoot with marvelous accuracy should be correlated with the fact that at the same age, and even earlier, boys can be taught all sorts of break-neck acrobatics; no one would, on account of the skill which may thus be acquired, be justified in advocating the introduction of either acrobatics or rifle practice into the curriculum of our public schools. There is a limitation to the kinds of skill which a human being may acquire, and the development of skill in these directions interferes seriously with the development of skill in other and more useful lines. The development of skill in shooting is desirable on the part of those who join the army or the state constabulary; but if during a strike every striker were a skilled rifleman, the difficulties in maintaining order would be infinitely multiplied."

MRS. HARRY HASTINGS,
New York City.

"The brutalizing effect of this rifle practice, if it becomes general, is only a question of time; its antagonism to the Peace Cause in indisputable."

WILLIAM F. SLOCUM,
President of Colorado College.

"Rifle practice in public schools seems to me very unwise and distinctly objectionable. Everything that tends in the minds of our young people to prepare them for the killing of human beings is against movements for peace and leads toward reversion to barbarism. I see nothing whatever to be gained by this and a great deal that is most unfortunate from either an educational or a moral point of view."

EDMUND A. JONES,
State Commissioner of Common Schools, Columbus, Ohio.

"I have just returned from the Peace Conference in New York, and you may naturally infer that I am not much in favor of military instruction in our public schools. I can readily see that some advantages may result to our boys in an erect and manly bearing from a military drill in marching, etc., but I do not believe it is advisable to place rifles in the hands of boys of thirteen years and over in our public schools. I served in the civil war and was wounded in the defense of my country at that time, but I believe we have reached a time in our civilization when international difficulties can be settled by arbitration without the horrors and sacrifices of war."

MASON S. STONE,
Superintendent of Public Instruction in Vermont.

"I wish to state that we advise peace rather than war, and while we are in favor of physical training, nevertheless we are not enthusiastic over military drill in the public schools."

FRANCIS G. BLAIR,
Superintendent of Public Instruction in Illinois.

"I hope sincerely that no such thing is contemplated." (He refers to arrangement for target shooting in the public schools by the national government.)

GEO. H. MARTIN,
State Board of Education, Boston, Mass.

"I am entirely opposed to any further development of the military spirit among school boys."

J. H. FUQUA, Sr.,
Superintendent of Public Instruction in Kentucky.

"I don't think our authorities would favor such a move (i. e. the introduction of rifle practice), as we desire to teach the principles of peace, and not encourage in the youth a sentiment for war."

ANDREW CARNEGIE,
New York City.

"The introduction of rifle practice into the public schools would be a step backward. What ought to be taught is that war is savagery, unworthy of civilized man."

JOHN H. CONVERSE
Philadelphia.

"Believing, as I do, that the education of children, as supported by public taxation, should be confined as far as possible to essentials, I am not in favor of any special features such as instruction in rifle practice in our public schools."

EDWARD EVERETT HALE,
Washington, D. C.

"I am quite sure that the public schools fail in their duty unless the boys and girls are trained in respect to their superiors, in obedience to those in authority, in courtesy in address, in kindness to all. The New Testament sums up such training when it says 'The wisdom from above is first pure.'

Personal Purity is the foundation.

2. Next. This 'wisdom is peaceable.'

Rifle practice is certainly not peaceable.

3. This 'wisdom is gentle.'

"If you care for what the Apostle said, he meant, that the gentleman is one who abstains somewhat from demanding all his rights.

"The gentleman is more glad to give than to receive."

JOHN W. FOSTER,
Former Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

"I should regard any recommendation for the introduction of rifle practice into the public schools of the country as an unjustifiable and wicked act, whether issued by the War Department or any other authority.

"The natural tendency of the youth of our country to military exercises is great enough already, and it is cruel to stimulate in them the art of killing their fellow-men."

CHARLES E. JEFFERSON,
Minister of Broadway Tabernacle, New York.

"'To keep the peace we must prepare for war.' Some one said that long ago, and men have repeated it as tho it were a word from the mouth of God. Its hollowness is evident to any one who will look into it. The fact is that to keep the peace we must prepare for peace. If you want war, then prepare for war, multiply your guns, burnish them and make them shine, practice with them, keep the air filled with the reverberations of the roar of cannon. Swing your fleet from one ocean to another just when hearts are most irritated. Fill your newspapers with accounts of what your ships are doing, crowd your magazines with pictures of torpedo boats and destroyers. Set all the young men of the country thinking and talking about war, and then some day war will come. It is inevitable! If a nation does not want to fight it must put up its sword. It is amazing that there is an intelligent man on the earth who cannot see this."

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THE NEWER PREPAREDNESS

ADDRESS BY

MRS. J. MALCOLM FORBES

GIVEN AT THE LUNCHEON
OF THE
ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BRANCH OF THE
WOMAN'S PEACE PARTY
BOSTON, MARCH 3, 1916

THE NEWER PREPAREDNESS

MEMBERS AND FRIENDS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BRANCH OF THE WOMAN'S PEACE PARTY:

I am asked to say a few words before introducing our speakers, and I should like to touch on the *Newer Preparedness*, because just now it seems as if people's minds, even the minds of many of our Peace friends, were confused by the noise which rises from the "Military Preparedness" campaign.

Surely there is something in the bugle call to Preparedness to which we all respond; but we believe that the call to the *Newer Preparedness* is louder and of purer tone than the call to the old-time Preparedness.

We all realize that in the present state of international relations, and with the present lack of international morals, nations, including our own strong and great land, require some defence.

No Peace worker thinks the millenium has come, and that nations can yet disarm; but we maintain that there are many ways for a nation to defend itself besides guns and dreadnoughts, and that these newer ways make for a stronger and more permanent defence. What we mean by *Newer Preparedness* is, first: such measures as promote *justice* between nations; second: measures that tend to *reduce friction* between nations; and third: measures which produce *co-operation* between nations.

Among these measures of the *Newer Preparedness* are:

(1) the League to Enforce Peace, which puts into concrete form that for which nearly all Peace societies and leaders have been striving for many years. The League proposes to create a Federation of Nations on the basis of mutual protection and with the mutual determination

to submit all international complications either to an International Supreme Court, if the questions are justiciable; or to an International Council of Conciliation or Parliament, if the questions are not justiciable. The third proposal of the League provides that the signatory powers shall jointly use forthwith their economic, and, in the last resort, their military forces against anyone of their number that goes to war or commits acts of hostility against another of the signatories before any question arising shall be submitted, as provided in the foregoing.

The League to Enforce Peace was formed last June in Philadelphia, and it is going forward by leaps and bounds, and bids fair to be the greatest Peace Society which the world has ever seen. Persons of differing opinions on controversial questions, such as the necessary size of armaments, are eligible to the League—if they can meet on the broad platform of *Law Must Replace War*, under the above named plans.

(2) One *Newer Preparedness* measure is the creation of an Oriental-American Commission, which shall study the complex and important questions at issue between Japan and China and the United States, and which shall from time to time make recommendations to the governments involved.

(3) Another measure which the Woman's Peace Party stands for is the passage of the law advocated by the American Bar Association giving federal control over aliens, in order to prevent local conditions in the several States from having undue influence in causing friction with other countries.

(4) I merely make mention of another measure of our *Newer Preparedness, i. e.*, the development of the Monroe Doctrine into a Pan-American Doctrine; as one of our speakers is presently to put this before you.

(5) Still another measure, and I believe this also is a very important one, is that action shall be taken to provide for the elimination of all private profit from the manufacture of armament. This can not be done till

after this war is over—since it involves international as well as national questions.

(6) The Woman's Peace Party has urged upon Congress "That a joint committee be appointed to conduct thorough investigation, with public hearings, and report within the next six months upon the following matters:

a. The condition of our military and naval defences with special reference to the expenditure of past appropriations.

b. The probability of aggressive action by other nations against the United States by reason of antagonism with respect to race, trade, national expansion, property-holding in foreign lands, and other causes of war.

c. The possibility of lessening by legislative or diplomatic action the source of friction between this country and other nations."

Two years ago, the German Emperor said to an American official, "Yes, you spend plenty of money for armaments—as much as we do—but what have you got to show for it?"

We feel that it is both unbusinesslike and senseless to increase enormously—I do not say slightly, I say enormously—our present appropriations, until we have at least tried to patch the holes in the sieve through which a great amount of the money contributed by our country for armaments is now running off. All persons outside and inside of the army and navy declare that only a portion of the money we yearly appropriate for defence goes where it should, and everyone knows that much of it goes into useless army posts, and much of it into wretched and unnavigable naval basins. Shall we sit down and allow this waste to go on forever? We Peace workers say *no!*

Is it not in line with our careless and wasteful "Americanism" (not our ideal Americanism) to maintain this sieve, and to keep on calling for greater and greater sums for armaments? Is it not logical that we should

wait and see how far our appropriations, if properly administered, can make our present equipment efficient?

Now, why should not our Preparedness friends—and they are and must be our friends—carry on a whirlwind campaign for stopping up this sieve, and for reducing the "pork barrel"?

The Preparedness propaganda which is now being fanned into flame all over this country is concentrating people's thoughts and cares on our nation alone, on increasing *our* possessions and physical strength with no thought for the welfare of other nations, or for the service which we can and should render to others. Is not this in the last analysis a narrow outlook?

Let us, while we are putting our own house into better order, promote measures which will help and not hinder our neighbors! Let us remember that in this modern interdependence of nations, each nation's welfare is bound up with the rest.

Even from a purely selfish point of view, we shall be far less efficiently defended from future troubles, if we are looking and laboring only for our own interests. We feel that the *Newer Preparedness* is a very much bigger movement.

I hope you will all go to the great meeting of the League to Enforce Peace at Symphony Hall next Wednesday.

At some of the meetings called for the presentation of the League, you will doubtless hear speakers argue for a much larger military preparedness than most of us stand for; but remember at such times that you are looking at the plans for the League's development from only one of the angles from which it may be viewed, and that you have just as much reason to belong to the League (with your views of the *Newer Preparedness*) as have some of the men and women who are at present taking their hats off to the pupils of Bernhardi.

In closing, I make to you a strong appeal for members and money. We need both, and the advance of our work is in proportion to both.

There is no cause before the world to-day of so

tremendous an appeal and which lays on us so sacred a responsibility, as the cause which is working to bring about an international condition such as shall prevent our poor world from witnessing a repetition in the next generation of this horrible war. A next war would surely be as much more disastrous and overwhelming as this is more horrible and more stupendous than the war of 1870! We must work unceasingly to replace the war system by the system of law and justice.

May God give to each one of us wisdom and strength and courage; we require all these qualities more and more, as our problems multiply. Our work grows ever more thrilling, but ever more exacting.

Whether or not we live to see the fulfillment of our hopes, we know we are trying to forward the work of God, and that our cause is bound to win.

THE PEACE MOVEMENT AND SOME MISCONCEPTIONS

BY

MRS. J. MALCOLM FORBES

THE PEACE MOVEMENT AND SOME MISCONCEPTIONS*

It is a satisfaction to be asked to speak to you of the Cause which I believe the most far-reaching of our generation. I know it is as yet an unpopular Cause, but this is because of misconceptions. The ideas and ideals of Peace workers are not yet generally understood, and it is occasions such as this, where broad-minded persons come together for the purpose of looking into one another's aims and work, which are going to remove misunderstandings.

I maintain that as fast as it is understood, the movement for the substitution of law for war will make adherents of every man and every woman in our land, and in all civilized lands.

The chief reason for the widespread misapprehension of the Peace Movement has come, I believe, from the name "Peace." Truly a beautiful word, but not suitable for the title of a movement at once radical and bold, formed for the abolition of the war system.

Had the men and women who, in the beginning of the last century, banded themselves together for the overthrow of slavery, called themselves by some title which had a like flavor of piety and finality, I believe that the Anti-Slavery Movement would have met with as many hindrances as has the Peace Movement. Largely because of the word "Peace," persons not yet in the Movement imagine that those who are working to bring about the new order are making use merely of appeals to sentiment, talking in gentle tones of how to bring in the millenium, and crying, Peace! Peace! whereas, the truth is that the *war against war* is and has long been an aggressive campaign of education, its

* Address delivered at a meeting of the Executive Board of the National Civic Federation (New England Section), May 4, 1916.

teachings proclaimed in no mincing or uncertain tones. *The Peace Movement is a determined onslaught on the old and barbarous system of war, and a persistent pointing of the way to constructive international relations.* The Peace worker deals not in doves nor olive branches. He must summon all the clearness of thought and logic that he can command; and he must needs stand firm in his faith, heeding neither the ridicule nor the sneers of the unconverted.

When a man new to the Movement hears the words, Peace Society, Peace Advocate and Pacifist, he not unnaturally associates the movement for which they stand, with passive and mild attributes; he thinks he would almost be ashamed to join a Peace Society, for he says he does "not believe that man is intended to live without fighting." Then the explanation has to be made that the " fighting" he means (healthy struggle and competition) is not synonymous with the killing of men. The Peace Movement *is* a battle. In the words of Phillips Brooks:

"It is not that the power to fight has perished, it is that the battle has gone up on higher grounds."

In addition to this fundamental misapprehension there is at present much misunderstanding because of the so-called "Preparedness" Movement, which is demanding the attention of every patriotic American. One hears statements implying that there are two antagonistic societies at work: the Preparedness Society on the one hand, and the Peace Society on the other. This is a misconception. It is true that nearly all Peace societies are opposed to colossal armament, believing that over-large armies and navies invite war, and are opposed to legislation which subjugates civil to military interests, but the Peace Movement as a whole stands for adequate defense. There is certainly as great a difference of opinion as to what constitutes "*adequate* defense" found among Peace workers as among militarists—but no Peace worker thinks the millenium has come or that nations can yet disarm; on the other hand we maintain that there are many ways in which a nation may defend itself besides guns and dreadnoughts, and

that these newer ways make for a better and more permanent defense. Peace workers stand for a more comprehensive Preparedness than mere military efficiency: that Preparedness which subserves international interests, rather than national interests alone.

I should like to read a few paragraphs from statements which were issued this winter by the Massachusetts Peace Society (to which belong many men and women of the State); and by the Massachusetts Branch of the Woman's Peace Party, which is one of the strongest, although one of the newest of the Peace organizations. We call this Massachusetts Peace Society pamphlet, "Law Must Replace War." It reads partly as follows:

"(1) MILITARISTS SAY that the Peace Movement is opposed to adequate national defense.

The truth is that what we oppose is not national defense, but the international war system which makes military defense seem necessary. The Peace Movement has use for both those who advocate increased provision for national defense and those who believe that 'preparedness' invites war.

(2) MILITARISTS SAY that the Peace Movement is unpatriotic.

The truth is that the Peace Movement expresses the highest type of patriotism,—that patriotism which sees that national welfare depends upon international cooperation in all matters of international concern. Its object is international justice in accordance with the principles of international law.

(3) MILITARISTS SAY that the European war has proved the futility of the Peace Movement.

The truth is that the developments of the past year have demonstrated the correctness of the position taken by the workers for peace. The terrible menace of militarism now stands revealed,—its ruthless destruction of the very things that civilization most cherishes.

(4) MILITARISTS SAY that peace advocates want 'peace at any price.'

The truth is that the peace we want is that based on

just and friendly international relations: it has no connection with that passive acceptance of injustice and tyranny which the phrase 'peace at any price' suggests.

(5) MILITARISTS SAY that peace advocates are impractical and visionary sentimentalists.

The truth is that the constructive program of the Peace Movement commands the active support of leading statesmen, eminent legal authorities, economists, business associations, labor organizations, and of many men and women noted for practical achievement."

The other Statement reads as follows:

"In view of the widespread misapprehension as to the principles held by the Woman's Peace Party, the Executive Committee of the Massachusetts Branch desires to issue a statement which we believe to be a correct interpretation of the platform of the Party in its application to present conditions.

"The Woman's Peace Party was formed to protest against the war system and to work for the substitution of law for war. Peace at any price has no place in its platform, nor does it advocate non-resistance.

"Pending further steps to be taken jointly by the nations toward making world organization effective, we recognize that armies and navies must exist in the present state of international morality. But we believe that other and better means of preserving the vital interests of nations are already available. We emphasize the fact that there is more than one kind of defense. We thoroughly endorse plans for a League to insure Peace which provides drastic, concerted non-intercourse as a penalty for aggression by any nation, with action by an international police as a last resort.

"We feel that the state of fear and suspicion now being fostered in our country by the propaganda conducted by some newspapers and magazines as well as by individual militarists, is to be deplored. We look with apprehension at the placing of men personally interested in the manufacture or sale of munitions of war on National Advisory Boards and Congressional Committees. There is a serious danger that our country may become committed to a policy of such increased war preparations as will overstep real necessity and may place us in the grip

of a situation from which later it will be extremely difficult to free ourselves.

"No nation standing alone to-day can ever be sufficiently prepared to face a hostile coalition such as is possible in the modern world. Only in concerted action and co-operation can justice and security be attained. This war has demonstrated as never before the essential interdependence of nations. We can no longer, if we would, stand apart and work out our own salvation without reference to the interests and aspirations of other nations. Whatever policy is now adopted by this country as regards increase of armaments will compel other nations to follow its example. A grave responsibility is laid upon the people of the United States.

"We are opposed to compulsory military training in schools, and to compulsory military service. These are wholly out of keeping with American traditions and ideals.

"Concerning the vexed question of supplying munitions to belligerents by citizens of neutral nations, we feel that our government should take no action during the war. This and other matters should be considered after the cessation of hostilities in the reorganization of international law.

"The Woman's Peace Party stands for International Justice which alone can secure permanent peace. It stands for those principles of democracy held by the founders of our Republic, and which to-day are imperilled. We urge all thoughtful, patriotic women to work with us."

In the Massachusetts Branch of the Woman's Peace Party we are urging the *Newer Preparedness*, by which we mean such measures as *promote justice* between nations; measures that tend to *reduce friction* between nations; and measures which *produce cooperation* between nations.

Among these measures of the *Newer Preparedness* are:

(1) The League to Enforce Peace, which puts into concrete form that for which nearly all Peace societies and leaders have been striving for years.

(2) The creation of an Oriental-American Commission, which shall study the complex and important questions at issue between Japan and China and the United

States, and which shall from time to time make recommendations to the governments involved.

(3) The passage of the law advocated by the American Bar Association, giving federal control over aliens, in order to prevent local conditions in the several States from having undue influence in causing friction with other countries.

(4) The development of the Monroe Doctrine into a Pan-American Doctrine.

(5) Action to provide for the elimination of private profit from the manufacture of armament. This cannot be done till after this war, since international as well as national questions are involved.

The Woman's Peace Party has urged upon Congress "That a joint committee be appointed to conduct thorough investigation, with public hearings, and report within the next six months upon the condition of our military and naval defences with special reference to the expenditure of past appropriations."

We feel that it is both unbusinesslike and senseless to increase enormously—I do not say slightly, I say enormously—our present appropriations, until we have at least tried to patch the holes in the sieve through which a vast amount of the money contributed by our country for armaments is now running off. All persons inside and outside of the army and navy declare that only a portion of the money we yearly appropriate for defense goes where it should, and everyone knows that much of it goes into useless army posts and much of it into wretched and unnavigable naval basins. Shall we sit down and allow this waste to go on forever? We Peace workers say No!

Is it not in line with our careless and wasteful "Americanism" (not our ideal Americanism) to maintain this sieve, and to keep on calling for greater and greater sums for armaments? Is it not logical that we should see how far our appropriations, if properly administered, can make our present equipment efficient?

Why do not our Preparedness friends—and they are and must be our friends—carry on a whirlwind campaign for stopping up this sieve, and for reducing the

"pork barrel"? Most of the Preparedness propaganda which is now being carried on in our country is concentrating people's thoughts on our nation alone, on increasing our possessions and physical strength, with no thought for the welfare of other nations, or for the service which we can and should render to others. Is not this a narrow outlook?

Let us, while we are putting our own house into better order, promote measures which will help and not hinder our neighbors. Let us remember that in this modern interdependence of nations, the welfare of each nation is bound up with the rest.

Even from a purely selfish point of view, we shall be far less efficiently defended from future troubles if we are looking and laboring for our own interests only.

We feel that the *Newer Preparedness* is a very much broader movement than the kind of Preparedness which is threatening to become a replica of what Germany has been urging on her people for the last forty years, and which has led to war. But it is not Germany alone who has been preparing for war, misnamed "Peace," by inoculating all her boys and men with the militaristic spirit.

Let us keep our eyes open; let us keep our minds alert to recognize evil from good, that we may be able to pluck the tares from the wheat in these vital questions of Preparedness, Patriotism and Americanism.

Now for a bit of history: Although the Peace Movement in the last ten years has advanced by leaps and bounds, it had been marching forward, with few serious setbacks, since 1815, when the first societies in the world were organized. The first group was started in New York and is still working under its original name—The New York Peace Society. This year it is giving its whole strength to advancing the League to Enforce Peace.

The Massachusetts Peace Society was organized in the same year by a group of men and women who met in the study of Dr. William Ellery Channing's church in Boston. Later it became the parent of over thirty State branches under the name of The American Peace

Society with headquarters in Washington, D. C. A new Massachusetts Peace Society was formed six years ago, and is already one of the most vigorous of the State branches. It has been fortunate in having as its Presidents, Mr. Samuel B. Capen, Mr. Samuel J. Elder, and Professor Bliss Perry, who is about to begin his second term of office.

In the last one hundred years Peace Societies have multiplied enormously, not only here in America, but all over the world, so that there are now many hundreds of separate organizations with scores of branches.

But the seed was sown hundreds of years ago, and in order really to understand it one should study this Movement as he would any other great human development; he must know its aims, history and achievements.

Long before there was any Peace organization, there were prophets who spoke of the vision which had come to them; and though these voices seemed to speak in the wilderness, the words they uttered did not fall on deaf ears.

We find among early Greek writers some of the most powerful arraignments of war. Isaiah and Micah, with their glorious visions, were Peace prophets in Israel; and nineteen hundred years ago was born in Bethlehem the Prince of Peace, whose words are yet but little understood.

During the first two centuries after Christ, his followers refused to fight at all; then the church temporarily yielded to love of pomp and power, war was apotheosized instead of condemned, and the vision of the faithful was dimmed.

In the fourteenth century was born in the city of Coutances, Pierre Du Bois, who issued a plan for an international representative organization which, strange to say, was practically followed six hundred years later when the first Hague Conference met in 1899; though probably few individuals present had ever heard of this French lawyer.

Among the thinkers who put forth plans for International Peace, was Henry IV of France, who wrote "The Great Design," which proposed European federation as the means to attain the end.

Not long after this, Hugo Grotius, Holland's revered scholar and benefactor, gave to the world "The Rights of War and Peace," of which our statesman, Andrew D. White, wrote: "Of all works not claiming to be inspired, 'The Rights of War and Peace' has proven the greatest blessing to humanity."

In the seventeenth century George Fox with his followers in England endured beatings and persecutions for standing steadfast to their faith. They were called "Quakers" because they made the enemies of Peace to quake by their burning words against war.

In the same century William Penn for years kept peace with the American Indians, through putting into practice his theories of justice and cooperation. In 1693 he wrote "The Present and Future Peace of Europe," in which he advocated a Congress of Nations and a League to Enforce Peace.

Immanuel Kant, master mind of Germany, urged the organization of the world in his essay on "Eternal Peace," which was published at the very time that our Constitution made the American group of thirteen Federated States a world power. Kant insisted that World Peace could never be permanently attained until international organization was effected.

In the years following our Declaration of Independence the prophets came in greater and greater numbers, both here and in Europe. The "Father of Our Country," soldier though he was, spoke against war in no uncertain terms, declaring: "My first wish is to see this plague to mankind (war) banished from the earth, and the sons and daughters of this world employed in more pleasing and innocent amusements than in preparing implements and exercising them for the destruction of mankind; to see the whole world in Peace, and the inhabitants of it as one band of brothers striving who should contribute most to the happiness of mankind.

"I shall never so far divest myself of the feelings of a man interested in the happiness of his fellow-men as to wish my country's prosperity might be built on the ruins of that of other nations. Peace with all the world is my sincere wish. I am sure it is our true policy."

Then denunciations of the system followed from Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Samuel Adams, Josiah Quincy, David Low Dodge, William Ladd, Elihu Burritt, Noah Worcester, Charles Sumner, William Ellery Channing, Ralph Waldo Emerson, William Lloyd Garrison, Edward Everett Hale, and many others.

In Europe, Cobden, Bright and Victor Hugo were courageous champions of the new ideals, as was also Gladstone.

Early in the nineteenth century was born Jean de Bloch, a Polish Jew. He began life as a peddler, but later rose to power and fame, becoming a great administrator. Not only did he finance thousands of miles of railways, but he became an intermediary between the Czar's ministers and the powerful bankers of Europe. A lifelong student of war, he studied especially the relation of war to transportation. His great book, "The Future of War," was an analysis of statistics and scientific facts, gathered by the military experts of Europe, which his synthetic mind revealed in their bearing upon our civilization. This book, which passed under critical review of six generals, was long considered only less influential in the promotion of peace than "The Rights of War and Peace." It was assuredly one of the forces which led the Czar to call the first Hague Conference.

Is it not significant that over twenty years ago, Jean de Bloch said in conversation with William T. Stead:— "War has become more and more a matter of mechanical arrangement. Modern battles will be decided, so far as they can be decided at all, by men lying in improvised ditches, which they have scooped out to protect themselves from the fire of a distant and invisible enemy. As a profession, militarism is growing less attractive."

In 1909 there appeared in England a little book entitled, "Europe's Optical Illusion," written by Norman Angell, a man then wholly unknown to the world. Before the year was over, Count von Metternich, German Ambassador to England, had delivered a speech which was a frank paraphrase of this book; it had been quoted at length in the French Assembly; it had attracted the

attention of King Edward and of the Emperor of Germany, and it was stirring the admirals and generals of Europe. Sir Edward Grey declared that the "illusion," *viz.*, the erroneous idea that economic advantage follows military victory, had first dawned on his vision through reading this book.

The chiefs of four European States asked for "a book in place of a booklet"; whereupon, a year later appeared "The Great Illusion," which embodied the gist of the criticisms of the earlier booklet and presented cogent and penetrating refutations of the same.

Mr. Angell has been accused by Admiral Mahan of ignoring the primary cause of most wars—"sentiment, prejudice, and a perverted sense of honour"; but his very first book proves that he is a past-master in the analysis of these and other causes of war and of the psychology of the mob.

Since then several important books and scores of magazine articles have appeared from the pen of Norman Angell and his words are heeded all over the world.

Important works on International Relations and Peace *versus* War are now appearing almost from day to day. One of the notable books of this year, "Social Progress and the Darwinian Theory," is by a rising American author, George Nasmyth, who is in the foremost rank of the younger leaders in the rational or scientific Peace Movement represented by Norman Angell, the Russian sociologist, Novicow, and others.

Some persons, although in sympathy with the Movement, have asked why the Peace Movement should be carried on *now;* why not wait until the war is over? The answer is that *this is the very moment* to bring to the conviction of every man and every woman in our country that the war system must be condemned as the method of settling international disputes, and that it *is* in man's power to get rid of it; that in its place we must establish the system of law and order, under which alone is possible justice to all, and a continuation of civilization.

One of the erroneous ideas at present current in some quarters is that the workers for abolition of the War

System are not in sympathy with relief work. A preposterous accusation! I believe there is no group of persons who feel more sympathy and interest in the fate of wounded soldiers and prisoners of war than those who are working for the overthrow of the system of war.

We believe in the Red Cross work and its further extension and we hope that the American Red Cross will soon count its millions of members and not continue to lag behind European and Asiatic countries in this important matter.

In some societies "war relief and war prevention" have been combined. Anti-War Knitting Circles have been instituted: the plan being to combine knitting or sewing for the war sufferers with the acquiring of knowledge of the International Peace Movement. Striking Peace and War pamphlets or plays are read to the group at work.

We Peace workers believe in the Boy Scout Movement of America, and are determined that it shall continue to follow the lines laid down by its founder, General Baden Powell, who has always been emphatically opposed to its being militarized. His basic idea is to train boys for *normal, i. e., civic* citizenship; and to turn their courage and energy into channels of constructive service to their cities and to their countries. It is to be deplored that the other and newer organization, called the United States Boy Scout Movement, is being made essentially military; and it is unfortunate that it should not have chosen a less imitative name.

The accusation sometimes made that Peace teaching is liable to undermine patriotism, can be urged only by persons possessed of but superficial knowledge of the anti-war movement, for when we work to banish the war system from the earth, are we lowering the heroic ideals of manhood? Are we training our boys to be "mollycoddles"? Far from it! We bring up our boys to be ready to die for their country by *serving* humanity's need; and for daily, not occasional, service only.

Are not high forms of courage, devotion and self-sacrifice found in many of the careers open to both men and women, such as those of missionaries, doctors, nurses, sailors, firemen? It is a grave mistake to assume that the

one and the highest form of service to one's country is that of the soldier. At best that is only *one* form of service, and in the majority of cases the soldier is not exposed to discomfort, peril and death in the constant way that is the doctor or nurse or life-saver. Many other professions might be named which also are full of opportunity for devotion and self-sacrifice to ideals.

We who are working for Peace are the first to recognize the superb courage and devotion shown by the heroes of war, and we know that the world hourly needs such qualities, but we realize that there is entire scope for their manifestation without any battles of blood.

In this last year a false affirmation has been frequently heard, *i. e.*, that the women who went to the Hague as delegates of the Woman's Peace Party last April were expecting to *stop the war*. This was not true. They went to unite with the women of the belligerent and of neutral nations in making such a protest against the War System as must impress the world's conscience; to urge on the governments of the countries at war the calling of a conference of neutral nations; and to try to organize a conference for continuous mediation.

That a conference of nations shall be called as soon as the time is ripe, has been urged by Senator Root; and is constantly in the mind of President Wilson and of many statesmen in the neutral as well as in the belligerent countries.

The Woman's Peace Party was formed because Jane Addams felt that we American women must not stand by as onlookers merely, or as knitters merely, with this tragedy across the seas. In December, 1914, Miss Addams wrote to women representing many organizations in various parts of this country, asking them to assemble in Washington to see what could be done. Many responded to the call, and after three days' conferences, a platform was agreed upon, and the Woman's Peace Party came into existence.

Mr. Hamilton Holt, Editor of the *Independent*, wrote as follows: "They (the Woman's Peace Party) issued a manifesto, unsurpassed, we think, in power and moral fervor by anything that has been issued here or abroad

since the great war began. They adopted a Platform radical, sound, statesmanlike, constructive."

There may be differences of opinion regarding some of the eleven planks of the Platform, but in the words of our Declaration of Principles, "we have given freedom of expression to a wide divergence of opinion in the details of our Platform . . . . in a common desire to make our woman's protest against war and all that makes for war, vocal, commanding and effective," and the whole object of the Woman's Peace Party is to push constructive Peace work.

We want with us every woman who believes that the system of war must be abolished.

The late Justice Brewer said: "There never was a time since the beginning of days, that woman longed for bloodshed and the carnage of war, and the more fully she realizes its waste and destruction the more earnest will become her opposition. Nowhere in the world is she so potent a force in public life as in this country, and you may be sure that that force will be ere long concentrated in steadfast opposition to war. She cannot be sneered or laughed out of her faith."

"Nothing will carry on your Peace Movement as this war is going to do," was said to me in August, 1914, by one of our practical statesmen; and this is being verified, for the revulsion against war is now as stupendous as the war itself. The glamour has been dissipated, and the evils that war breeds are being exposed to the onlooker as never before in all history.

This present war is indeed helping on the Peace Movement, for at last two groups of men and women have come over into our ranks, who heretofore could not see the necessity of so doing.

One of these groups contains those persons who, before July, 1914, were saying, "Men always have fought, and always will fight, and what is the use of trying to stop wars?" They see now that if civilization is not to destroy itself, we must *force* men to keep the Peace, even when grouped in nations; just as we *force* men to keep the Peace in our cities and States. And this forcing is done in the main by public opinion, *i. e.*, moral force.

The second group contains those idealistic but unimaginative persons who thought war wholly a glorious thing because their only knowledge of it had been gained through history and poetry. As most of the literature of our schools and homes deals with the nobler human qualities which war—as well as earthquake, fire and flood—brings out in men, the knowledge thus gained had not brought to these persons a realization of the brutal developments which are also a part of war; so they would say, "War is a fine thing, and the world needs it now and then!"

To this type of mind one always wanted to quote the words of William Ellery Channing:

"It is said that without war to excite and invigorate the human mind, some of its noblest energies will slumber, and its highest qualities—courage, magnanimity, fortitude—will perish. To this I answer that, if war is to be encouraged among nations because it nourishes energy and heroism, on the same principle war in our families, and war between neighborhoods, villages and cities ought to be encouraged; for such contests would equally tend to promote heroic daring and contempt of death.

"We do *not* need war to awaken human energy. There is at least equal scope for courage and magnanimity in blessing as in destroying mankind. . . . Away then, with the argument that war is needed as a nursery of heroism!"

Both these groups are now recognizing the truth of what Anti-War workers have been saying for years—that war among nations is like the duel between individuals; and that evolution and history show the decline of war, and that war must go!

Cardinal Gibbons said a few years ago: "The time is fast coming when, like the duel between individuals, the international duel will be relegated to the museum of social monstrosities."

You remember Emerson's words: "It is not a great matter how long men refuse to believe the advent of Peace; a universal Peace is as sure as is the prevalence of civilization over barbarism, of liberal governments

over feudal forms. The question for us is only How Soon?"

How Soon? Yes, that is where the work for Peace societies comes in; it is for us to hasten the day! The day can be hastened if men and women will put their thought and strength into this war against war.

To quote again from Emerson's Essay on War: "If Peace is to be maintained, it must be by brave men, who have come up to the same height as the hero, namely, the will to carry their life in their hand, and stake it at any instant for their principle; but who have gone one step beyond the hero of war and will not take another man's life."

It was Bishop Brent who wrote from the Philippine Islands, soon after the European war broke out:

"All of us who have steadily been learning the meaning and value of Peace according to the ideal given us by the Prince of Peace cannot fail to be wrung with anguish by the tempest of hatred, selfishness and slaughter which is sweeping over Europe. . . . There is little that can be done by us to terminate this awful war. . . .

"But it seems to me our first duty is to examine ourselves and see how and where we as individuals are contributing to a social and national condition that makes war not only possible but easy.. . . .

"There is no man, however humbly he counts himself a follower of Jesus Christ, who can fail to be roused to new earnestness by the war. Some of us may be called to do something extreme. But whether by much or by little we must stand boldly forth without counting cost."

It is surely the duty of every person who believes that war is a hideous anachronism in this age, to join at least one of the Peace societies. "In unity is strength," and if the Peace army in every country can have full membership, the system of war cannot endure a day.

Isolated indeed from the great currents of today's civilization is the man or woman who stands aloof from the work for Permanent Peace; who does not in some way help on this holy crusade of the twentieth century—the crusade for Justice and Brotherhood.

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LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The Scheme Explained

Reprinted from the London Times
March 10, 1919

LEAGUE OF FREE NATIONS ASSOCIATION
40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston. Tel. 4840 Haymarket

Introduction

Apart from uncertainties and omissions now being cured by the adoption of amendments at the Conference in Paris, the main objections to the Covenant—at least on the part of those who desire any league of nations to prevent war—are based upon a mistaken impression that the United States would assume, under the Covenant, an obligation to follow the dictates of a council, or other body, in which, of course, its representatives are in a minority.

Anyone who studies the Covenant with care will see that this is not the case; that the functions of the Executive Council and Body of Delegates are practically confined to giving advice and making recommendations to the several members of the league, which are at liberty to follow them or not, as they think best.

In fact, the persons who assert that the United States by the Covenant assumes an obligation to obey the Executive Council, or subjects itself to its control, are unable to point to any clause in the Covenant which supports their statement.

From this point of view, the following article from the London Times of March 10, 1919, is highly interesting. It purports to come from an authoritative source, and makes it clear that, in the view of that authority, the functions of the Executive Council and the Body of Delegates are only advisory.

A. Lawrence Lowell

Purpose

The purpose of the League, as stated in the preamble, is two-fold. It is, in the first place, to promote international co-operation; that is to say, it is to establish better and more efficient methods of dealing with the common interests of peoples throughout the world. In the second place, it solemnly binds its members to respect international law and justice, and to refrain from war.

The first seven articles of the Covenant constitute central authorities in which all the activities of the League are to be focussed.

Body of Delegates

There is first a Body of Delegates, representing all the States which are members of the League. Each State may be represented by three representatives. This Body of Delegates is to meet as often as it desires, and can regulate its own procedure by majority votes. It can admit other States to membership of the League by a two-thirds majority vote. It can make amendments to the constitution of the League by a three-fourths majority vote, provided that these amendments are unanimously approved by the Executive Council, the functions of which are detailed below. When dealing with a dispute referred to it by any of its members, it can make a recommendation as to a settlement by a vote of all its members, excluding those who are actually parties to the dispute. Further, in the event of disagreement among its members, other than the parties to the dispute, it can publish majority and minority reports upon the subject in question.

NOTE—This article was published in the London *Times* and was prefaced with the following statement:

> "We have received from an authoritative source the following particulars with regard to the Draft Covenant of the League of Nations laid before the full Peace Conference in Paris on February 14."

These are the only cases in which voting in the Body of Delegates is recognized. That is to say, in all matters of policy, it is an organ for international discussion and regular negotiation, and no State can be bound to any decision or any policy with which it disagrees.

The Body of Delegates has full powers to deal on the above lines with any matter of international importance. But, as its function is not to override any State, but to secure agreement between all its members, so large an assembly will find rapid action difficult.

Executive Council

Consequently, there is established an Executive Council, consisting of representatives of the five Great Powers, and of four other States selected by the Body of Delegates. These nine States, however, must invite to their meetings the representatives of any State directly concerned in their deliberations. Like the Body of Delegates, the Executive Council has full power to deal with all matters of international importance, and can regulate its own procedure by majority votes.

Like the Body of Delegates, too, it can make a recommendation as to the proper settlement of a dispute by a vote of all its members excluding those who are actually parties to the dispute, and can, in the event of disagreement among its members other than the parties to the dispute, publish majority and minority reports. These, however, are the only cases in which voting in the Executive Council is recognized. Like the Body of Delegates, its function is to secure international agreement, not to exert any overriding authority.

Executive Council's Functions

The Covenant fixes upon the Executive Council, as distinct from the Body of Delegates, as the organ best constituted to make recommendations on certain difficult matters not settled in detail by the Covenant itself. For instance, the Executive Council is directed to recommend arrangements for disarmament; to

advise the members of the League what steps they should take when any one of them is threatened with aggression, or when any one of them fails to carry out an arbitral award or a unanimous recommendation by the Council or the Body of Delegates in regard to a dispute; to recommend what military or naval force members of the League should bring to bear against a State which goes to war in contravention of the Covenant, and to formulate plans for a Permanent Court of International Justice. To the Body of Delegates, however, are confided two functions in which the Executive Council has no part—namely, the admission of new members to the League and the right of *advising* members of the League to reconsider obsolete treaties.

It is important to realize that this central constitution of the League is intended to place the control over foreign policy directly in the hands of the chief responsible statesmen of each nation. Such matters are no longer to be dealt with by correspondence through Foreign Offices and diplomatists, but are to become one of the main duties of statesmen immediately responsible to the public opinion of their peoples.

Court of International Justice

There is to be a Permanent Court of International Justice, the constitution of which is to be elaborated by the Executive Council, and to which members of the League will be able to submit disputes on which they desire a judicial decision. There is to be a Mandatory Commission, which is to receive annual reports from Powers holding mandates from the League for the administration of certain territories in Africa and the Pacific, and for the assistance of certain new States in Western Asia. There is to be a Permanent Bureau of Labour, which is to co-ordinate and bring up to as high a level as possible the Labour legislation of all countries. The constitution of this Bureau of Labour and the definition of the terms of each mandate in Africa, Western Asia, and the Pacific are being made the subject of separate detailed agreements not yet laid before the world.

Prevention of War

One great problem remains. If all this machinery of international action fails to satisfy the interests of the various peoples; if, in spite of the advance which it makes over the old diplomacy, wrongs are left unredressed, or national demands unsatisfied; if the habit of international co-operation developed by continuous common work in the various practical branches of the League's organization proves insufficient to avert serious disputes or to allay popular unrest or military ambitions, how are such disputes to be settled, and how is war to be averted?

The middle part of the Covenant deals with this problem. Articles 8-11 recognize the possibility of threats to the peace of the world, and charge the Executive Council with the duty of drawing up plans against any such danger. Armaments, as being in themselves a cause for war, are to be reduced, but not below the point required by national safety and by the obligation of each member of the League in certain eventualities to come to the aid of its fellows. All members of the League are pledged to preserve each other against external aggression and the League is to concern itself with all dangers which may threaten the peace of nations. Reliance is placed upon the fact already explained that the policy of the League is placed directly in the hands of the responsible statesmen of all the Powers in personal consultation. If men of such authority and power are unable, when danger is foreseen, to agree upon adequate measures of protection, then it is vain to hope that the Conference at Paris can devise such measures in advance.

Arbitration

In the case of some such disputes, the parties may be willing to refer the question at issue to arbitration. If so, they are left free to choose their own tribunal, but when the tribunal they have chosen has given its award they are bound to carry it out in full good faith. If they do not do so, the Executive Council is to propose

what steps can be taken to give effect to it. Statesmanship and wisdom in dealing with difficult issues cannot be defined by a foot rule in advance. Discretion must be left to the responsible elected representatives of the peoples assembled in the Executive Council.

If the parties to the dispute cannot agree to refer it to arbitration they are bound not to resort to war until they have submitted it to the Executive Council, or, if either party so desires, to the Body of Delegates. They must then allow the Executive Council or the Body of Delegates six months within which to arrive at a settlement, and if the Executive Council or Body of Delegates recommends a settlement they must wait for another three months before going to war. If during that time one of the parties has complied with the recommendation, the other party may take no warlike action against it.

If these central obligations and pledges are violated by any member of the League, Article 16 provides that all the other members shall immediately sever all relations with it whatsoever, and shall prevent all intercourse between it and any other State, whether a member of the League or not. Further, the Executive Council is to recommend what military and naval action shall be taken.

Case for Discretion

One case is not provided for in the above. The Executive Council or the Body of Delegates may make a unanimous recommendation against a State, and that State, while not going to war, may simply refuse to carry out the recommendation or to redress the wrong which it has caused. In such a case the coalition of force is not called into being. The Covenant merely provides that the Executive Council shall, in such event, propose the measures necessary to give effect to the recommendation. Here, again, discretion is left to the responsible statesmen of democratic countries to give effect as required to the collective popular judgment of the world.

The Covenant also provides that the coalition of force may be called into being against a State which is not a member of the League, and which, after refusing to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of an international dispute, goes to war against a member of the League. The Executive Council has also a general power of taking into consideration disputes between two States neither of whom are members of the League, and both of whom refuse to accept the obligations of membership for the purpose of a dispute.

No Secret Treaties

Finally, Articles 23–25 of the Covenant deal with one of the main causes of international unrest in the past—namely, the existence of secret or obsolete international treaties or understandings. Every future treaty is to be made publicly and registered with the secretariat of the League, and the Body of Delegates is to recommend the reconsideration of treaties which may appear to have become inapplicable to existing conditions. Treaties inconsistent with the Covenant itself are to be abrogated.

In a changing world the League may be called upon to face difficulties now unforeseen. Reliance is not placed on a rigid system which might create a false popular sense of security. The Covenant seeks rather to direct the attention of the peoples of the world to foreign policy and to international relations as one of the chief responsibilities of democracy, and enables them to find their own security in that continual vigilance which has so often been called the price of liberty.

The United States and World Unity.

A great movement is upon us. It has suddenly begun to assume vast dimensions, and uncontrollable speed. The people are awaking to it, and responding. It has passed out of the minds of the dreamers into the hands of the statesmen and doers. It has been called the Peace Movement. But it has gone even beyond peace in its enthusiasm. Peace has become only a consequent of something greater and more positive. It has become not merely the peaceful relationship of nations, but the political organizations of the world through courts and parliaments for the common welfare of the united nations.

The peace movement today means not only the cessation of wars, but the establishment of some sort of political unity among nations that have ceased to make war. Or one might say that peace, the cessation of war, will only follow a new world unity. In this new peace movement, this enthusiastic outreach of the people for a reign of law, in this awakening of the world to a brighter vision, in this sudden kindling of new international sentiments, in this growing dream of brotherhood, in this attempt at a world organization, some nation must lead the other nations, just as in a movement among men some one man must be its prophet.

The one nation that can lead—whose duty it is to lead,—yes, who must lead, unless she fail of her own high destiny, is the United States. Everything in her past, present and future is assertion of this fact.

(a) She is remote from other nations, and has been able to work out her destiny unhindered and unhampered by those dreads and suspicions and fears that continually hover over the interlocked European nations. By her very locality she is the one unmilitary nation of the world. Count Apponyi in his recent visit to America, in calling upon her to lead referred to the fact that she had no international memories to hinder her. She has had no entangling alliances with other nations that close her lips when she would speak. She, by her very isolation, has been the long enemy of none and the long friend of all. The very distance of the seas has enabled her to put her money into that educa-

tion and culture that looks toward justice and prosperity and goodwill as her national security, rather than militarism. Militarism has never had the predominant hold upon her that it has upon all the states of Europe. She has been able to go by a new way to a new nationalism. She has been trained as was the Hebrew seer, by her very isolation, to say bold things.

(b) All her past compels her to be the leader of the new Peace Movement. Indeed, it is she that has brought it upon the world. Practically all her great statesmen, from Samuel Adams to President Taft, have been ardent advocates of the substitution of law for war. All her prophets and her poets have sung of a better and a nobler way than the way of war. She has had peace societies for a century. Her peace literature far surpasses that of other nations. Americans first organized world peace congresses. It was an American who bade two nations cease their warfare. The United States has led in the signing of arbitration treaties. Mr. Root signed twenty-four while Secretary of State. It was the United States which sent the first case to The Hague Court; it was the United States which secured its permanency; it was her delegates who introduced the great and important bills. The United States has created the first Peace Commission. And now it is a President of the United States who is the first to offer an unlimited arbitration treaty to the great powers of the world. The United States must lead, if only to be true to herself, and true to the world upon which she has launched the very movement itself.

(c) The United States has the temperament and the disposition that fits her to preach peace to the world. We would not be boastful, but facts are facts. Some other nations have set out and trodden weaker nations under foot and subjected them, through much brutality and bloodshed. Some nations have governed great colonies by means of iron and force. Some nations have wrested land from other nations for themselves. Some nations have suppressed the national aspirations of conquered peoples, and tried to conform them to a hated mould. Some nations have behind them records of ruthless exploits all over Europe, wherein many thousands have been slaughtered. Some nations today are eager to acquire new lands for colonization, and one wonders if they would stop at war in their desires. From all this the United States is practically free. She has set out on no wars for conquest of territory. When territory came into her possession by accident of war, she freed one nation immediately, and has it in her purpose to free the other at the right time. She has never desired to go

forth to war. Her temperament is not warlike. A Napoleon of today meets with little response. When some one of his temperament arises to declaim against arbitration as the way of weaklings, the silence that greets him is significant. Our temperament is industrial and commercial, rather than warlike. The nation shows no disposition—it never occurs to her people—to make war for more territory. The President of the United States was right, when he said at the third National Peace Congress at Baltimore, "This country does not desire any more territory." The temperament of this nation peculiarly qualifies her to lead.

(d) America has a political idealism that entitles her to play the part of prophet. It may seem strange to associate idealism with America. Most people refer to her materialism. And her idealism has not yet found much expression in art, literature or music. But no nation has manifested so superb a *political idealism,* say what one will, as has the United States. She has dared to trust herself to extremest democracy, as has no other nation. Her trial of liberty has always been bold and fearless. Her conception of freedom is the highest the world has known. In no other nation is such freedom of speech and press allowed. In no other nation are personal liberty and individual rights more respected, although existing in a social democracy. In all this way the United States has led. All the world has watched her bold experiment of democracy, and followed after, acknowledging her leadership, from Great Britain* eastward to Japan. It was natural that that ardent leader of democracy, Walter Walsh, should have cried out, in a moment of alarm: "If you fail us here, the hope of Europe is gone." Is it not for a nation that has thus led the world in national idealism, in democracy of states, to lead it in international idealism and the new democracy of nations? This she is doing, we believe. And, as a matter of fact, the world is looking to her to do this, as we shall see. And only last year Walter Walsh again used these same words regarding militarism:

"If the United States swerves from her high idealism of a great nation trusting to justice and fair dealing to all peoples, and, following in the steps of the effete nations of the Old World, addresses herself to militarism, it will dash the high hopes of every prophetic soul in Europe."†

*W. T. Stead, in his book, "The United States of the World," frankly says that the future of all other governments will be patterned on the United States.

†Extempore from an address in the Normal College of the City of New York, and often repeated during Dr. Walsh's tour under auspices of World Peace Foundation.

(e) Her unique and remarkable experience fits her, above all other nations, to lead in the movement for the peaceable dwelling together of all races and nationalities. She has demonstrated that it can be done. The statesmen have always been doubting what the seers have always taught—that the Creator has made all nations one, to dwell together on the face of the earth. "Can the different nations dwell together in peace?" they have asked. The United States has answered that question during the last fifty years, once and forever. For here every nation has dwelt together and become one people—a prophecy of how the world may some time become one. The United States has taught the world forever the lesson of the practicability of international brotherhood, a prophecy of the brotherhood she must now make real in Europe and Asia, as well as in her own borders. This truth so impressed the late Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, the Honorable David J. Brewer, that he attributed it to the direct leadership of providence. He said:

"There was a purpose that this Republic should lead in the great cause of the peaceful settlement of international disputes. This is a composite nation. You go to Germany and Germans control. There are a few others dwelling there, but it is a German nation. You go to Japan, and while it welcomes foreigners to dwell in its borders, yet it is a Japanese nation. But this Republic was settled, not by one race alone, but by Englishmen and Germans and Frenchmen and Swedes. Indeed, every nation on the face of the globe has sent some of its bravest and strongest and brainiest to help fashion this Republic, and out of these composite races is being formed this nation, which of all on the face of the globe most fully represents the brotherhood of man. And where there is that brotherhood there will be no fighting. It seems to me that one of the lessons we may draw from history is that the Almighty has, in the counsels of eternity, a purpose that this Republic shall stand in the front of all the great nations on the earth as leader in the cause of universal peace."*

(f) The fact that the United States is politically constituted of forty-eight states, which manage to live together with not even the possibility of war between them, makes her supremely capable of pointing the way to Europe. As Edward Everett Hale said, in 1895: "The United States of America is the oldest, as it is the largest and most successful, peace society which the world has ever known." These states are really little nations (sometimes big ones, for several of our states are greater than some nations), with parliaments and executives of their own, and with unlimited authority touching matters affecting the state alone. In the last one hundred years there have been between thirty and forty disputes between these states, which, if these states

*Mohonk Addresses, by David J. Brewer, P. 126.

had not created a Supreme Court of states would have been certainly adjusted by war.* Thus, by her very political constitution, she has shown the world how to get peace among fifty nations by creating a national parliament to make law for all the states together, and a Court where all disputes may be settled, and laws binding them to this Court, which are practically treaties of arbitration. Indeed, practically all writers who outline a federation of the world use the United States as model. The organized world will be the United States of the World, with an *inter*national parliament, an *inter*national court, and *inter*national law and treaties—and who knows but, some day, a President of the United Nations?

(g) And a last reason why the United States should lead is because *all the nations are looking to her.* She is the hope of the world. As we hinted, lovers of liberty in Europe have always felt that democracy was on trial in the United States. If it failed here, their hope for it in Europe would be dashed away. With the rise of the peace movement, the same feeling is now being expressed with regard to the new democracy of nations. The lovers of brotherhood and goodwill in Great Britain, Germany and France, are saying the same things. We quoted one of Britain's prophets. Sir William Randall Cremer has said almost the same words, as have our recent guests, J. Allen Baker, M.P., Dr. John Clifford and the Dean of Worcester. Three eminent visitors from Europe, Count Albert Apponyi of Hungary, Baron d'Estournelles de Constant of France, and Herr Licentiate F. Siegmund Schultze of Germany, came expressly to say these words. Count Apponyi, in a lecture in Carnegie Hall, February, 1911, after calling attention to the many things that hindered a strong peace sentiment growing rapidly in Europe, said he had come to tell America she must lead. (In every address he repeated this). He said:

"A classification of nations in this respect would show that, next to America, England is the country where the peace movement stands highest; France follows at some distance; in the rest of Europe the belief in peace and the possibility of permanent institutions to secure it is not yet a serious power in politics. Still we must have that force if anything is to be done . . . In this you Americans may efficiently help us . . . Highly as I rate the honor of having been called to address American audiences, I should think it more important work perhaps that Americans should come over to Europe and enlighten public opinion on a subject on which we have so much to learn from you."†

*Mohonk Addresses, by Edward Everett Hale, P. 2.
†Lectures in America by Count Albert Apponyi, P. 38.

Baron d'Estournelles de Constant closed every address in America with this appeal. Speaking at a farewell dinner in New York he said:

"I have found no such universal sentiment for peace anywhere as here. I have addressed many thousands in many states of your land, and they all said: We are with you. Here the old people, as well as the young, are interested in this great movement. It is not so in France. When I go home I shall tell them that here the young are old. My last words to you are that *you must lead. Only you can lead.* The peace of the world is with you. You will lead."

Speaking at a farewell luncheon at Sherry's, Dr. Siegmund Schultze said:

"I come to you in the United States as the man from Macedonia came to Paul, saying only: 'You must come over and help us.' We peace workers in Germany look to you. We have no Carnegies and Smileys there. We have some prophetic young men, though, and we look to you. You must not fail us."

How, then, shall the United States lead the world into the reign of peace?

How shall she, being best fitted, best preach the gospel of the new World Unity?

(a) First, by example. She must resist all attempts to lead her off in the direction the old nations have pursued,—that of resting their government on force and militarism, instead of free consent of the governed and democracy. Democracy and militarism are contradictory terms, for militarism puts the power in the head of the army. So far this country has been great and strong and free without any leaning toward that militarism which holds Germany and France, and even Great Britain, under its thumb. All Europe points to her as an example, of a great nation, strong, growing, flourishing, happy, free, because of true democracy. It encourages all the democratic impulses of Europe. It leads the advocates of republicanism to instance her as a land where the people prosper and are secure without the awful taxation militarism imposes, and without its tyranny and its other terrible economic wastes. The United States must continue to show the world that a nation can be great without having anything to do with armies and navies, except as they are needed for national police. Let us never go beyond that. She must have this sufficient armament, and in the present state of civilization it must be reasonably large, but she must show Europe that it is industry, education, farming, commerce, culture, the development of a high morale among her people, economic justice for all men, that she is directly concerned with, while

military matters are only an incidental consideration. She must develop an integrity and uprightness among her people, and put reliance in that, rather than in universal military service and vast navies.

(b) The United States can show how a nation can be a gentleman, as an individual can be. This will have more influence in the peace movement than all the writing and talking that have ever been done. It has twice happened, and astounded the world. Once was the relinquishing of Cuba, and the other was in remitting the great debt China owed her, as indemnity from the Boxer uprising. China owed the United States $14,000,000. The United States played the gentleman and remitted a large part of this sum. That one act is better defense to the United States from attack by China than a fleet of gunboats covering the whole Pacific. China simply *cannot* make war with the United States after that act. She is now sending five hundred students a year to this country on the interest of this money, putting them in all our colleges. This deed also attracted the attention of all other nations, and even the most warlike said: "That is better than war."*

Yes, this is a peace-making government, and others will follow. The United States must show justice to all nations, the weaker as well as the stronger. It has been her general attitude of justice to *all,* great and small, that gives her power. It is because Europe and Asia believe she intends justice, not at all because of her vast military prowess (it is not vast) that she can step in between Russia and Japan and say: "Put up your swords, and come, reason together." She should so practice this justice that in the future she can do this with any two nations, without either having the slightest suspicion that she has other motives than the securing of peace and justice. She should be the friend of the weaker nations. It has been her friendliness to the South American republics that has made her the protector and peace-maker for them all. It is the fact that her Secretary of State went to them and assured them that the United States desired only to befriend them, and the fact of the creation of the Pan-American Union by our nation, *offering all the republics a home* THAT MAKES IT POSSIBLE FOR HER TO INTERVENE NOW BEFORE ANY TWO NATIONS COME TO WAR. It is such words as these from Senator Root that make our nation ever safe from attack of South America, even though we had not a single gunboat:

"Let us pledge ourselves to aid one another in the full performance of the duty to humanity which that accepted declaration implies,

*When this event occurred a German paper was quite vexed that the German Government should have permitted the United States to be the *first* to do such a piece of international courtesy.

so that in time the weakest and most unfortunate of our republics may come to march with equal step by the side of the stronger and more fortunate. Let us help one another to show that for all the races of men the liberty for which we have fought and labored is the twin sister of justice and peace. Let us unite in creating and maintaining and making effective an all-American public opinion, whose power shall influence international conduct and prevent international wrong, and narrow the causes of war, and forever preserve our free lands from the burdens of such armaments as are massed behind the frontiers of Europe, and bring us ever nearer to the perfection of ordered liberty."*

(c) She must show Europe the new way, by her just treatment of all races within her borders. In Europe, with few exceptions, foreign races within the nation are despised and ill-treated, and held down by the army and by force and ignorance. Here is the opportunity of the United States to show a new attitude, the Christian, that of the strong toward the weak, the many toward the few. She has, curiously, been—both generous and mean in this regard. She freed the blacks, but has never given them full protection, opportunity or justice yet. Yet, on the other hand, she has thrown open her gates, with no restrictions, except those necessary to safeguard the health and morals of the nation, to millions from every land and of every race. To these she has extended the opportunity of citizenship, educating them free in her public schools. There has been little discrimination of either race or religion. She has bred a great, homogeneous nation out of the most diverse peoples ever brought together. She has shown how all these peoples can be persuaded to sink nationality and ancient prejudices in one common brotherhood of American citizenship. She has here the most unique opportunity any nation has ever had, and must pursue it unswervingly. One great cause of war is the arrogance of stronger nations towards the weak. The United States will show the attitude of friendliness instead of arrogance. In her colonial dependencies, as in the Phillippines, she will practice no exploitations, but only education, until she has raised them to the capacity of self-government. To make this spirit prevail in the world is her mission, and it is the spirit that fosters peace.

(d) It is easy, for the reasons given above, to make the people of the United States believe thoroughly in peace as the natural state of the world, and to make them ardent advocates of arbitration. This has been accomplished already, in a marked degree. Here peace societies are growing fast. Here large peace congresses are becoming

*Address of Secretary of State Elihu Root to the South American Republics.

frequent. Here the leading statesmen and business men are peace workers. Here a large peace literature is being produced. Here wealthy men are giving vast sums. All this should be accelerated. Everybody in this country should be converted. For every convert made here means more in Europe. A signal instance of this was recently seen among the Germans. The German-American Society passed strong resolutions favoring arbitration, thus committing the Germans of this country. It could not have been done in Germany. *But the act produced a remarkable impression in Germany.* Already the peace principles enunciated by the American-Scandinavian Society have attracted much attention in Scandinavian countries. And, above all, the United States should teach peace in the schools. Splendid work has been done here. But children growing to manhood imbued with the coming of peaceful bonds between nations instead of the military spirit will be a worldwide force for peace. The words of the great Horace Mann, uttered fifty years ago, are the words for our nation:

"The ministers of the gospel of peace may continue to preach peace, and still find themselves in the midst of war, or of all those passions by which war is engendered, unless the rising generation shall be educated to that strength and sobriety of intellect which shall dispel the insane illusions of martial glory, and unless they shall be trained to the habitual exercises of those sentiments of universal brotherhood for the race, which shall change the common heroism of battle into a horror and an abomination."

(e) Now let me make three final suggestions as to ways in which the United States can directly, as a Government, promote the peace cause. In two of these she has already made a beginning. In the other she should begin at once. She should begin the systematic and continuous practice of international hospitality. The visits of one group of men from one nation as guests of another group in another nation produced remarkable changes in international feeling. The exchange visits of editors, clergymen and workingmen between England and Germany are splendid corroboration of this. The Carnegie Endowment has already created a department for this work. But the government could do much more here than any group of individuals. The United States should invite the governing bodies of other nations to be her guests for a month at a time. Let her invite the Japanese Parliament this year. Let her send them all over the nation, showing them everything we have. Let her arrange for them to speak in every city and before all State Legislatures. It would do more to ward off that annual attack of Japan fever than four new battleships every year. Then let her do the same with other nations, inviting their

Parliaments, Cabinets, even their rulers, to conference together. She has already appointed a Peace Commission. When the other nations have appointed theirs, let the United States be first to invite them all to be her guests at Washington.

(f) She has led the world in arbitration. They were Americans—Franklin, Ladd, Channing, Burritt, Dodge, Garrison—who in the early days advocated it, when all the world was silent upon it. It was the delegates from the United States who insisted upon it at The Hague Conferences. The United States has signed arbitration treaties oftener than other nations. The signing of twenty-four arbitration treaties during Secretary Root's term of office far surpasses the record of any other nation. And finally President Taft's offering an unqualified treaty to the great powers of Britain and France puts the United States far in the lead. His own sincere advocacy of unlimited arbitration in every address he made has as greatly impressed the European powers as has the offering the treaties themselves. And now President Wilson and Secretary Bryan are assuming as splendid a leadership as did Mr. Taft. Already they have signed new treaties of arbitration with thirteen different nations, and Mr. Bryan says all nations will sign. And the President, in the attitude he has taken in the matter of adjusting the Colombia claims and in insisting that we keep faith with England on the question of the Panama tolls, has shown how the United States can be a gentleman.

It was the greatest international blunder of recent history when the Senate refused to ratify them. They are the logical fruit of one hundred years of our history. Practically every statesman and every journal agrees that the Senate acted counter to the wishes of the whole people of the United States. This nation believes in arbitration more than ever. It would stand before the nations discredited forever did it uphold the Senate's action. It would be breaking faith with civilization, for we offered the treaties. But we, the people of the United States, put this disgraceful political action of the Senate behind our backs, and say to Europe: "We intend to lead in this great movement of world unity in the future as in the past, and you must listen to our voice and not that of our non-representative Senate." As for us, we will make some Senate soon uphold these treaties, and then the United States must go and offer them to every nation of the forty-eight. The habit will spread rapidly. Already there are hints of England and France signing such a treaty. Others will surely sign. Let every true American *insist* that these treaties be signed, unamended,—and then shall the United States indeed have made the beginning of the end of war!

(g) But arbitration treaties, to gain the trust and confidence of the world, and to have permanent and binding power, must have back of them a permanent Supreme Court of Nations, where a bench of carefully selected and competent arbitrators, in whom the world has confidence as each nation has confidence in its highest judges, shall be perennially in session. As we saw in the beginning, our country is supremely fitted to lead here because she has tried the successful experiment of bringing forty-eight sovereign states to submit their disputes to a national tribunal. She has but to say to the world: "It works with states; it will also work with nations." But she should also lead here for the reason that she has already assumed that task. It was she who got the unanimous vote of all the nations for the Permanent Court at the second Hague Conference. It was she who proposed only last year a plan for the difficult and perplexing constituting of the Court. It should be the United States who should say to all the world: "Let us all get together now, and before the Third Hague Conference shall assemble, have plans so far formulated that this third parliament of the nations shall not adjourn before there is a Supreme Court of Nations established forever."

THE CHURCH PEACE UNION
70 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

Militarism as a Cause of the High Cost of Living

From the Report of the Massachusetts Commission on the Cost of Living
1910

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY
31 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.

Militarism as a Cause of the High Cost of Living.

From the Report of the Massachusetts Commission on the Cost of Living, 1910.

In weighing the causes that have contributed to increase the cost of living, this commission is convinced that a most far-reaching influence in creating, fostering and perpetuating high prices is militarism, with its incidents of war and waste and its consequences in taxation. The three great wars of the last decade and a half — the British-Boer, the Spanish-American and the Russo-Japanese — took millions of men out of the productive activities of our civilization into the wasteful activities of warfare, diverted the energies of other millions from useful industry in shop and mill and farm, and transferred their skill and labor to the production of war equipment, material, food and supplies for the armies in the field. This diversion of labor and capital from productive industry to waste and destruction, with the accompanying diminution of the necessaries of life and an inability to supply the world's demands, inevitably resulted in an advance of the prices of the commodities of common consumption.

In addition to these conditions, and incidental to them, the mania for militarism leads nations to plunge into debt in order to create and maintain armies that may

never fight and navies that may never fire a hostile shot. This mania has piled up huge financial burdens in England, Germany, France and other foreign countries, for meeting which the best energies of their statesmen are diverted to devise new methods of taxation. In the United States, as in Europe, the exactions of militarism and its burdens of a debt that gives opportunity to use the necessity to raise revenue for selfish purposes are prime factors in the economic waste that has produced high prices. This commission does not care to discuss the philosophy of militarism. It simply desires to show that war in all its phases is one of the most serious influences in producing present high prices.

The term "militarism" includes all that enters into the creation, organization, and preparation of armies and navies, as well as the actual warfare for which they are designed. The question of national defense, its wisdom or unwisdom, we need not discuss at this point; we are concerned only with its existence, its influence on our economic activities, its cost to the nation, and its part in bringing about the conditions now under discussion.

As showing the enormous demands that militarism makes upon resources, let us first note the comparative expenditures of the national treasury for the thirty-one years from 1879 to 1909. The figures are given both in amounts and in percentages of national revenue as follows:

Army	$2,465,096,479	= 20.2 per cent.
Navy	1,456,795,867	= 11.9 " "
Pensions	3,499,883,832	= 28.7 " "
Interest	1,309,026,795	= 10.7 " "
Total	$12,210,499,778	= 71.5 " "

The balance of the national income for those thirty-one years, amounting to $3,479,696,805, or 28.5 per cent. of the whole, was spent upon the civil administration of national affairs, Indians, legislation, law, justice, customs service, and all other miscellaneous activities of the nation.

Thus during this period 71.5 per cent. of the nation's

income, almost three dollars out of every four of revenue was spent on the destructive agencies of war, for the interest paid on the debts contracted for warlike purposes, and in pensions to the victims of war, — the army of surviving economic inefficients created by war.

The national debt of the United States is a monument to our past wars, and is as follows:

NATIONAL DEBT OF THE UNITED STATES, NOVEMBER 1, 1909.

Debt bearing interest	$913,317,490.00
Debt interest ceased	2,686,895.26
Debt non-interest-bearing	379,143,046.78
Total	$1,295,147,432.04
Treasury notes and other paper currency, secured by cash in the treasury, which may be regarded rather as a public convenience than a public debt	$1,366,277,869.00

Eliminating the nominal debt indicated by notes and paper currency in circulation, with other credits, and assuming the population of the United States to be 94,000,000, the per capita debt would amount to almost exactly $10.00.

In addition, there are debts of the states, counties, and cities of the country, about 25 per cent. at least of which may be assumed to have been the contribution of the states to national militarism, the rest of the debt being supposedly for improvements representing economic values. These debts represent an average per capita of $22.40, which, added to the national per capita, yields a total debt of $36.80 per capita.

In the one hundred and twenty-six years of our national existence, besides the War of the Rebellion, we have had wars with three foreign powers — England, Mexico, and Spain. Whether or not any or all of these wars were preventable is a matter of merely academic interest at this time. Though they covered only six years of our national life, and the rebellion four, these ten years were responsible for our huge debts. It is worth recalling that during the life of the republic we

have spent for all purposes the sum of $21,518,871,351, and of this amount $16,567,677,135 was devoted to militarism and its incidents, and only $4,951,194,216 to the activities of peace. It is particularly worthy of note that the money spent on militarism by this republic in the one hundred and twenty-six years of its political life, $16,567,677,135, exceeds the gold production of the world since the discovery of America — thirteen and a half billions of dollars — by three billions. These figures are impressive.

In spite of our natural strategic advantages, our continental isolation, and practical economic independence, the United States has multiplied its expenditures for national defense two hundred times during a period when our population has increased only twenty-two times and our coast line lengthened three times. Our danger from attack has not increased; our wealth, numbers and other circumstances would imply that it has diminished; and yet we are spending more for defense than France, only about $36,000,000 annually less than Germany, and $66,000,000 less than England,— countries lying at the very heart of militarism, and all dependent on imports for part of their food supplies.

We cannot, in view of these considerations, escape the fact that militarism is a cause of enormous waste in this age. Its world-wide existence and character make it the most difficult of all problems to solve, just as the logic upon which its existence is based is the most intractable to combat and controvert. National honor and safety are the catchwords of a system that is bleeding the world to death; the former, shadowy though it may be, is more in evidence abroad than at home; and so far in the life of the republic the latter has been jeoparded more frequently by our inhabitants than by foreign foes. Nevertheless, the bogey of foreign aggression and invasion is periodically invoked to bolster up the system of militarism whenever it appears to need support and whenever the appropriations do not meet the desires of those whose economic existence depends upon the production of the instrumentalities of war and waste.

The following figures, covering the period from 1793 to date, one hundred and seventeen years, incomplete as

they are, make an impressive exhibit of the waste of life and treasure that militarism has brought to civilization:

WARS AND THEIR COST

Dates.	Countries Engaged.	Cost.	Loss of Life.	Armies in the Field.
1793-1815	England and France	$6,250,000,000	1,900,000	3,000,000
1812-1815	France and Russia	450,625,000		1,500,000
1828	Russia and Turkey	100,000,000	120,000	
1830-1840	Spain and Portugal (Civil War).	250,000,000	160,000	300,000
1830-1847	France and Algeria	190,000,000	110,000	150,000
1848	Revolts in Europe	50,000,000	60,000	
1845	United States and Mexico		10,000	90,100
1854-1856	England	371,000,000	609,797	1,460,500
	France	332,000,000		
	Sardinia and Turkey	128,000,000		
	Austria	68,600,000		
	Russia	800,000,000		
1859	France	75,000,000	24,000	128,000
	Austria	127,000,000		200,000
	Italy	51,000,000		50,000
1861-1865	The Rebellion	5,000,000,000	294,400 200,000	2,041,600 750,000
1864	Denmark, Prussia and Austria	36,000 000		
1866	Prussia and Austria	330,000,000	57,000	639,000
1864-1870	Brazil, Argentine and Paraguay,	240,000,000	330,000	
1865-1866	France and Mexico	65,000 000	65,000	100,000
1870-1871	France	1,580,000,000	311,000	1,713,000
	Germany	954,400,006		
1876-1877	Russia	806,547,489	180,000	1,500,000
	Turkey	403,273,745		
1898	Spain and the United States	1,165,000,000	20,000	300,000
1900-1901	Transvaal Republic and England	1,000,100,000	91,000	400,000
1904-1905	Russia and Japan	2,500,000,000	555,900	2,500,000
Expense of wars, 1793-1860				$9,243,225,000
Expense of wars, 1861-1910				14,080,321,240
Total				$23,323,546,240
Loss of life, military service				5,098,097
Armies in the field				16,822,200

The figures are estimates, but estimates by trained scholars and statisticians; and they can, after all, represent only a small part of the loss of life and treasure.

The cost of the Napoleonic invasion of Russia in 1812, and the subsequent wars which ended in the overthrow of the Emperor of the French, are from figures given by Jean S. Bloch, and cover only the actual loans, issues of paper "assignats" to meet military expenses, and the English subsidies paid to Russia. The destruction of Moscow and the enormous waste in other directions are not calculated.

The waste and the loss which the Napoleonic era, including the French revolutionary, directory and consular wars, inflicted on Italy, The Netherlands, the German kingdoms and principalities, Spain, Portugal and Egypt,

have not been estimated; but economically, financially and humanly they must have been enormous. Leroy Beaulieu states that the age of the revolution and the empire cost France $4,200,000,000; and up to the year 1799 her loss of men amounted to 1,500,000.

When the French Revolution became successful, the enormous public debt of France, in the neighborhood of a billion dollars, was wiped off the slate, ruining thousands who had invested in good faith, counting on the permanency of the French monarchy. The new rulers were wasteful and careless, and ruined trade and commerce for a time by war and financial ignorance. Napoleon brought order out of chaos, but his ceaseless warfare piled up debts. The public debt kept on increasing by leaps and bounds, mainly through militarism and war. Thus the French national public debt was, in

1852	$1,103,200,000
1871	2,490,800,000
1876	3,981,800,000
1895	5,193,600,000
1906	5,665,134,825

It is worthy of remark that at the outbreak of the French Revolution France was paying out 80 per cent. of her income for military purposes and the debts contracted for wars. The French and Indian seven years' war cost France $472,000,000, and the war of American independence, waged for the colonies and against England, cost nearly as much, and eventually destroyed the monarchy.

The enormous national debt of England has been piled up almost exclusively by the constant wars, great and small, in which she has been engaged. The growth of this debt from its inception to date is interesting economically; it began, in England, practically with the establishment of a standing army of a permanent character. The following short table of English wars and debts is significant:

1689.	After expulsion of James II	$5,270,000
1713.	After War of Spanish Succession	268,400,000
1743.	After War of Austrian Succession	390,000,000
1756.	After French and Indian War	697,500,000
1783.	After American Revolution	1,190,000,000
1793.	After ten years of peace	1,140,000,000
1816.	After Napoleonic wars	4,380,000,000

The fact that in 1814 France was paying a sum of only $12,600,000 per annum in interest on her debt, while England was paying $160,000,000, is interesting not only as showing a higher financial skill by Napoleon in conducting his operations, but also as throwing a great light on the losses that must have come to the countries defeated and conquered by Napoleon, who made the conquered, where possible, pay the expenses and armies of the conqueror. Europe was destroying her resources and population; England was saved from bankruptcy by having the world on which to draw.

In 1800, while the ordinary administrative civil expenditures of this republic amounted to only $1,330,000, the expenditures for pensions and naval and military purposes reached the sum of $9,470,000. The country's debt in 1812 was about $45,200,000, but by the time the war with England closed it had been run up to $127,300,000. The country then settled down to the ways of peace, industry and trade in a national sense, our only trouble being petty Indian outbreaks, so that by the time of the Mexican War the national debt had been paid off.

The expenses of the government have since been constantly increasing; but although the extension of territorial settlement and the increase of population would have entailed increased expenses in the administration of public affairs, the largest item of expense has always been for military affairs, army and navy. The War of the Rebellion, with its waste and loss, may have been preventable; we are to look at that tremendous contest simply from its economic side. Its effects on every phase of American life were far-reaching, and on none so impressive as on the economic side. Five years after its close the United States, in 1870, as a result of it, was paying out in interest charges alone twice as much as the whole cost of the government in 1860. Prior to the Rebellion the budget of the army and navy amounted to $27,980,000, and, though the vast armies that had carried on the struggle had vanished and were absorbed into civil life, the army and navy in 1870 cost the country $79,430,000.

The following table of the indebtedness of the principal European countries and their dependencies is an impressive

showing of the enormous capital taken from productive industry and the work of civilization and wasted in death and destruction. The debt thus piled up for war and waste remains a burden on the life of the world, — a burden calling every year for a huge interest payment of more than a billion dollars taken from the earnings of the nations. This is supplemented annually by many other billions to maintain huge armies and navies of men taken from industry, who are organized, trained and maintained for the day when they will again be hurled at each other, to duplicate the destruction of the past and pile up new and heavier burdens upon the thrift and industry of the world.

INDEBTEDNESS OF NATIONS, WITH AMOUNT OF INTEREST PAYMENTS, COMPUTED UP TO THE YEAR 1906.

Country.	National Debt.	Annual Interest Payments.
Austria-Hungary	$1,092,863,255	$48,214,794
Belgium	621,640,286	24,925,694
Denmark	64,231,713	2,197,120
France	5,655,134,825	237,855,497
French Algiers	6,323,838	737,440
German Empire	855,963,454	30,358,300
German States	2,957,356,846	120,537,100
Netherlands	458,069,211	14,718,505
Portugal	864,701,627	21,369,000
Roumania	278,249,239	16,086,604
Russia	4,038,199,722	172,385,884
Russia, Finland	27,073,900	1,205,734
Switzerland	19.787,648	1,037,642
Turkey	458,603,213	9,499,450
United Kingdom	3,839,620,745	150,295,210
British Colonies	612,510,084	22.802,418
Spain	1,899,265,995	69,256,706
Italy	2,767,911,940	190,803,281
Totals	$26,517,504,541	$1,134,296,179

The table of prices computed by Professor Roland P. Falkner for the Aldrich report shows that the prices of food during the Mexican War period jumped about 8 per cent. During the Crimean War, when the wheat and grain markets of Russia were closed and exportation except by land practically stopped, food prices in 1853

went up 14 per cent. and in 1854 20 per cent. above those of 1852, while cloths and clothing advanced about 12 per cent.

In 1855 and 1856 the advance in food prices over 1852 was 25 per cent; and in 1857, a year of panic and industrial and business disturbance, prices rose again to 30 per cent above the year preceding the Crimean War. Prices dropped back again in 1858 and in 1859, but never to the 1852 standard. The level in 1860 was the normal, below which the 1861 prices dropped 5 per cent. Then came the War of the Rebellion, with its waste, the sealing up of the South and its elimination from the economic life of the country, — an era of vast borrowings and expenditures for purposes and materials that meant economic waste on a huge scale, disturbance of agriculture and destruction of the American marine and foreign commerce, the removal from all economic production of large armies of men, and the displacement of other armies of workers to supply their needs. To these were added the practical disappearance of gold as a circulating medium and the introduction of a depreciated currency. These evils were capped by a stoppage of immigration and a cessation of the opening up and productive settlement of our western lands.

Relatively to 1860, the normal year, the advances of prices of food and clothing were:

Year.	Food.	Clothing.
1862	10.4	24.1
1863	33.0	91.6
1864	65.8	160.7
1865	116.5	199.2
1866	73 6	126.6
1867	63.9	79.9
1868	64.2	46.8
1869	62.9	47.5
1870	53.8	39.4
1871	69.3	33.3

In those years food products were bought, sold and paid for in the depreciated currency of the day.

In 1879, 1885 and 1886 food prices dropped below the normal of 1860, and clothing, except in 1880, was cheaper down to 1891 than before the war; but food prices never

went back to ante-bellum rates. Industrial America developed more rapidly than pastoral and agricultural America during the seventies and eighties.

In 1900 Professor Falkner prepared tables of wholesale prices, based on the average of the nine quarterly prices from January, 1890, to January, 1892, which were used as the normal. The period covered was from January, 1890, to July, 1899, practically a period of peace, accompanied by a great agricultural and grain-growing development; a gradual decay or restriction of cattle ranching, incident to the occupation of homesteads by settlers; and the economic organization of the packing and canning business controlling the meat supplies. The prices of food, clothing, fuel and building materials during this decade show in wholesale prices a fairly level condition. The highest prices of foods were in April, 1891, when they were 4.8 per cent. above normal; the lowest in July, 1896, when they were 25 per cent. below normal — doubtless the result of great harvests at home and abroad, and of the slow recovery from the industrial depression that had prevailed for several years. In 1896 was reached substantially the low limit of the recession of prices that began in 1873. In 1897 the upward tendency of prices began, as is shown elsewhere in this report. This tendency took on new momentum when the Spanish-American War broke out in the following year. High-price conditions were stimulated by the scarcity and artificial demand induced by that outbreak and by the British-Boer and Russo-Japanese conflicts, which came in rapid succession.

THE MASSACHUSETTS PEACE SOCIETY

THE ARITHMETIC OF WAR

BY

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251 Causeway Street
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THE ARITHMETIC OF WAR

I

IN itself, arithmetic is not a very fascinating study, except to the few who love mathematics for its own sake. And, at first sight, the arithmetic of war is not likely to appeal to the average person as of supreme interest. Yet, arithmetic may be made very absorbing, when applied to certain great human interests. Mere counting, mere adding and substracting and multiplying, is not of itself a highly diverting pastime; but suppose you are counting things that are vital to your life and the realization of its ideals,— then counting becomes a highly engrossing occupation. If we are interested in collecting coins or stamps, the counting of coins or stamps becomes a pleasurable hobby. If we are building a house, especially if we are sufficiently interested to help plan the house ourselves, the arithmetic of house-building is likely to become a passion for the time being. The business man does not find the counting of his profits a dull occupation, particularly if the profits are worth counting. Indeed, many are willing to spend their lives over the arithmetic of business. Thus it is with all human vocations: each one has its arithmetic, without the knowledge of which these vocations would be unintelligent and impossible.

Many of us are more interested in the economic aspects of civilization than we think. Truly, a large part of what we call human progress is the story of the increase of the

race's wealth and its distribution among men. Much of the business of government has to do with ensuring and encouraging the material prosperity of its citizens. Much of the business of the great movements of reform, which are so prominent at the present day, have to do with the economic problems that confront society and only in terms of which other reforms, seemingly more idealistic, are possible. Yes, it may as well be understood at the very outset that the moral, religious and intellectual ideals of mankind are impossible unless men are properly clothed and fed and housed and surrounded with those manifold opportunities for development which only money can bring. Thus, the economic problem is, in a sense, the fundamental problem of civilization. Money may not involve ideals; but any large realization of ideals in this world certainly involves money.

So, it ought to be of even thrilling interest to every citizen of the world to know precisely the great currents of contemporary history which greatly help or impede the material prosperity of mankind. Especially, here in the United States, where the masses of the people are more and more controlling and guiding those social forces that make for material welfare, it is the duty and the privilege of every citizen, man or woman, to be thoroughly conversant with the arithmetic side of social progress.

The bookkeeping of the human race has thus far been a rather haphazard affair. Often the accounts have not been kept by experts. Often those in charge of the books have betrayed the people's trust. Often the figures have been juggled for the sake of the private ambitions of those in power, or to make the figures tell a story that might fool mankind into a feeling of security. But the

worst part of history's ledger, by far the largest part, is the part devoted to the expenditures for wars, the part whose entries are written with human blood. Let us look at some of these entries for a while and consider just what they mean to us.

Remember that first of all we are to study the arithmetic of war for its own sake. After we have done that, it will be time enough to interpret its significance.

II

At the great Fourth American Peace Congress, held in St. Louis in 1913, a most eloquent address was given by Dr. Thomas Edward Green on "The Burden of the Nations." One could not better introduce the subject of the arithmetic of war than to quote a few of the amazing facts brought out in that address. After pointing out that, during 1912, the nations spent two billions, two hundred and fifty millions of dollars in the creation of military and naval armament, Dr. Green reviews the military expenditures of England, Germany, France, Russia, and Japan, as follows:

"In England to-night there are 1,086,707 absolute paupers. Mr. Lloyd George, has stated that under the old age pension bill it has been discovered that there are in Great Britain 12,000,000 people actually entitled under the terms of the act to public charity, to enable them to end their lives decently, to die comfortably and be buried respectably. Twelve million people so poor that they need public aid to get out of the world in a respectable fashion. And yet with her army of 735,000 men, with her navy of 633 war vessels of all sorts and kinds, Great Britain is spending this year thirty-five per cent of her entire income, above the interest on her stupendous debt, in creating and maintaining her naval and military armament.

Take Germany. There are 65,000,000 people in Germany, so congested that they average three hundred and ten (310) to the square mile the empire over. You can scarcely conceive of such congestion, and that, too, has created strange and unnatural economic problems.

Germany has a debt of three and a half billion dollars gold, every cent of it war debt. Upon the backs of her people rests an enormous rate of taxation, a taxation that restricts her progress, for she spends over forty-five per cent of her entire income in order that she may maintain her standing army of 1,763,000 soldiers, and build and keep in working order a navy commensurate with that of her great arch-enemy across the channel.

France, ever mindful of her lost provinces, still decorating with pathetic mourning the little statue in the Place de la Concorde, that bears the name of Strasbourg; France, impoverished still by the millions of her men, strong in their manhood, who went to death following the Corsican; France carries a war debt of over six billion dollars and spends thirty-seven per cent of her entire ncome in preparation for war. . . .

Russia covers one-seventh of the land surface of the globe. Out of her stupendous population of millions, seventy-two per cent can neither read nor write, and in the sense that we know it, there is not a public school in the whole empire. And yet Russia carries a crushing debt of four and three-quarter billion dollars. She borrows money every spring to pay the interest on it and yet she has provided this year four hundred and ninety-seven million dollars as a military budget; and at the knout's end she is taking by increased taxation from her peasant and poor people the money with which to build and equip a navy to replace the one that Togo sent to the bottom of the Sea of Japan.

Well, there is Japan. . . . Fifty millions of industrious, economical, patriotic people wresting a living from a soil impoverished by centuries, without national resource, figuring income and expense to the last penny; halving each pitiful coin in willingly borne taxation — eighty-

five per cent of Japan's income is derived from taxation — she has nothing else. It means that her people must give each year an average of twenty-five per cent of all they have and earn to pay Japan's penalty for following her 'Great Ally' in the race of mad militarism.

Only fifteen per cent of the land of Japan is arable and that only under forced intensive farming; all the rest of it is waste sand, rock and lava, which would not grow even a blade of grass, and even the fifteen per cent of arable soil must be artificially fertilized before it will bring forth anything at all.

Japan has a national debt of $1,378,000,000, an average of $21.75 for every man, woman and child in the whole empire."

We do not think of our own United States as a militaristic nation; and when we think of "the burden of armaments" it never occurs to us to class our country with countries like Germany and England and Russia. Yet, the arithmetic of American military expenditures is startling to one who has not studied it. Dr. Green gives us a few introductory figures in the following language:

"It is marvelous: this supreme America of ours. We have a national debt of a round billion dollars, every penny of it war debt, too. During the past thirty years our population has increased eighty-five per cent, our wealth one hundred and eighty-five per cent and our expenditures four hundred per cent. For the ten years before the Spanish War, we appropriated yearly $24,000,000 for our army and $27,000,000 for our navy. Since the Spanish War each year, $83,000,000 at least has gone to the War Department, an average of $108,000,000 to the navy. In the ten years we have spent $1,975,000,000, enough to have paid the entire national debt and to have built three Panama Canals.

During 1912, our entire income was $702,000,000. Of this we expended $654,000,000, and of that expenditure $444,000,000 went to war, navy and pension departments.

Seventy-two per cent, that is, of the entire income on war, past, present and to come; and twenty-eight per cent, or what was left, for all a great nation should do—deserts to be irrigated, swamps to be drained, rivers to be deepened, harbors to be dredged, forests to be guarded, tuberculosis to be fought, cancer to be investigated, ten million negroes to be cared for — all, all the mighty problems of a free Republic to be met, and we kept twenty-eight per cent of our income, and gave the rest to a cheap imitation of European insanity.

The whole public school system of America cost in 1912 the sum of $426,250,434, and we lavished $444,000,000 on our pet delusion.

A single battleship costs at least $10,000,000; its upkeep at least $750,000 a year. Our big guns cost $75,000 apiece. Every time a gun is fired it burns $1,000 to ashes, and all this while people starve in our slums, children die like flies for lack of pure milk and half-famished girls sell their virtue for the price of life."

The facts which Dr. Green here gives us are mingled with his obviously implied opinion that these expenditures are not justified. Just now we can well reserve judgment on this point. First of all, we want the facts themselves. Remember then, that every year, not in times of war but in times of peace, the world spends over two and a quarter billion dollars for war preparations alone. In her "Outline of Lessons on War and Peace," Lucia Ames Mead reminds us that this sum equals $2.25 spent every minute during the entire Christian era, or a pile of dollar bills arranged like leaves in a book 116 miles high; that loss of earnings of non-productive soldiers doubles this amount; and that the total annual income for the peace cause in the whole world equals less than the cost of one single torpedo-boat destroyer. And, since we are interested particularly in our own country's part in this world

expenditure, remember that the United States has spent during its existence $21,500,000,000 and that of this sum $16,000,000,000 was sunk in the expenses incident to wars that actually occurred and to the conjectural wars of the future. In her book "Swords and Ploughshares," Mrs. Mead points out that while our population increased thirty-five per cent in sixteen years, our naval expenditures increased six hundred per cent.

These figures of the money spent in preparation for war are stupendous enough to make one think. But they tell only a part of the story: for this great expenditure means a vast system of taxation by which the common man has to lower his standard of living. Nor do these taxes represent governmental expenditures upon constructive projects for the common welfare: they are spent upon the agencies that tear down instead of building up, for war always destroys and never builds. Of course, if war is inevitable, all this cannot be helped; but the facts remain the same,— and it is the facts that we are after now. These figures, then, represent the support by the government of millions of men who are withdrawn from life's useful occupations together with hundreds of thousands of men who are likewise withdrawn from the constructive work of the world to build warships and forts and guns. Thus, even in times of peace, expenditures for war have not only a direct but an indirect effect upon the fortunes of every man, woman and child in the world.

If this is true in times of peace, how much more dire and far-reaching are both the direct and indirect effects of the war system in times of war. No one knows more thoroughly than the business man what a disturbing and revolutionary effect war has upon the business of the

world, upon which the material fortunes of the individual absolutely depend. Perhaps the easiest way to prove the anarchic effects upon business interests of war is not to quote a great many bewildering figures, which could very readily be done; but to cite the fact that the commercial bodies of the world are more and more protesting against the war system. Not long ago, the World Peace Foundation published a pamphlet entitled "Chambers of Commerce for Arbitration." In this pamphlet, 180 of the leading boards of trade and chambers of commerce in the United States are recorded as having drawn up strong resolutions in favor of arbitration as the true method of settling international disputes. When, in President Taft's administration, the arbitration treaties with Great Britain and France were before the Senate, such resolutions were passed by these organizations of business men all over the country. The representative resolution is that passed by the Directors of the Board of Trade of Worcester, Massachusetts. It reads as follows:

"*Resolved*, that it is the opinion of this organization, numbering in its membership more than 1,000 of the manufacturers, merchants, professional and business men of this city, that the progress of civilization, the safety and security of the business world, the happiness and prosperity of humanity and the best interests of our beloved country demand the ratification of the pending general arbitration treaties with Great Britain and France, as proposed by the President of the United States and negotiated by the Department of State; that the principle be retained of the joint high commission of inquiry to determine whether or not an international difference is subject to arbitration, as provided therein, and that said pending treaties be ratified without amendment."

Perhaps the bankers are more in touch with the pulse

of the world's business than any other class of men. They are thoroughly well aware of how closely interrelated are the financial interests of all nations and of how war disturbs vitally the financial equilibrium of the world, affecting not only themselves as bankers, but also the welfare of the people everywhere. At the meeting of the New York State Bankers' Association, at Ottawa, Canada, in 1913, Mr. George E. Roberts, Director of the United States Mint, said:

"It seems to me to be very appropriate that of all people the bankers should be foremost in a celebration of Peace. The banker knows better than anyone else how many are the ties of interest that bind the modern nations together. He knows better than anyone else that war is not only barbarous in its cruelties but barbarous in its ignorance of common interests. . . .

Men have learned that as a plain commercial proposition there is more to gain by trading with a neighbor than by killing him, or even by governing him; and for proof of the last proposition, see the experience of England with her North American colonies."

Suppose we consider an entirely different class of business men: the farmers of America. The National Grange, representing a million American farmers, has put itself on record as against war and as for some more rational means of deciding questions of international right. Here are the closing words of the report of its Committee on International Peace:

"Our Order has become a power throughout the land. The time has come when the patron is heard and his words and counsel considered in legislative halls. Let us, an unbroken band of brothers and sisters, lend our aid in this great and noble cause of peace, than which none greater can claim our labor and our prayers. Let us join

the ranks of those in other walks of life who are strong for this great end; let us add this one more bright jewel to the crown of our Order; and then coming generations will bless the name of the Grange, not only as giving freedom to the workers of the soil, but as being among the foremost to usher in the blessed day when peace, indeed, shall reign upon the earth."

This report shows that the farmers of this country thoroughly appreciate how the system of war interferes with what is, after all, the most important business of the world,— the providing of the world's inhabitants with their food.

We hear a great deal about the high cost of living in these days. How many of us have thought how far the highness of this cost is occasioned by war? In this connection, it is interesting to read the opening paragraph of the Report for 1910 of the Massachusetts Commission on the Cost of Living. Here it is:

"In weighing the causes that have contributed to increase the cost of living, this commission is convinced that a most far-reaching influence in creating, fostering and perpetuating high prices is militarism, with its incidents of war and waste and its consequences in taxation. The three great wars of the last decade and a half — the British-Boer, the Spanish-American and the Russo-Japanese — took millions of men out of the productive activities of our civilization into the wasteful activities of warfare, diverted the energies of other millions from useful industry in shop and mill and farm, and transferred their skill and labor to the production of war equipment, material, food and supplies for the armies in the field. This diversion of labor and capital from productive industry to waste and destruction, with the accompanying diminution of the necessaries of life and an inability to supply the world's demands, inevitably resulted in an advance of the prices of the commodities of common consumption."

Usually, when writers discuss the general subject which we are now considering, they put it under some such head as "The Economics of War." Our own study has been put under the more striking title, "The Arithmetic of War." This title is borrowed from the fascinating book for young people, "The Friendship of Nations," by Lucille Gulliver. Since we owe our title to her, we may well consult a paragraph or two which she gives us under this heading. She says:

"A war affects not only the people of the countries fighting, but it destroys also much property and business belonging to foreigners, and raises prices the world over. Every day we hear some one say: 'What shall we have to eat by and by if prices continue to go up? Everything costs so much!' This increased cost of living is partly due to wars and war expenditures. When goods and workmen become scarce in two warring countries, tradesmen in other countries are unable to obtain as great quantities of wares as they could before the war. So the prices of things which they are able to purchase, rise. The three great wars of the last fifteen years took millions of men in Africa, Europe, and North America away from their business of making useful and necessary things, and either set them fighting or to making arms and ammunition and other articles which were destined to be destroyed. In consequence the necessaries of life were lessened and made expensive for people all around the globe. If one country feels a calamity, another feels it also. As Carlyle said, 'There is not a red Indian on the shores of Lake Winnipeg can quarrel with his squaw but the whole world must smart for it; will not the price of beaver rise?' If the 5,560,000 men who at present make up the armies and navies of the nations were busy at useful occupations instead of doing little which makes business for their countries, the cost of living might decrease. That number of laborers, farmers, or manufacturers could

produce much, and from year to year make the world richer in many goods."

We have already seen, through the protests of chambers of commerce, how war affects the average business man; and, through the protests of bankers, how war affects those who are most directly in touch with the world's financial system. We have seen, furthermore, how the agriculturalists of America consider the war system in its relation to their own prosperity and progress. We have seen how war inevitably influences the cost of living of every man, woman and child within the sphere of its influence. Is it any wonder, then, that the great mass of wage-earners, too, have begun to wake up to the disastrous effects of the war system upon their own welfare? That these effects are disastrous is not merely a conviction of the plain laboring man, but it is also the conviction of those experts who are supremely qualified to judge with regard to the interests of labor. Let us consult one or two of these great experts on the arithmetic of war as applied to the great army of the wage-earners of the world.

Professor Alvin S. Johnson, of the Department of Economics, Cornell University, contributed a most significant article on "War and the Interests of Labor" to *The Atlantic Monthly* of March, 1914. In this article he contends that to-day, more than ever, the burden of war rests upon labor. He says:

"War, to the modern industrial laborer, is stark calamity and nothing more. It is a trade in which the price he pays may include pain of body and anguish of spirit, wounds, disease, and death, distress to his family and perhaps its dispersal and utter ruin. And the things thus dearly bought, national victory and national aggrandize-

ment, are of no profit to the industrial worker. His private possessions are not increased; his toil is not lightened, his life is not made brighter. War may increase his country's dominions, but the extension of boundaries offers no wider prospect to the worker or to his children. Grant that they participate in the feeling of enlarged personal significance which accompanies national greatness: it is a feeling that does not often kindle a consciousness dulled by toil. The luxury of the large map,— what a thing for a wage-worker to die for!"

Professor Johnson calls attention to the fact that the population of all civilized countries is more and more converging to the cities and towns and adds that "an urban state is less fitted than a rural state to bear the strain of war." For, as Professor Johnson urges:

"As a consequence of the concentration of population in the cities the economic life of a nation has come to be very delicately balanced. Food, fuel, and materials must be supplied to the cities with the utmost regularity; the products of the city must find an unobstructed outlet; otherwise a crisis is inevitable, with its attendant unemployment and distress. Even were a nation practically self-sufficing, it could hardly engage in a great war without a serious disturbance of its economic balance."

What is the relation of all this to the effects of war upon labor? Professor Johnson shows us when he says:

"Accordingly, the great war of the future, if such a war ever occurs, will be fought largely by city industrial workers, drawn to the standards under some form of universal military service law. Not merely those who are without dependents, but those who have wives and children, parents and sisters, relying upon them for support, will be required for national defense."

Professor Johnson further calls attention to the fact that the solution of the great labor problems which confront us is postponed indefinitely by the occurrence of a war: particularly, since "A war in progress distracts the public attention; its influence is inevitably reactionary."

Such is the testimony of a specialist in one of our great universities. He is not alone in his conviction. At the Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration, held in May, 1912, Mr. Charles Patrick Neill, United States Commissioner of Labor, delivered an address on "The Interest of the Wage-Earner in the Present Status of the Peace Movement." In this address, Mr. Neill pointed out that the wage-earners form the bulk of armies: that, to use his own words:

"In every armed struggle between nations it is from their ranks that is drawn a large proportion of the victims who are offered up as a sacrifice to the insatiable God of War; who go down in droves into unnamed graves; who endure all the grimness and the horror of war and reap little of its rewards or its glories."

But it is not only that the wage-earners are those who make up the majority of the soldiers, but that wage-earners pay disproportionate taxes. Mr. Neill says:

"So, too, it is upon the manual workers, the majority of whose incomes are small and barely suffice for the fuller needs of life, that the regular taxes levied to maintain a military equipment in time of peace, and the exceptional taxes levied to meet the drains of war fall most heavily. Not that they necessarily pay the largest share, but because every dollar drawn from the resources of the man with little income represents in reality a heavier burden, is a more real sacrifice, than perhaps ten or twenty times as much taken from the income of one who is better off."

Even this is not all: for, according to Mr. Neill, war greatly accentuates the problem of unemployment — one of the greatest problems which America has to face at the present time, even while at peace. Mr. Neill says:

"When a war ends that has drawn heavily from the ranks of the wage-earners, there is always a period required for industry to readjust itself to a normal basis. In the defeated country, especially, the recovery of industry is slow; and along with this a large number of troops is suddenly released from military service and added to the ranks of those seeking employment, and the struggle for work then takes on one of its saddest and most tragic aspects."

Is it any wonder, then, that the wage-earners of the country, both Socialist and anti-Socialist, favor the peace movement? They are sometimes bitter enemies with regard to other questions of economic policy; but they are united in their conviction that the war system is one of the worst enemies which they have to face. Thus it is that when, in last November, the American Federation of Labor held its annual convention in Philadelphia,— a convention representing 2,027,761 members, the Executive Council declared in its annual report that:

"The working people, the masses of the world's population, can end all wars if they but have the independence to think and to give their convictions reality by daring to do. Wars will cease only when society is convinced that human life is really sacred and when society establishes agencies, international as well as national, for protecting lives."

Nothing so far has been said with regard to the arith-

metic of the present European war. Up to this point our interest has been to state in fairly comprehensible terms what the war system costs and how the whole system reacts vitally upon the welfare of every class of people. Nothing at all has yet been said to prove that this cost, together with its effects, is not entirely legitimate and necessary. Before one can discuss this further question, one must be fully acquainted with the facts in the case. Before proceeding to an interpretation of these facts, it is well now to turn our attention to the present European war, in order that we may discover in a general way how it is affecting the economic prosperity and progress of mankind.

One of the best of the articles that have appeared on the cost of the present war in dollars and cents is by Yves Guyot, President of the Society of Political Economy of Paris, who writes in a recent number of *Everybody's Magazine*. First of all, he points out that "The cost of past wars will be of little use to us in estimating the cost of the present European war, for each of the important factors of cost has universally increased even since the last great conflict was waged." His estimate is based on the assumption that the war will last six months. The fulfillment of this assumption is already a matter of history. M. Guyot also assumes that the number of soldiers in the field is 12,000,000,— a very conservative estimate. Basing his calculations upon the figures of experts of various countries, he concludes that the direct cost of military operations during the first six months amounts to $5,400,000,000. But this is but a small part of the cost of the war. The largest item of all is the loss resulting from the fact that "for the entire length of the conflict, 12,000,000 men are taken away from their usual

occupations." Furthermore, "it is the strongest who are taken, and their presence in the army means an empty place in the fields and factories" of the best workers of the nations. Leaving out Servia and Japan, M. Guyot estimates that the value of lost production for the first six months of the war amounts to $7,986,000,000. Even this is not all: for, as M. Guyot tells us, "Man is a capital whose value has been most variously estimated." Taking the estimates of a celebrated actuary, M. Barriol, the conclusion is reached by M. Guyot, that the value of lost human capital for the six months is $3,578,000,000. Adding these three items together we get a grand total of $16,964,000,000 as the cost of the European war for the first six months. Think of it! Let us get these figures thoroughly in mind. From the standpoint of economics alone, Europe has already spent nearly seventeen thousand millions of dollars for the privilege of settling her international differences by the method of murder; and the end of the war is not in sight yet. And, when the war does end, what after all, will be settled? Any rational question of justice and right? Can machine guns argue and get at the eternal truth of great questions, upon whose solution European progress depends? Is it not true that the only thing that will be settled at all is that one side can kill and destroy more expertly than the other?

Strange to say, the figures just given represent but a part of the real cost of this war to civilization: for the financial effects of the war reach far beyond the countries that are engaged in it. All peoples are affected more or less disastrously by the conflict. For instance, during the first four months of the war the exports from the United States to Europe fell off over $382,000,000, as

compared with the corresponding months of the previous year. The decrease of imports into the United States from Europe was likewise great. This is but one instance out of many that might be cited to show the indirect effects of the war upon the welfare of the world.

III

We are sufficiently acquainted with the arithmetic of war to ask a further question for the consideration of which all these figures have been given. The question is, Does it pay civilization to try to settle its problems by war? Are we getting value received? Is it a good business proposition? If not, is there something else so worth while which civilization gets through these international slaughters, that wars are worth all the vast sums of dollars and lives that are paid for them?

During the nineteenth century the world spent forty thousand millions of dollars on wars. Is that the best investment that the nineteenth century could make with forty thousand million dollars? Some think that the investment was worth while because wars develop courage and bravery as no other human institution. We are told that war glorifies the human will; that it breeds firmness and tenacity of conviction; that it teaches self-sacrifice and a noble disdain of death. But is the courage that kills other men of courage the right kind of courage to develop in a sane civilization? Or, is the self-sacrifice bent upon the destruction of others with the same noble trait, a self-sacrifice that civilization can afford even as a luxury? Does not modern civilization afford much better fields for the exercise of courage and of daring,—and for the self-sacrifice that does not mean destruction, but constructive social service?

The world calls for a new kind of heroes: heroes to combat quietly and manfully with the wants and struggles of a race which confronts social problems of a magnitude to try the bravest hearts; intellectual heroes, moral heroes, heroes of philosophy, heroes of science; heroes who shall have no brass bands and drums and flags and cheers to lead them on, and so greater heroes than the days of war ever knew. The combative instinct will not die out: it is the palladium of personal dignity; but it will not be a combat of swords, but of principles; not on the field of Mars, but on the field of the moral majesties. It might be worth forty thousand million dollars for some century to develop this sort of heroes: but it has never been tried.

Some think the investment is worth while because war develops great traits of national character. We are told that many a nation has been awakened only by war out of a degraded lethargy that meant slow death. When war came, the place of venal self-seeking has been usurped by a generous loyalty and an exalted patriotism. We are told that nothing cements national unity like warfare against the common foe. We are told that nearly all great national movements have been launched by international war; that by the names of great wars we mark the epochs of the race. We are assured that Assyria, Persia, Rome, the Moslems grew great through war and declined when peace came at last. Even our own peaceful John Burroughs says: "Men who settle their differences by blows and blood are always the worse for it, but nations are often the better for it."

There is no doubt that war arouses a certain sort of national consciousness and that it does tend to unify a nation. But the great question is, What sort of a

national consciousness does war stimulate, and what sort of a national unity does it achieve? Is it the right kind of national self-consciousness and unity,— the kind that it achieves only by the denial and destruction of world consciousness and world unity? Are the projects of an individual nation, its ambitions, to be set up against the welfare of the world? At any rate, have we not come to a time in the world's history when the best sort of national consciousness is the sort that reaches out and embraces within its conception of social progress the constructive progress of all mankind? Is not the international mind and the world-outlook the real evidence of the sort of national consciousness that rightfully belongs to this twentieth century civilization? The self-consciousness that war breeds is a selfish consciousness: furthermore, a self-consciousness whose chief attribute is faith in the right of might rather than the might of right. Which would be the better investment for a century: to spend forty thousand million dollars in developing conflicting and mutually destroying national unities, strong as these may be: or to spend forty thousand million dollars in educating the peoples of the earth to the point where they would rather be right than mighty, and where they would forever afterwards never conceive that the progress of one nation is of more importance than the progress of mankind?

The fact is that the question, Does war pay? resolves itself into the following questions: First, are the causes which war attempts to decide of such value that it is worth while to pay the price of war to decide them? Second, granting that these causes are worth deciding at any price necessary, is war the cheapest, the best and the most rational way of deciding them?

If one had time, it would be instructive to review the hundreds of wars of the past and show that the causes of many of them were so trivial that they were not really causes at all: or, if they were, they were not worth any considerable price to settle by war or by any other means. However, it will conduce to fairness and get us to the real issue more quickly, if we assume that all the wars of the past were concerning great causes, upon the settlement of which vital human interests depended. In other words, let us grant that which is no doubt the truth, that nations do have genuine international differences which present problems that imperatively call for solution by some means or other. Then, the only thing we have to consider is the simple question: Is war the cheapest, best and most reasonable way of solving the world's great problems?

Surely it is not the most *reasonable* way: indeed, one can scarcely see how the settlement of an argument by force has any reason in it at all. The most reasonable way to enact international law is by world conference and co-operation: not by a refusal to conduct rational negotiations through experts in international relations. One of the persistent causes of war is to be found in the fact that international law in the past has been enacted by force and not by reason, so that it never reached any degree of adequacy or stability. Many of the greatest minds of the last century have shown to us what an international legislature and international court would mean to civilization.

No one has shown that this method of settling international disputes is impossible. Indeed, so many international disputes of great moment have already been settled by arbitration that the practicability of a rational

substitute for war is now fully proved. So the answer is, that war is not the most reasonable way of solving the world's great problems: blind force does not reason at all. International law ought not to be dictated by nations whose only right to dictate such law is that they can destroy more and kill more than the nations pitted against them.

And, since war is not the most reasonable way of deciding international differences, it is not the *best* way,—that is, the righteous way. Reasonableness and righteousness go together. Anything that is unreasonable is wrong: just as anything that is wrong is also unreasonable.

And surely war is not the *cheapest* way of arriving at conclusions with regard to international rights and obligations. It would not have cost the nineteenth century forty thousand millions of dollars to have settled her international quarrels through an international court; and even if it did, the nineteenth century would have been getting infinitely more value for the money, and instead of destroying civilization, would have been building it up. It is said that the European war is costing approximately fifty million dollars a day, apart from the greatest item of all, the loss of production due to the withdrawal of workers into the fighting armies. It surely would not cost fifty million dollars a day to hold sessions of a world's court; even if it did cost this much, stupendous as this sum is, Europe would be saving billions of dollars and would also have the advantage of settling its questions as nearly rightly as the reason of the experts of the world could settle them.

Thus, civilization has no reasonable defence at all for appealing to war as the supreme arbiter of humanity's great problems. It is neither the best, nor the cheapest,

nor the most reasonable way of coming to decisions with regard to those vital questions upon which the welfare of every man, woman and child in the world depends.

IV

It is high time to revise the world's bookkeeping. It is high time to cease spending the great majority of the world's wealth in the paradoxical business of destroying the world's wealth. Let us do some transferring of accounts and let us do it as soon as possible. Let us transfer the millions spent on the armaments of the world to such constructive purposes as the promotion of agriculture; the promotion of forestry; the promotion of the welfare of the laboring classes and the regulation of labor; the promotion of education and recreation; provision for defectives and dependents; the reclamation of the waste lands of the world; the encouragement of art and literature in all their forms; the increase of the economic prosperity of the average citizen so that his standard of life may be raised to that point where he can achieve some of the human ideals which he has been denied so long. The twentieth century has already spent seventeen thousand million dollars on this one European war: how would it be to dedicate seventeen thousand million dollars to be spent during the rest of the century in cultivating the good-will of nations toward each other: in creating a better international understanding, in putting civilization on such a basis that never again will it resort to the stupidity and the revolting folly of supposing that the great truths of the world are attained by slaughter, or that the order of the world is achieved through the riotous anarchy of bloodly strife?

It depends upon us whether this revision shall take place. But we may be hopeful: for the business men of the world are beginning to demand a new order of things. The wage-earners of the world are insisting that it shall come. The statesmen of the world are gradually attaining the international vision. And the women of the world are joining their brothers in demanding that the new internationalism shall no longer be considered a mere vision, but shall be achieved speedily as the only rational basis of the civilization of the to-morrows.

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Poole Printing Company
251 Causeway Street
Boston, Mass.

AMERICA'S INTERNATIONAL IDEALS

I

"IMAGINE Napoleon in the full tide of any of his successful campaigns stopping to explain to some neutral Power why he had destroyed some architectural treasures in the wrath of war!" exclaims a newspaper writer in a recent article. And yet, as this writer proceeds to state, European nations now at war have taken the trouble to make persistent appeals to the American people for their good will and justification. From the very first, not only the rulers, but the enlightened scholars of the various countries, have done their utmost to persuade the public opinion of the United States of the righteousness of their cause, the nobility of their ideals. This literature of justification, consisting not merely of tracts and magazine articles, but of hundreds of books, has grown so astoundingly voluminous that it is doubtful that any single person could read it through in his lifetime. Indeed, this war among the authors of the various nations who are trying to justify their respective countries is being waged on almost as great a scale as the war waged by means of guns and ships and aeroplanes. This war of ideas has been waged so earnestly and to such length that one American newspaper wittily asks, "Why not stop the war and let the German and English authors fight it out?"

However, this appeal of the warring nations of Europe to the American people is a phenomenon of incalculable significance both to America and to the world. First of

all, it means that the great American public which is reading this literature is receiving a practical education which enables it more than ever to think in terms of world problems and international outlooks. Never before has the average man of any country so had his vision widened by a compelled attention to the questions of international welfare and ideals. Every phase of the fundamental principles involved in the relations of nations and races has been emphasized and brought to his notice and has become part of his daily thought and conversation. This daily reaction in intellectual terms upon a great international situation is perhaps the most pervasive and important educational force that has ever molded the popular mind of any country. It will contribute mightily to the formation of the character not only of the American of this generation, but of the American of the future.

Second, this appeal to the American public is significant as showing that civilization has at last reached that stage where certain codes of righteousness inherent in the popular convictions are to be reckoned with. Whether any nation in Europe is really justified is not the point: the great and illuminating fact is that they *seek* justification. In other words, the world has come to a stage of progress where it is so well recognized that might alone does not make right, that might must perforce approve itself on grounds of morality before the conscience of the world. This is a phenomenon new in the history of war; and, to those who see deeply, it means the beginning of the end of the attempt to solve great problems by the use of mere force. For Europe so much as confesses that mere force and the victory that comes therefrom is not sufficient; force in itself can no longer

be justified by the mere glory of its prowess. No, the battle is lifted at last to the higher plane where reason is the only justification for the right,— the very reason which, in the logic of its growing supremacy, shall finally supplant force entirely as the court of great issues between peoples.

Third, this appeal to American public opinion is especially significant because it recognizes that America has a unique part in world welfare and world progress. America the conscience of the world! Now, a conscience when appealed to, must answer. It is not passive; it has unequivocal obligations to utter truth and to guide to righteous action. This is America's supreme responsibility at the present time: to answer the innumerable appeals to her sense of fair play and her ideals with an unambiguous message to Europe's warring Powers. Even if America had not been appealed to at all by these Powers, she ought, as the greatest of neutral nations, to realize her grave responsibility and supreme opportunity to do all that she can to aid the world to bring order out of chaos and to see to it that this order shall be a new order, in terms of which the war system shall be seen to be irrational and impossible.

To some minds it seems perilous for the American people to assume any definite responsibilities in the present conflict, since anything that the American people might say or do would seem likely to involve a breach of the neutrality which we have been trying to observe. But this is wholly to misunderstand what neutrality means. America is indeed anxious that her possibilities of service to the warring nations shall not be imperilled by her taking sides in favor of a nation, or group of nations, either through her government or through her

public opinion. But such neutrality with regard to countries does not at all involve a passive neutrality with regard to great principles of social welfare, which are being imperilled not by any one nation in particular, but by the very existence of the European conflict, especially as viewed in terms of its historic causes and possible results.

For ages the race has been struggling toward what we somewhat vaguely call civilization. This struggle has meant the gradual realization of certain fundamental desires and needs of the human spirit, the attainment of which was always thought of as involving a social order in which the individual would be given larger and larger opportunities for the achievement of those ideals which alone give value to his life. For the realization of this social order, not only the great leaders of men, but the masses have thought and toiled and sacrificed and died ever since man began to lift himself above the blind instincts of the brute. Nor has this ideal social order been merely an undefined dream. Gradually, as mankind has grown more self-conscious, it has gained definiteness, until it has been seen to involve the supremacy of certain principles without which any permanent civilization is impossible. The race learns by long and arduous experience: and the emerging of these principles themselves into the mere thoughts of what might some day be is a long and fascinating story, for which we have no time here. The great truth to be made apparent is this: these indispensable principles of human welfare have nowhere been more speedily or more fully realized than in the social and political institutions of the American people.

Now, if this is so, America has a unique responsibility

as the custodian and defender of these principles. If any social movement or international complication happens to involve the denial or betrayal of these principles for which America has fought and for which her civilization stands, the American people surely cannot be neutral with regard to such a social movement or international complication. Well, at this present moment these principles of human welfare are being denied, betrayed, prejudiced and imperilled by the European conflict together with its significant and far-reaching influences. Thus America has a decisive message to Europe, not only in behalf of her own ideals, but for the sake of the welfare and progress of human beings everywhere. In standing for these principles America will be exemplifying a new patriotism: a patriotism not merely to a plot of ground which we call our native land, but a patriotism to those truths upon the triumph of which depend the conservation of universal progress and the security of the future of the world.

What are these principles for which the race has struggled? In what way can American life be said to stand for them? How has Europe denied them? And what is America's message to Europe in view of this denial?

II

One thing for which the race has insistently struggled is the supremacy of reason in human affairs. If man is not yet "the rational animal" he has, at any rate, striven to become more and more rational. Indeed, one could almost define the progress of civilization as a struggle toward reasonableness. Thus the great philosophers have been busy from time immemorial in trying to express

in terms of reason what man is and what is his relation to his universe. The great scientists have bent all their energies to a discovery of the laws of reason that govern all phenomena and have attempted to reduce man's world to logical order. The great moralists have always appealed to reason as the final guide of human conduct, and have taught us to see the illuminating truth that to be right is to be reasonable, and that to be thoroughly reasonable is to be thoroughly right. Thus civilization, turning its thought more and more upon itself, has more and more endeavored to justify itself by its rationality. Thus it is that every institution has had to defend itself finally by convincing the world of the logic of its claims to recognition. Thus it is that the goal of education has been to teach the average man to reason for himself that he might indeed "prove all things" and "hold fast that which is good."

If there is any country which more than any other has recognized and approximated this desire for the reign of reason in human affairs, it is the United States. Indeed, this is the fundamental significance of American democracy. Why free speech? For the purpose of giving every man a free chance of expressing his reasoned convictions on all great issues of social welfare, and for the purpose of giving him the opportunity of freely hearing the freely uttered reasons of his fellows. Free speech makes possible social reason: that is its only excuse. And why the ideal of the universal ballot? So that reasoned convictions may be made final, operative and efficient in deciding the great social and political problems, the solution of which means human progress. This democracy is above all a school of reason; a school more effective than any ordinary school, since its mem-

bers must perforce suffer through their own errors and thus all the more speedily learn to think intelligently and cautiously upon those issues upon which their happiness depends. The public school system of America is the greatest system of education ever devised. It came into being in order that a self-governing people should achieve the intelligence to think and act through reasoned convictions rather than prejudice and impulse. Far as America is from realizing the perfect ideal of Utopian dreamers, she comes nearer than any country of history to exemplifying what might be called an "age of reason."

America has not only insisted upon the reign of reason in national affairs, but in the great problems of international relations as well. For over one hundred years there has been a growing movement among American thinkers of international repute in favor of arbitration and adjudication as the true methods of solving the difficulties that arise between nations. Ever since 1815, when the first peace society of the world was organized in America, the sentiment in favor of the rational settlement of international disputes has gained more and more adherents among the masses of the people. To-day the American organizations that look toward the substitution of law for war are among the most influential and efficient in the world. America's leadership for the reign of reason in international affairs has been evinced nowhere more conspicuously than at the Hague Conferences. America's representatives to these Conferences were men who had attained a high place in the regard of the American people. To the First Conference were sent men of such signal eminence as Andrew Dickson White and Frederick W. Holls. To the Second Conference were sent Joseph H. Choate and Gen. Horace Porter.

At both of these Conferences the American representatives made important contributions to the discussions. After the Hague Conference established the Permanent Court of Arbitration, the first case which this court had to decide was one brought before it by the United States and Mexico. Thus in the public mind, in public speech, and in conspicuous deed America has more and more been the champion of international democracy,—as over against the reign of autocratic force as the arbiter of international questions.

It is this principle of reason in civilization which the European conflict now ruthlessly repudiates. First, if the issue, whatever it is, over which the European war is being fought, is a rational issue, a civilization of reason would settle that rational issue by the only means that can settle issues of reason: namely, reason itself. But it is notorious that no serious and concerted attempt was made by the European nations to settle their difficulties by an appeal to arbitration. Indeed, the conflict was precipitated too quickly for public opinion to reason about the issues at all, or even to know precisely what the issues were. Instead of appealing to reason, which alone can settle rational problems, there was an immediate appeal to force, which in itself never solved a single rational problem. But it may be objected that the issues concerning which the European nations are fighting do not represent the sorts of problems which could be decided by an appeal to reason. If this is the case, then the problems themselves are not rational problems and European civilization sins in going to war on account of irrational or non-rational impulses and prejudices rather than on account of intelligible and intelligent ideals. If it be replied that not all European civiliza-

tion is to be thus accused, but only the selfish aggression of a single country or group of countries, which thus have only a secondary respect for a rational world order, one must, of course, modify his judgment of European culture as a whole in terms of this fact. However, the large truth which we contemplate is this: European nations are engaged in a desperate struggle of the primitive sort that endeavors to show not, through reason, which is right, but, through force, which is strongest. The dilemma is clear; either the issues of Europe should have been submitted to reason: or, if they were issues that were irrational to begin with, so that reason could not solve them, they should never have been allowed to prevail to the extent of causing the international anarchy which is Europe's situation at the present time. Thus, in either case, the European struggle represents a denial of the reign of reason in civilization,— the fundamental truth for which the American democracy has stood both nationally and internationally.

Furthermore, the European conflict violates the principle of reason in civilization through the fact that it indefinitely injures and retards that international co-operation in intellectual endeavors which has been one of the most signal expressions of the civilization of the last fifty years. Science, yea, culture of all sorts had become an achievement of the co-operation of all races and of all nations. One of the visible expressions of this cultural co-operation was to be found in the existence of the numerous international congresses and international journals, through which the leading thinkers of all peoples interchanged their thought and gained untold inspiration. For the time this is a thing of the past; and it will be years before this cordial international

co-operation is re-established. The destruction of the complex system of economic interchange is disastrous enough: but the destruction of the spiritual sympathy and the common cultural ideals of mankind is infinitely worse; for, after all, the former is the expression of the latter.

In view of this assault upon the supremacy of reason in civilization America's message to Europe is direct and unequivocal. In terms of our own democracy and its appeal to reason, Americans should convince themselves and the rest of the world that there is such a thing as a logic in history: that no question is settled until it is settled rationally and in accordance with righteousness and justice: that might without right is futile, since if a question is settled by might alone, it will arise to confront civilization in some form even more crucial than before, to demand settlement by intelligence and not by force. Thus indirectly the American people are constrained to feel that part of the solution of Europe's age-long difficulties is the gradual institution among the people of those efficient auxiliaries of reason, free speech and universal suffrage,— in short, democracy. For the more democracy comes to itself, the more is it opposed to the war system: since the war system is itself opposed to democracy's reason and moreover is utterly against the fundamental interests of the common man. Democracy is essentially antithetical to war, and war is essentially incompatible with the genius of democracy.

In the first place, war and despotism go hand in hand. The spirit and principles of war are thoroughly despotic. Even a democracy is transformed into a qualified despotism in times of war. "With war," says John Quincy Adams, "comes a full power over the whole subject,

even of slavery. It is a war-power; and when your country is actually in war, Congress has power to carry it on, and must carry it on according to the laws of war; and by those laws a country has all its laws and institutions swept by the board and martial law takes the place of them. Peace is essential to our prosperous or permanent freedom. Almost every republic in the world has fallen a victim to war; and if our liberties are ever lost, they will, in like manner be cloven down by the sword. The soldiers even of Washington, urged him in a moment of passion, to assume the sceptre; had he been almost any other man, he would have seized the occasion to raise for himself a throne upon the ruins of our nascent freedom; and though that incomparable man spurned the offer, yet, must war, become either habitual or frequent, bring on, sooner or later, such exigencies as will leave us at the mercy of some future Caesar or Napoleon." This may seem a little too radical an opinion, and yet so calm a judicial mind as that of Judge Jay uttered itself of the sentiment that "war has always been adverse to political freedom." Madison is very full and emphatic concerning the despotic tendencies of war. "Of all the enemies of public liberty," he says, "war is perhaps the most to be dreaded."

In a speech in the Reichstag on February 9, 1876, Bismarck made this significant statement: "The mass of the people has usually no inclination for war. The torch of war is lit by minorities, or, in absolute governments, by rulers or cabinets." If this is true — and it undoubtedly is — the people should be given more and more of a share in the power to decide rationally what war decides by force,— especially as it is also true, to quote Bismarck again, that "even a successful war" is "in

itself an evil and from which peoples must be saved by the science of statesmanship." With the rise of democracy will come the decline of secret diplomacy, which has been one of the most insidious of the proximate causes beneath the present European conflict. For secret diplomacy, while almost indispensable to the war system, is inimical to the full spirit of democratic institutions. The International Peace Bureau at Berne rightly introduced the following as the fifth plank of its recent program for international order:

"Diplomacy in all countries is to be placed under the control of parliament and public opinion. Conventions which are not made public and to which the people's representatives in all the countries concerned do not agree are *de facto* null and void."

But America's message to Europe in behalf of the reign of reason is not expressed merely in terms of words and theories. Our country itself exemplifies to the world in its Union of States the way in which law may be made to replace war. The states of our Union do not settle their disputes by an appeal to arms, nor are their boundaries bristling with fortifications. The appeal to a federated reason has become so much of a commonplace in this country that the average citizen hardly appreciates what a significant triumph the American Union is and what a living example such a Union is of what may yet be achieved, however gradually, in the development of world politics. *Let no individual nation lose its national integrity, any more than our individual states lose their integrity, though combining for purposes of common welfare.* But let the world learn, as we have learned, that variety and unity can go together,— must go together if the highest things of human welfare are

to be achieved. Let the United States of America be followed by the United Nations of the World!

III

The second great principle for which American civilization has stood is the value of the individual. The securing of this recognition of the individual has been the result of a long and painful struggle. There was a time when the individual counted for naught; when the social unit was everything and the individual nothing. There was little initiative accorded the individual, even in the regulation of what might be called his own private affairs; social tradition dictated most of the things that he had to do and how he was to do them. In religion this insignificance of the individual was expressed in the denial of personal immortality and in making it the sum of religious duty to lose all personal desires, and indeed all personal identity, in God as the Absolute in whom all things are merged. The person was but a passing wave in the infinite sea,— an illusion, in short. In the state, this idea of the worthlessness of the individual was expressed in the doctrine that the individual exists to be used by the state for its own purposes: it was a controversion of political philosophy to suppose that the state existed for the individual.

Out of the suppression involved in such social solidarity the individual has gradually emerged and claimed his freedom and his rights. To-day in America the individual has come to his own to an extent never before found in human history. No longer does the individual exist for society or for the state: all social institutions, including government, are conceived of as justified only because

they minister to the welfare of the individuals for whom all social organization exists. American civilization has insisted more and more that the individual is priceless: that he is an end in himself, and not a mere thing to be used as a thing. Thus the great watch-cries of American progress have been Freedom and Equality; the freedom of the individual to realize the best that is in him in terms of an inexpugnable personal identity; and the equality of opportunity which carries the doctrine of the pricelessness of persons to its practical conclusion in giving every soul an equal chance in government, in legal recourse, and in the advantages of social institutions.

But this doctrine of the value of the individual, the practical realization of which has been one of America's greatest contributions to modern civilization, is another principle that is being denied and imperilled by the very existence of the European conflict. For the war system which Europe is exemplifying at the present time utterly ignores the individual as such and makes the nation or race the unit of civilization. In the first place, the war came into being not only without the initiative of the average man, but probably counter to his fundamental wishes. The vast armies of individuals who are now engaged in killing each other and in destroying what the average man has built were not consulted with regard to the issues concerning which they are now fighting; they find themselves absolutely ignored as individuals and recognized only as soldiers,— as so much material to be used up by the state as it may seem fit. Furthermore, at this stage of human progress the war system itself involves more of a denial of the rights and welfare of the average individual than ever it did before. For, while the European conflict is waged in terms of supposing

that nations and races are the real units of civilization, the fact is, as Norman Angell has so well pointed out, that all the things fundamentally worth while to the life of the average person have become international and interracial property and can exist only in terms of international and interracial co-operation. In the very methods of modern warfare the individual is denied as never before: for these methods involve the use of a sort of machinery of slaughter that almost ignores individual bravery and prowess, and thus gives less chance for the breeding of individual heroism than has been true in the wars of the past. Thus, no matter from what angle one looks at the European conflict, whether it be from the standpoint of politics, economics, ethics, or the very conduct of the war itself, the rights of the individual for which America stands are ignored or repudiated.

Thus again, America has an unequivocal message to Europe, and calls upon Europe's nations to realize that there is no excuse for any function of government save as it gives the greatest number of individuals the chance to achieve self-realization to the utmost: to realize that the true difference between men is not the difference created by the accident of nativity, citizenship or race, but is to be found in their variations in development toward that common human ideal of culture and of welfare which fundamentally unites all men. America calls upon Europe to substitute for autocracy, equality; for oppression, freedom; and for the doctrine that the individual is a thing to be used, the great truth that the human soul, with its body — every human soul, with its body — is sacred and priceless and shall not be violated by the capricious or permanent will of any society or of any government.

IV

But while America has stood for the priceless value of the individual, she has also insisted that individuals are social by nature, and that they have not only individual rights, but social responsibilities. Now, this social nature of the individual seems to be one of the most difficult conceptions for even enlightened people to attain. It is easy to think of the goal of civilization, the unit of progress, as being either society or the individual; but it is not so easy to see that the true unit of progress is neither society nor the individual abstracted from each other, but both taken together. The danger of modern individualism, even as exemplified in America, is to suppose that, since the individual is everything, society is nothing, and that social obligations are secondary to individual self-assertion. The fact, is, however, that no individual is anything at all by himself, conceived apart from his fellows. Thus, while America has been insisting upon the rights of the individual, it must never be forgotten that this individual is a social individual, whose every right is balanced by a corresponding obligation to others. In other words, individuals are socially interdependent in all the interests which go to make up human welfare. For all that he values, the modern man must rely upon the social institutions of which he is a part. His education, his pleasures, his economic prosperity, his religion, his culture, all are social in their nature,— unattainable save in terms of co-operation with his fellow man. This outward social co-operation, as expressed in social institutions, is merely the external expression of the deep and eternal truth that man is social by nature and does not end with that narrower

self which we popularly think of as his person. The modern man can well put to himself this question: Where do I end? And when he asks this question intelligently, he must answer it by acknowledging that he involves, yea, includes, in his very complex life and in his far-reaching actual and potential interests, all that has been, is, or shall be. It is in this sense that every person is an infinite person. In one sense society includes him, but in another sense just as real he includes all society.

Nothing has better taught us this absolute interdependence of all things human than modern science, which teaches us that there is no event that is not vitally related to every other event in the universe of time and space. The history of evolution is wrongly read if it is supposed that it is a history of individual struggling with individual for the survival of mere individuals. No, the evolution of human beings, at any rate, is the story of the increased co-operation of individuals in their common struggle for a common life, a common welfare, and a common ideal. The higher one goes in the scale of evolution, the more one finds that the struggle for existence is the co-operative struggle of all human society for the sake of the realization of the human aspirations of the individuals that compose it, who in turn grow more and more altruistic, even for the sake of their own welfare, which they growingly conceive to include the welfare of all men.

This age-long struggle for the socializing of the individual, while yet maintaining the reasonable liberty of the individual, has come nearer attainment in America than anywhere else. While insisting upon the value of the individual and his freedom, Americans have always emphasized the fact that the liberty of democracy by

no means signifies license. No, the freedom of democracy is a social freedom, not a freedom to seek one's own regardless of others. The freedom of American democracy means the freedom of every man to seek the social goal, his larger self, in accordance with his own reason, indeed: but voluntarily and freely subject to the reason of all. This is what American law means. Perhaps no other people appeal to law more for the regulation of the social order than do Americans. Their liberty is seemingly curbed on every side by the laws which they have put upon the statute books. How, then, with all this restraint of law, can the American individual be said to be free? He is free, not because he is not subject to law, but because this law is not legislated upon him from without, but is created through his own reason and his own conviction and is thus his own product, which he freely recognizes as a just restraint for the sake of a social order which he freely wants and for which he is freely responsible.

But again, the European conflict arises out of a conception of society which utterly ignores the social responsibilities of individuals and groups. The citizens of certain European nations may not, indeed, be so short-sighted as to suppose that their selves end with their individual persons; but there is an overwhelming tendency for them to conceive of their fundamental interests, and thus their fundamental responsibilities, as ending with the boundaries of their particular nations. But this is to deny the entire trend of the development of modern civilization, as well as to deny the social nature and responsibilities of national groups with reference to each other. Just as an individual can never circumscribe his social nature and duties within any arbitrarily

chosen group of persons: so *no nation can say justly or logically that its fundamental being and responsibilities end with itself.* It sins against the social nature of man the moment it adopts courses of action for mere selfish aggrandizement, as over against the welfare of mankind in the large. And yet the European war is the product of precisely this point of view: that a nation can legitimately consider itself as ending with its own national boundary, and that it may be pardoned in doing almost anything it pleases for the sake of a narrow self-interest if it can justify itself by force.

Thus again, America has a most significant message to Europe in a truth which America herself is beginning to exemplify more and more in her international relations. This message is that the ideals of nations must rise above the standpoint of mere selfish interest and must cheerfully and insistently reckon with the fundamental and permanent welfare of other nations. It is not to be pretended for one moment that America herself has fully realized this new international vision in all her acts; but her relations with other nations in recent years have more and more exemplified this new and larger statesmanship. Indeed, truly seen, America's policy of neutrality during the European war has not been merely a policy of self-interest, although it is partly this, perhaps largely this. But there is another reason why America should remain neutral,— a reason which has arisen in the consciousness of a number of the best leaders of American thought. This other reason is that by keeping out of the European conflict America may not only best serve herself, but the nations now at war and the world at large. She is anxious, as the greatest of neutral Powers, to be in a position where she can not only aid Europe

in arresting the present conflict sooner than might otherwise be the case: but where she can aid Europe to a swift recovery after the war is over, in the meantime preserving for her the arts, the sciences, the culture, which for the time are retarded and imperilled by the European struggle.

May the time soon come when not only the true American citizen, but the enlightened European nations, shall realize that *there is only one liberty of nations and races as well as of individuals: the liberty which is thoroughly social,— the liberty of each nation to seek the international goal, in accordance with the reason of each nation, indeed, but voluntarily subject to the revision of all.*

V

Another thing for which America has stood, although she has scarcely premeditated it, is a cosmopolitan culture: a culture which shall not be narrow and provincial, but which shall be the product of the commingling of the best cultures of all nations and races. While it may be that civilization has not been thoroughly conscious of its trend, still the tendency has been progressively towards an increased interchange of the ideas and ideals of all peoples. Here in America this free interchange of the culture of all races has been best exemplified: so that American civilization is to-day not so much a civilization co-ordinate with the restricted civilizations of other countries, as a synthesis of all the various cultures of the earth. From all peoples America has received her intellectual contributions: we have welcomed equally the best ideas of Slav, Teuton, Latin and Anglo-Saxon. A concomitant of this intellectual hospitality has been the

doctrine of the equality of practically all races under the American institutions of society and government. This American civilization represents the world in miniature, and we have gained so much by this free interchange of cultures that we have come to lay less and less stress upon differences of race and to recognize that every race has its valuable and permanent contribution to that which makes modern civilization worth while.

But, once more, the European war is based upon premises which are utterly antagonistic to the American point of view. For from across the seas we hear the continual insistence that one culture is so ineffably better than another that it deserves to prevail, even to the destruction of every other culture in the world. That one culture should try to obtain predominance over the rest, not through its intellectual and moral superiority, but through expertness in killing and destroying, is paradoxical enough; but it is still more paradoxical that any culture worthy the name should deny co-operation and help, even for the sake of its own development, to the other cultures, which are themselves also the result of long ages of striving toward ideals valuable and indispensable to the race.

America cannot look upon this provincial conception of culture passively. Indeed, many Americans are not at all sure that any solution of European difficulties is to be found in a final segregation of races in terms of separate national integrities: for this might mean only an intensification of both racial and national antipathies, the existence of which has been one of the main causes of the European conflict, and the perpetuation of which may be the cause of further strife. But whatever the American people may say with regard to racial pride and that racial civilization which is its motive and ideal,

the sum of our message to Europe in this regard is to be found, not in mere words, but in example. For in the New World there has never been experienced any insurmountable difficulty through the policy of a free interchange and blending of racial ideals; and the result in our component American life is a sufficient proof of the wisdom of supposing that civilization is not made poorer but richer through the free commingling of the contributions of all races and nations. To deny the practical triumph of this policy is to deny American civilization in its totality. America can hardly stand by and see this — one of her most cherished ideals of what a sane civilization means — trampled under foot by an anachronistic race prejudice and a self-defeating racial selfishness.

VI

What are the immediate things that America can do to bring about a new world order in which the outgrown war system shall find no place?

First of all, even at this time we are doing one momentous thing. For, in the very midst of the European war, America has been negotiating with over thirty nations a form of treaty which will be most significant as a means of minimizing, if not of obliterating, the chief causes of war. I refer to those treaties which provide that all disputes of every nature whatsoever, to the settlement of which previous arbitration treaties do not apply in their terms, or are not applied in fact, shall, when diplomatic methods of adjustment have failed, be referred for investigation and report to a permanent international commission. The nations bound by these

treaties agree not to declare war or begin hostilities during such investigation and before a report is submitted. The treaties specify that the report of the commission shall be completed within one year after it shall declare its investigation to have begun. Although all the contracting parties reserve the right to act independently after the report is submitted, it is believed that a year's time will have the effect of "sober second thought" on all nations and will prevent an outbreak of the precipitate sort which plunged Europe into war.

The inauguration of these treaties is one of the most important measures ever undertaken to safeguard the common interests of nations against the blind arbitrament involved in the war system. Secretary of State Bryan has pointed out clearly three advantages that will accrue from the adoption of these peace commission treaties. First, "it secures an investigation of the facts; and if you can but separate the facts from the question of honor, the chances are a hundred to one that you can settle both the fact and the question of honor without war." Second, such an investigation "gives time for calm consideration . . . . A man excited is a very different animal from a man calm, and questions ought to be settled not by passion, but by deliberation. . . . If we can but stay the hand of war until conscience can assert itself, war will be made more remote." The third advantage of such investigation is that "it gives opportunity to mobilize public opinion for the compelling of a peaceful settlement. . . . If time is given for marshaling the force of public opinion, peace will be promoted."

Another thing that the United States may do in response to an ever-growing public opinion is to call a conference of the neutral nations of the world, not only for

the purpose of protecting neutral rights and interests during the European conflict, but to look forward to a basis of permanent world peace and to give the world an example of how the conception of international co-operation may be made practical. Whether the United States shall undertake to call such a conference depends entirely upon the progress of events which no man can foresee. It is quite evident, however, that in the hands of the United States, as the greatest of neutral Powers rests a signal obligation to the other neutral nations for the maintenance of international law and the guaranteeing that civilization shall be protected, so far as possible, from the effects of the anarchic situation now prevailing in the Old World.

Through all that America shall do beckons the ideal of international democracy: a democracy where the rights of every nation shall have a voice, and yet where the rights of no one nation shall be achieved through the ignoring of the rights of others: a democracy of nations in which the small nations shall be guaranteed their integrity with the same surety as the larger nations guard their own integrity as sacred and inviolable. We cannot afford to see the smaller nations perish merely because they cannot marshal instruments of destruction so rapidly, extensively, and efficiently as the world's larger states. If history has taught us anything with regard to the sources of civilization, it is, as Vice-Chancellor H. A. L. Fisher says, that "almost everything which is most precious in our civilization has come from small states, the Old Testament, the Homeric poems, the Attic and the Elizabethan drama, the art of the Italian Renaissance, the common law of England." With the ideal of this sort of an international democracy in mind,

the American people must realize that its achievement is to be attained largely through the persistent and self-sacrificing leadership of the world's greatest democracy,—the democracy which we ourselves have built and only through whose principles of reason, equality, and freedom, international democracy can be attained.

Having in mind some such mission for America in a coming world-reconstruction, Norman Angell recently urged the following:

"That America shall use her influence to secure the abandonment by the powers of Christendom of rival group alliances and the creation instead of an alliance of all the civilized powers having as its aim some common action — not necessarily military — which will constitute a collective guarantee of each against aggression."

This is only one expression out of many that might be chosen from the great thinkers of various countries indicating that the world is looking more and more to our own country for leadership in the solving of the international problems which confront our civilization.

VII

The only thing that could defeat America's leadership for the achievement of a new world order is a conversion of the American people to the belief that the great lesson of the European war is for America seriously to enter into the Old World competition in armaments: a competition which has been the menace of Europe for the last fifty years and which culminated in the present conflict. That the American people will actually be converted to such a reactionary and futile program is unbelievable. And yet, a persistent agitation is being

waged for such a program, motived by fear of whatever nations may be the European victors; by feelings of so-called patriotism, however mistaken; by the life-long ideals, thoroughly honest, of those in military and naval circles; and by the vast interests of those who manufacture munitions of war and who are engaged in the same competition for business and the protection of their capital as is any business man. This agitation is pressed largely in the name of our supposed "unpreparedness" against attack. We are told that our coasts are defenseless, our army small and inefficient, and our navy woefully inadequate. It is urged that to strengthen our military preparedness need not mean the cultivation of a militaristic spirit. Any policy of aggression or conquest is disclaimed. The sole motive of increasing our army and navy, it is said, is the common-sense one of putting our country in a position where it may be thoroughly capable of defending itself against its foes.

Let us not question for one moment the sincerity and the patriotism of those who wish America to increase her military efficiency. Certainly, it is a trying time in the history of the world: a time in which it is exceedingly difficult to read aright the progress of events. Furthermore, there is not a single American citizen who does not want his country adequately defended against probable attack. But, before we embark upon any military program of great magnitude, it might be well for us thoroughly to realize a few significant truths.

First of all, in order to plan a naval program which shall be definite and practical, we must ask in all seriousness who is likely to attack us. It is quite evident that the amount of our preparation is entirely dependent upon this, since it is quite clear that we intend no aggres-

sion ourselves. Who, then, is likely to attack the United States?

Military experts do not seem to have any unanimous opinion on this subject. In the very nature of the case, they cannot be unanimous: for no one can foretell future events, much less the events that depend upon the present uncertain character of international relations. Indeed, it is this very point that is most urged by those who are advocating military preparedness: we do not know who will strike, or when. It might be Japan, we are told; it might be Germany; indeed, it might be even Great Britain. The other day I listened to the congressman who has been most prominent of all in the recent agitation for America's preparedness. Unequivocally, he urged that adequate preparedness means preparation against a possible attack from Great Britain. Certainly, if we are to enter the armament competition with right good will and with the purpose of preparing ourselves against all possible contingencies, we must, with characteristic American thoroughness, be able to meet successfully the attack of any nation of the world. If the military program is to be practical at all, this is precisely what it must mean.

But, now, suppose we adopt this as our program. We are to prepare against war with Great Britain. Just what does this mean? We certainly must fortify our 3,840 miles of Canadian frontier, for no military expert can possibly doubt that Canada would be made one of the strategic bases of operations on land. We must make our army large enough and efficient enough to withstand any invasion over this frontier. We must thoroughly fortify our extensive coast line on the Atlantic and on the Pacific. We must increase our navy to the

point where it is equal to, if not better than, Great Britain's navy. There must be no guess-work about it. Great Britain's policy has been two keels to one: and even this is thought by many Englishmen to be not enough. Well, let our naval program call for two keels to one. Let us at last be thoroughly prepared.

But there is one little question that emerges right at this point. *Can we ever catch up?* Suppose that Great Britain's navy, for instance, remained precisely as it is for a period of years. Suppose, too, that we built battleships as fast as we could. How long would it take to create a navy as efficient as that of Great Britain, let alone a navy so much larger that there would be no question of its superiority? And with such a naval program before the world, known to be directed against Great Britain (and of course everybody would know it), what would Great Britain be doing all this time? Would she suddenly abandon her own traditional naval policy? Or, would she add to her navy as fast as she could to meet the new international situation which we had created? It is inconceivable that she would not. If she did this, then how long would it take for America to catch up? We could not catch up at all on the basis of the relatively meager program advanced by our agitators for national defense. And on any program at all we could not catch up in from fifty to one hundred years.

But suppose we could catch up in fifty years. Would Great Britain wait for us? Why should she, when now, according to the agitators for defense, we are totally unprepared against her? No, it seems reasonable to suppose that if the United States announces to the world her entrance into the armament competition and a policy of building up a greater military strength than

Great Britain's, so that she will be able to defeat Great Britain in any possible war with her, the latter will surely strike during the long period of preparation and not wait until her case is hopeless. If you reply that there is no danger of any attack from Great Britain anyway, and that Great Britain is really our ally, then, of course, the whole question of any new military program of magnitude on the part of the United States falls with the fears in terms of which it was urged.

But how about Germany? Is not Germany likely to attack us, especially if she emerges as victor from the European war? Well, of course, anything is possible: but very few indeed who make a study of international relations think that there is any probability that Germany would attack us, even supposing she is victor, and these few are almost unanimous in placing the degree of probability extremely low. The fact is, there are no probabilities at all sufficient upon which to base a huge military program. They are so slight, if they exist at all, that our efforts should rather be directed to eliminating them. And the easiest way to eliminate them is surely not by aiming a naval program at Germany. The best way is to continue to cultivate a cordial friendship and understanding. There is still less reason to discard this policy now, when Germany, no matter whether she wins or not, will be in no condition to begin a war of aggression upon the best friend that she has among the nations. No, the burden of proof still lies with those who base an anachronistic military program, involving billions of dollars and a certain unsettling of international friendships, upon a speculation so wild that it transcends in its visionary character any so-called dream that any

peace advocate ever had in his most somnolent moment. If it can be proved that there is a real probability that Germany will attack us, and that no diplomacy of an honorable sort could remove the probability, then let us regretfully abandon the American way and spend our billions in preparing a military program against her with whom we have co-operated so long!

And if this remote thing happens — that we are ever obliged to be "prepared" on a grand scale against the attack of any nation — let us at the same time work all we can to do away with such an abominable international situation as is based upon the futile doctrine that any great national interest is really subserved by murderous aggression or that any international problem can be permanently or rightly settled by other than rational means. This is what a sane peace movement means: *relentless war upon the war system,— but, in the meantime, of course, whatever defense is truly necessary against any genuine peril to our country's integrity which the war system may create.*

But amid all such suspicions which are so likely to result in militaristic hysteria, let us remember the main fact that many American thinkers, as well as many European thinkers, see that if there is any one thing which the European war has proved, it is that the sort of diplomacy which relies upon the never-ending competition in armaments is a diplomacy which leads directly toward war, not away from it. America will not be so anachronistic as to adopt the European way. Our strongest defense against Great Britain and Germany and Japan is our friendship, our mutual understanding, which results in a constructive international co-operation rather than a destructive international rivalry. In this day and

age it is not a question whether nations want to co-operate or not. Economic conditions alone have become so complexly interrelated that nations will more and more be forced, in self-defense, to understand each other and work with each other for common international interests, rather than to destroy those interests through a mutual attempt at annihilation. This is the great lesson of the European war, and there is absolutely no doubt that Europe will be compelled for the sake of its very life to read that lesson in such a way that she will henceforth see the utter futility of adopting barbaric methods for the solving of civilized questions in an age which has entirely reorganized the financial and cultural relations between peoples. *The facts of this financial and cultural interrelation were in existence before the war began: but it was necessary that the peoples of the world have a thorough consciousness of these facts before the facts themselves could count efficiently in the achievement of a new international situation.* This consciousness is growing every day. America can help it to become a conviction by her own international policy. She is at the parting of the ways. America can follow Europe and adopt an international outlook now fast becoming obsolete even with Europe herself: or America can help to lead Europe to a new internationalism and a new world order, based upon the new and unquestioned facts of the new international life that has arisen during the last half-century, together with its new international obligations and ideals. Either America will adopt the European way, or Europe will adopt the American way. Which shall it be? More than we realize, it depends upon America's own far-sightedness.

VIII

In Washington is the marble palace of the Pan American Union. This building, without doubt the most beautiful in our capital city, is a significant symbol of the new internationalism as exemplified in the friendship and co-operation of the twenty-one American republics whose diplomatic representatives at Washington meet there every month rationally to discuss their common interests and common ideals. The Secretary of State of the United States is *ex officio* Chairman. The purpose of the conferences is to develop and conserve "peace, friendship, and commerce" among these, all the independent nations of the Western Hemisphere. Through these conferences the peoples represented are rapidly achieving a mutual understanding which they could have attained in no other way,— certainly not through mutual fear and suspicion and a diplomacy backed by competitive armaments. The activities of the Pan American Union are already so various and far-reaching that it would require an entire book to describe them. It points the only practicable way to permanent international peace: for, as its efficient Director General, John Barrett, lately remarked to me, "The greatest achievement of the Pan American Union is the gradual growth of understanding and friendship between the republics of the Western Hemisphere; and it is chiefly through such a friendship that we shall gain any genuine constructive co-operation and any permanent peace."

Only the evening before, Secretary of State Bryan had expressed the same thought to me in different language. "Not through mutual fear will peace come to the world," he said. "You remember the words of the angels' song,

'peace on earth'; the very next phrase of their song gave the true condition of peace on earth, 'good will toward men!' "

Let the Pan American Union be followed by a Pan European Union. If such a conference of the European nations had been in the habit of meeting in some European capital during the last fifty years, with the same sincere desire for peace and friendship as is being evinced by the Pan American Union, it is extremely unlikely that there would have been a European war.

Let us look forward, indeed, not only to a Pan European Union, but to a Pan World Union!

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The Treaty Rights of Aliens

1. The Government of the United States is bound by numerous treaties respecting the rights of aliens. For example, the treaty of 1871 with Italy contains the following reciprocal pledges:

"The citizens of each of the high contracting parties shall receive in the States and Territories of the other, the most constant protection and security for their persons and property, and shall enjoy in this respect the same rights and privileges as are or may be granted to the natives, on their submitting themselves to the conditions imposed upon the natives."

2. The personal and property rights of aliens have been repeatedly violated, and as a result, the friendly relations existing between the United States and foreign countries have been jeopardized.

"At Rock Springs, Wyoming, on November 30, 1885, there was an armed attack by one hundred men on a Chinese settlement in a mining town, in which all the houses were burnt, and in which twenty-eight Chinamen lost their lives, sixteen were wounded, and all their property was destroyed.

"In a similar attack in Squak Valley, Washington,* three Chinamen were killed and four wounded.

"At Orofino, in Idaho, five Chinese were killed.

"At Anaconda, in Montana, four Chinamen were killed.

"At Snake River, Oregon, ten Chinamen were killed.

"In Juneau, Alaska, one hundred Chinese were expelled by lawless violence from their homes and the Territory.

"In an official note of February 15, 1886, riots were reported at Bloomfield, Redding, Boulder Creek, Eureka, and other towns in California, involving murder, arson, and robbery, and it was added that thousands of Chinese had been driven from their homes.

"Nine Italians were lynched in New Orleans in 1891.

"In August, 1895, one Mexican was lynched in California.

"In October, 1895, one Mexican was lynched in Texas.

"In 1895 three Italians were lynched at Walsenberg, Colorado.

"In 1896 three Italians were lynched at Hahnville, Louisiana.

"In 1899 three Italians were lynched at Tallulah, Louisiana.

"In 1901 three Italians were lynched at Erin, Mississippi.

"In 1910 one Italian was lynched in Florida."

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*From a list given by ex-President Taft in his book, "The United States and Peace" (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914)

A typical case was that which occurred in New Orleans in 1891. "The trouble began with the* murder of the chief of police of that city, and popular belief attributed the crime to Italians connected with a branch of the secret organization of the Mafia. . . . Twenty-two Italians were indicted . . . and nine were tried, all of whom were acquitted or remanded to another trial. Popular opinion again held that the acquittal was due to bribery by agents of the Mafia, and a citizens' committee determined to prevent what was believed to be a miscarriage of justice. A mob was organized, and the Italians were taken from jail and lynched. Rudini, the minister of foreign affairs, immediately directed that the Italian minister at Washington demand from the government of the United States judicial proceedings and reparation. To these demands, insistently repeated, . . . Blaine replied that the federal government could not of itself instigate criminal proceedings; that the indictments must be made by the municipal authorities under state law. . . . This interpretation of federal and state relations, by which the United States appeared to escape responsibility, was not acceptable to the Italian government, and Baron Fava was recalled. As the American minister was also withdrawn from the Italian Court, diplomatic negotiations be-

* "National Problems," by Professor Davis R. Dewey (The American Nation Series, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1907)

tween the two countries were carried on by subordinates. . . . The whole affair was a lesson in the complications arising from the inability of the treaty-making power, through the relations of the federal government to the several States, to carry out its treaty obligations as it expected them to be observed by other powers towards American citizens."

3. It is evident that the Government of the United States is unable adequately to protect the treaty rights of aliens owing to the lack of legislation permitting the federal courts to take jurisdiction in such cases. President Harrison, just after the Mafia case, said:

"It would, I believe, be entirely competent for Congress to make offenses against the treaty rights of foreigners domiciled in the United States cognizable in the federal courts. This has not, however, been done, and the federal officers and courts have no power in such cases to intervene either for the protection of a foreign citizen or for the punishment of his slayers."

President McKinley, in his annual message of December 5, 1899, used these words:

"For the fourth time in the present decade question has arisen with the Government of Italy in regard to the lynching of Italian subjects. The latest of these deplorable events occurred at Tallulah, Louisiana, whereby five unfortunates of

Italian origin were taken from jail and hanged. . . . . The recurrence of these distressing manifestations of blind mob fury directed at dependents or natives of a foreign country suggests that the contingency has arisen for action by Congress in the direction of conferring upon the federal courts jurisdiction in this class of international cases where the ultimate responsibility of the Federal Government may be involved."

President Roosevelt, in his annual message of December, 1906, said:

"One of the greatest embarrassments attending the performance of our international obligations is the fact that the statutes of the United States are entirely inadequate. They fail to give to the national government sufficiently ample power, through United States courts and by the use of the army and navy, to protect aliens in the rights secured to them under solemn treaties which are the law of the land. I, therefore, earnestly recommend that the criminal and civil statutes of the United States be so amended and added to as to enable the President, acting for the United States Government, which is responsible in our international relations, to enforce the rights of aliens under treaties. There should be no particle of doubt as to the power of the national government completely to perform and enforce its own obligations to other nations. The mob of a single city may at any time perform acts of lawless violence against some class of foreigners which would plunge us into war. That city by itself would be powerless

to make defense against the foreign power thus assaulted, and if independent of this government, it would never venture to perform or permit the performance of the acts complained of. The entire power and the whole duty to protect the offending city or the offending community lies in the hands of the United States Government. It is unthinkable that we should continue a policy under which a given locality may be allowed to commit a crime against a friendly nation, and the United States Government limited, not to prevention of the commission of the crime, but, in the last resort, to defending the people who have committed it against the consequences of their own wrongdoing."

President Taft, in his inaugural address, March 4, 1909, said:

"By proper legislation we may, and ought to, place in the hands of the federal executive the means of enforcing the treaty rights of such aliens in the courts of the Federal Government. It puts our government in a pusillanimous position to make definite engagements to protect aliens and then to excuse the failure to perform those engagements by an explanation that the duty to keep them is in States or cities not within our control. If we would promise, we must put ourselves in a position to perform our promise. We cannot permit the possible failure of justice, due to local prejudice in any State or municipal government, to expose us to the risk of a war which might be avoided if federal jurisdiction was as-

serted by suitable legislation by Congress and carried out by proper proceedings instituted by the executive in the courts of the national government."

4. Hon. John Jacob Rogers introduced, on February 6, 1917, the following bill, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives:

Punishing conspiracy to injure, oppress, threaten, or intimidate any alien in the exercise of any right under any treaty of the United States.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That if two or more persons conspire to injure, oppress, threaten or intimidate any alien in the free exercise or enjoyment of any right secured to him under any treaty of the United States, or because of his having exercised the same, they shall be fined not more than $5,000 or imprisoned not more than ten years, or both.

This would be in the nature of an amendment to the following section of the Federal Penal Code (§ 5508, U. S. Rev. Sts.):

"If two or more persons conspire to injure, oppress, threaten or intimidate any citizen in the free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the

United States or because of his having so exercised the same, they shall be fined," etc.

5. We believe that this bill should be passed. It is fundamentally right. "Where there is responsibility, there ought to be power." It would be effective as a measure of "preparedness" against war, because it would lessen the liability of serious controversies with foreign governments respecting the protection of the rights of their nationals in this country. It would demonstrate that the United States proposes to keep sacred its international obligations, respect for which is of supreme importance if a reign of international law and justice is ever to be realized. It would be a practical step, possible for us to take at this time, in the direction of better international relations.

If you are in favor of such action, we urge that you write to the Representative in Congress from your district in regard to it.

MASSACHUSETTS PEACE SOCIETY
Pemberton Building, Boston

May 1, 1917.

Compulsory Military Service

By LUCIA AMES MEAD

SCARCELY more than a generation ago, Germans were aghast at the introduction of conscription. Today with character altered, they have become docile parts of a perfect machine, while in free America the National Security League is beginning a wide campaign to compel conscription—a proposition which three years ago would have seemed unthinkable. Men as far apart politically as Dr. Chas. W. Eliot and Col. Roosevelt unite in urging the system of the Swiss citizen army. An increasing number of prominent men are saying, "It is the only democratic method. All must serve in the army as all pay taxes."

There is now a solemn obligation on all patriots to study the arguments which threaten to overturn American ideals and presently to alter seriously American influence. Said President Nicholas Murray Butler anent the great increase of armaments: "The situation that now confronts us is one in which we are invited not to maintain the traditional American policy, but to depart from it and to depart from it in the face of the most impressive and emphatic lesson that history records that the traditional American policy has been right."

Dr. Eliot enforces his demand for a revolutionary policy by two assumptions. One is that there is no hope of establishing lasting peace through any treaty making which should include the Central Monarchies. "Their acts since July, 1914," he avers, "prove beyond a doubt that no reliance is to be placed on any pledges or treaties signed by them." He makes no allowance for possible electoral reforms which are already proposed in Germany and he ignores one profoundly important fact.

This is that, if the Central Powers were admitted to a League of Nations to Enforce Peace and protected against attack by joint support, they would have every incentive to wait the required time before going to war until their case had been submitted to a trial or investigation. It is one thing for a strong nation to break a treaty when sorely tempted and quite another to do so when it has pledged itself to a new world-policy in which temptation is largely removed. Granted that no change of heart may come; nevertheless, self-interest would work in a diametrically opposite way from that which guided Germany in August, 1914. Had she belonged to such a League and known then that if Russia should attack her without delay and reference to a court, Great Britain and France would be bound by solemn compact to come to her aid, she would never have entered upon the "preventive war" the results of which have so surprised her.

As Dr. Eliot has previously maintained that danger to us from "either a European or an Oriental invasion is practically infinitesimal," he can make no strong plea for a citizen army

as a military necessity. This would be our fifth line of defense, our oceans being the first. Russia surely would have counted 3,500 miles of water between her and Germany as equal to the defense of two million armed men. The current saying that "the ocean has become a pond" applies only to the wireless and cable. The transportation of even 100,000 soldiers from Hamburg and Bremen would require 100 troop ships with hundreds of fuel ships, munition ships, hospital ships and a body of fighting ships large enough to sink the British navy and the American navy, which latter soon promises to be second in size. The enemy would have to face mines, submarines and fortifications which Assistant Secretary Franklin D. Roosevelt declares make "a navy almost unnecessary if all we want is to defend our coasts." It will be remembered that the finest navy in the world could make no landing at Gallipoli and has not been able to bombard a German town, and that in the Boer war it had to carry 250,000 troops to master a handful of peasants, and required over two years to do that.

Our country began all its three foreign wars, and has never been attacked even when its navy was almost a minus quantity. The fact that it has no old boundary lines to settle or racial animosities to overcome counts enormously as an invisible national defense, and so do its thirty-one treaties of delay before hostilities, and its unguarded Canadian frontier. Our country in non-military defense is supreme among the nations. All this is carefully ignored by the National Security League and its co-workers.

Dr. Eliot's second assumption, and that of

all advocates of the Swiss system, is that the results in Switzerland can be duplicated here. Australians assumed that rabbits imported into their country would be as harmless as in England. They learned the contrary by sad experience. Switzerland, with a population equal to that of Massachusetts, and an area one-third that of New York State, could never, like our country, be looked on with apprehension. The psychology of her young men, habituated since the days of Tell to self-defense against enemies an inch across her border would be totally different form that of our young men suddenly forced to submit to a revolutionary policy. They would be convinced that the world war had put us in acute danger, instead of enhancing our resources and safety in face of a crippled, impoverished Europe. Universal compulsory military training would presently give us 9,300,000 men trained to fight, and these would be deemed a menace by South America and Asia. If the best protected nation is compelled in self-defense to take this unprecedented step, how much more must others strain every nerve to follow suit?

The nation's thought would be focused on improbable foreign foes, and away from a world court, a League of Nations and all constructive substitutes for war. It would continue its apathy as to those preventable causes of death which in our midst have sent a huge army of innocents—a million and a quarter citizens—to untimely death since this war began.

Conscription is demanded primarily because we can secure annually only about 40,000 volunteers. Young men refuse to enlist,

therefore all must be compelled to go. Let all who consider this a conclusive argument carefully study the plan of the "Invincible Army," issued by the "Society of Constructive Defense," 50 Church street, New York. This is a plan for gradually superseding the present army and militia, and supplying a trained volunteer force enlisted for two or three years which shall spend five-sixths of their working time in constructive work under army engineers, on road building, irrigation, etc. This would harden muscles and give as much out door life as trench digging or "hikes." One-sixth of the time would be given to regular military drill. Test advertisements have shown that a large number of able young men would enlist in this constructive work who do not want to mark time at army posts.

If a great force of trained soldiers is demanded, this "Invincible Army" seems to be less dangerous than any other army. But why should anyone demand conscription of men and not of wealth? In a country that is said to have one billionaire, and in which five per cent of the families own as much as the other 95 per cent, why should not wealth pay in supertaxes a sum sufficient to secure enlistment for all the recruits demanded?

To win consent to universal service it is asserted that it is good on general principles. It would "teach hygiene and acquaintance with instruments of precision." So do proper boys' camps and training with carpenters' tools. "Such waste as has occurred at the beginning of past wars would be prevented." We ourselves began our three foreign wars, all of which were unnecessary; and, as in the nature of the case, the South as much as the

North would have been helped by better preparation before our Civil war, this argument fails. It is above all things claimed that compulsory service "promotes democracy." The officer must have long training of a special, high-class grade. Class distinction is nowhere more marked than in the army, as in all lands a gulf is fixed between officer and private. The Swiss Socialists complain that this is true even in Switzerland. Military efficiency requires that one man may be absolute master of another, and enforce as strict obedience as if he were a prisoner or a slave. The Dreyfus and Zabern incidents and the treatment of colored cadets in our military schools are significant. Rich and poor may bunk in the same tent, but the rich man's family suffers no such loss as his poor comrade's does. One is provided for and the latter may starve.

The recent assumption that the demand for compulsory service involves the same principle as the demand for payment of taxes is grossly sophistical. When a taxpayer, for conscientious or other reasons, refuses to pay taxes, he suffers no personal restraint. He merely submits, as some of the best people in England did a dozen years ago, to having a small portion of their goods taken and sold for the required amount. But the conscript must submit his person to strict, outside control and, if war comes, he is forced to fight, even if it be in a war which he considers as unjust as Gen. Grant declared our Mexican war to be. This, he asserted, was "one of the most unjust wars ever fought by a strong people against a weak people." Our government needs the taxes of all. It does not need the military service of all. The effort to put the

two upon a parity in the public mind as regards the principle of compulsion illustrates the crudity of thought with which this whole subject has been treated.

"Universal service promotes unity." No, it only promotes outer uniformity. Austria's militarism has never unified her seventeen different nationalities. Our Slavs, Greeks, Armenians and Italians in folk dances on Chicago playgrounds, in social centers and in public schools gain a wholesome unity that comes from common interests. In a few years we obliterate the age-long, inherited hatred of aliens toward each other. Give three years more public schooling to the average child and one compulsory year in a public school to the private school child, teach history and civics as they should be taught, and we shall in childhood years create far more permanent unity than by forcing men from business to practice target-shooting together.

The vaunted value of military discipline is seen only in war. The soldier returned to civic life is no more chaste, temperate or self-controlled than other men. Republican government implies initiative, self-control and independent thought—precisely what military compulsion vitiates.

Conscription of mind is the most terrible feature of conscription of the body. Even the Inquisition could not hurt the religious heretic who remained silent and passive; but military authority can permit no political heretic to be passive. If his conscience rebels against the order to shoot an Edith Cavell or against any other "military necessity," he is faced with the terrible choice of being either traitor to his God or to his country.

The nations are yearning for a new rational order; they will be very war-sick when the final exhaustion comes. What could do more to frustrate all hope of peace than the theory that it will be "possible only when there is power strong enough to cope with the Central Powers" for which we are told there must be "a limited alliance of competent nations" as, in the words of Dr. Eliot, a "federation and parliament of the world would be too complicated, vast and slow." His proposals are in line with the dangerous proposal at the recent Paris conference for an exclusion of the Central Powers from former trade rights. Co-operation is the sole antidote for war poison. The longer it is postponed, when war once ends, the more certain is a future world war.

The increasing number of Americans who are placing chief reliance on military force is breeding the very conditions that will create hostile coalitions against which there can be no adequate defense. America's national policy may at this critical time change world policies for a century to come. The hope of a reconstruction of international relationships will be indefinitely postponed if strong, safe America stupidly imitates a policy suited only to a tiny, exposed nation whose aggression no one fears.

[Reprinted from The Public, New York City, for the Massachusetts Branch, Woman's Peace Party, 421 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.]

THE MYTH OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

BY

Otto H. Kahn

From COMMITTEE OF AMERICAN BUSINESS MEN
15 Park Row, New York

With the Compliments of

COMMITTEE OF
AMERICAN BUSINESS MEN

Fifteen Park Row

NEW YORK

THE MYTH OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

BY

Otto H. Kahn

THE League for Industrial Democracy, an organization endorsing the principle of social ownership of industry, at a meeting held at the Fifth Avenue Restaurant, New York, on December 30th, 1924, discussed the subject of American Imperialism.

The speakers were Professor Edwin Meade Earle of Columbia University, two leading Socialists, viz.: Mr. Morris Hillquit and Dr. Scott Nearing, and Mr. Otto H. Kahn. In his address, which is reproduced in the following pages, Mr. Kahn denied the allegation of American Imperialism.

COMMITTEE OF
AMERICAN BUSINESS MEN

THE MYTH OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

I AM in the midst of the active life of business. I must keep my eyes open to the realities of things. To hold my place I must be fairly competent to discern currents, impulses and tendencies in our national life. I do not hesitate to say that never, in the thirty years concerning which I can speak from personal observation, have I encountered Imperialism, in this country.

Looking over the history of the United States, and granting one single contingent reservation dating back three-quarters of a century, i.e., the war against Mexico, it may be asserted justly and truthfully, I believe, and without pharisaical self-complacency, that America has made no unfair use of her power, that she has not employed her strength to subjugate and exploit other peoples, that she has resisted the temptation of forcible aggrandizement, that she has pursued a foreign policy which aimed to keep in the path of justice, and that, if any lapses did occur in her international dealings, they were of the head, not the heart. Some of you may answer: "America did not covet, because she did not need." That opens up a question not of fact, but of speculation, not of

ascertaining actualities, but of attributing motives. I believe you will agree with me that no useful purpose would be served in pursuing a discussion along lines which could lead to no demonstrable issue.

1. *The Allegation of Political or Military Imperialism*

You will point an accusing finger and you will hurl the challenging question: "What about Hayti and San Domingo, what about Nicaragua, Honduras, and so forth?" It is true we did send military forces to these countries. There did, most regrettably, occur some bloodshed. In the execution of our program we did commit some errors in judgment and in manners. We did, in certain measures, proceed bunglingly and clumsily, as Governments and their agents not infrequently do, especially when, as in the cases under discussion, the task to be undertaken is an unusual and unexpected one, and there are neither traditions which afford guidance nor a trained personnel to attend to the execution. (Incidentally, the very absence of such personnel tends to prove how little the thoughts of our Government and people were on Imperialism.)

But the test is in the answer to the question which in my turn I ask of you: "What was our purpose? Did we go to oppress and exploit, did we go to add these territories to our domain? Or did we go to end an inveterate rule of tyranny, malefactions and turmoil, to set up

decent and orderly government and the rule of law, to foster progress, to establish stable conditions and with them the basis for prosperity to the populations concerned?"

I think there can be no doubt that it was these latter things we aimed to attain. And having measurably accomplished the task, we did withdraw, or shall withdraw. We left behind, or shall leave behind, a few persons charged with the collection and proper administration of certain revenues, but such arrangements, to which I shall refer more fully later on, are no more in the nature of exploitation or oppression than the appointment of a person under a deed of trust is in the nature of exploitation or oppression.

These countries are almost at our door. When we look out of our national window, they are within our sight. They are situated athwart one of our main trade and strategic routes. It is within our duty as neighbors, within our natural rights and our legitimate self-interest to see to it that they cease to be centers of perpetual disturbance, that the rudiments of decent, orderly and civilizing government be observed by, and for the benefit of, their people, that these fertile regions become adequately useful to the world and to their own inhabitants.

To the argument that we ourselves are not spotless, that our governmental ways do not function to perfection, that we have lynchings unavenged by the law, that crime, law defiance and abuses

are not unknown in this country,—to that argument I will refer only long enough to say that, while it may have a certain efficacy in dialectics, it seems to me manifest, for obvious reasons, that it has no weight or bearing in a sober discussion aiming not at oratorical laurels but at the ascertainment of facts. (Similarly, I will leave aside the contention that the very existence of America is based upon Imperialism, inasmuch as we took the country away from the Indians.)

You may charge me with the offense of condoning high crimes and misdemeanors against the hallowed doctrine of "self-determination." Well, I frankly admit that my respect for, and allegiance to, that doctrine is by no means free from reservations. Neither nations nor human beings have an unqualified right to self-determination. Neither a nation nor a human being has a right to make a public nuisance of itself. Self-determination is limited by considerations of the welfare of the community. Individuals that are proven incompetent, shiftless, vicious, or affected with contagious disease, are subject to appropriate measures on the part of the State. Nations whom long and incontrovertible experience has proved to be unable or unwilling to so administer their estates as to make them conform to the minimum requirements of the world's work, who, instead of developing, impede development,—nations, when finally so adjudged by the consensus of the world's public opinion, are

properly subject to reasonable measures of intervention, not in the spirit of the strong despoiling the weak, but in the spirit of the strong aiding the weak, of advanced civilization helping retarded civilization, of light being let into dark places.

The purposes, tendencies and character of an individual or a nation can often be discerned as much from what they deliberately refrain from doing as from what they do. An imperialistic nation would have appropriated Cuba after the Spanish-American War, as a matter of course,—or, if not then, would have availed itself of one of the repeated occasions which offered themselves since then, to do so. America did not appropriate Cuba. The wise and reciprocally useful treaty which she made with her, bears no resemblance to appropriation. Again, after the World War, America had opportunity to extend her territorial sway. She refused to do so. In the closing year of the Taft Administration and the first two years of the Wilson Administration, America had strong provocation and plausible ground for intervention of an integral and more or less lasting character in Mexico. It is well-known that several European Governments expected no less, and that strong pressure was brought to bear upon our Government to do so. No greater temptation than authority over that vast and rich country could have been offered to any nation. No nation even faintly touched with Imperialism would have declined the opportunity

which the then existing constellation of circumstances offered both actually and sentimentally. America did resist that temptation and did decline that opportunity.

I would add that if America had meant to go in for Imperialism, her choice of objectives would prove her a singularly inept "picker." Surely, there was far bigger game to be bagged than the Caribbeans and the other places where she is alleged, principally, to have indulged in that sport. The additional trade or control of raw materials, which were to be obtained in those countries, are as nothing compared with our total balance sheet; the wealth which might be drawn from them is a drop in the bucket compared with the profitable opportunities available at home or beckoning elsewhere abroad. What worth-while inducement was there for us to pursue Imperialism in those parts of the globe? Commercially, the stake was not worth playing for. From the point of view of strategic requirements, the American Government could doubtless have obtained what is judged needful, for a not too exorbitant monetary consideration, by simple purchase and sale.

Owing to the limitation of the time available, I cannot enter into the matter of America's ownership of the Philippines, except to point out that it came to us as an unforeseen incident of the Spanish-American War, unsought and decidedly unwanted, but—having come—it involves a national responsibility which, in self-respect and in duty, we

are bound to discharge, and of which we cannot divest ourselves until it is fairly discharged. Likewise, time does not permit me to answer, in anticipation, such conclusions as subsequent speakers of the evening may presumably draw from the circumstances surrounding America's construction of the Panama Canal. I will confine myself to saying that, whatever may be one's opinion as to President Roosevelt's manner of proceeding, the aim in view and accomplished by him fits into no reasonable definition of Imperialism.

2. *The Allegation of Economic Imperialism*

Some of you, while perhaps inclined not to insist upon the charge of Political or Military Imperialism, may yet maintain the arraignment of Economic or Financial Imperialism.

As to Economic Imperialism, I know of no instance, within the time of my observation, in which that has been practiced, unless you choose to apply the term to the legitimate advancement and defense of American trade. In the ordinary pursuit of commerce, it has occurred that American business men have sought, and have obtained, concessions in foreign countries. The word "concession" has, and in the past not unfrequently deserved to have, a somewhat sinister sound. In modern American practice it has meant nothing more than that, before engaging capital, effort and enterprise in out-of-the-way

places of the world, those concerned want to be assured that they are not setting out on a wild goose chase, but that certain functions and opportunities in definite territories, on definite terms, for a definite length of time, are assigned to them contractually and cannot be taken away from them capriciously.

It is a proper and natural exercise of the function of Government that official cognizance should be taken of the granting of such concessions and that the moral support of the Government should be granted to American citizens for the undisturbed exercise of their rights thereunder, provided always that there is no taint of fraud or corruption in their original obtainment, that they are not unconscionable in their essence, and that they may not justly be held to have lapsed through the fault of the holder. It does happen that American concession-hunters in their eagerness "bite off more than they can chew," and in such a case, our Government should not—nor, as far as I am aware, does it—pursue a "dog-in-the-manger" policy.

I believe the following points may be regarded as established:

1. Our State Department does not lie awake nights seeking to obtain concessions for American citizens or stimulating them to obtain concessions for themselves.

2. It attempts to use its moral influence against the granting of concessions

unfairly discriminatory in favor of other nations as against Americans, precisely as it discountenances concessions unfairly discriminatory in favor of Americans as against other nations.

3. Its policy is not to encourage the granting of exclusive rights, be it to Americans or to citizens of other nations, but on the contrary our Government stands forth as the champion of the open door and equality of opportunity for all comers, wherever practicable in the nature of the case.

4. It takes due cognizance of the grant of concessions (reasonably warranted as to terms and conditions) to American citizens, but it never goes beyond the exercise of its moral influence in maintaining the rights of its nationals under such concessions, and I have known it to decline to do so when it was not satisfied as to the cleanness or fairness of the American contention.

5. The game of concession-hunting or otherwise exploiting opportunities in foreign countries is neither as popular among Americans as some of you would suppose it to be nor as profitable as it is "cracked up" to be. I do not claim his relative aloofness from that game as a sign of superior virtue in the American, but rather attribute it to the fact that the opportunities in his own country are still so great —in contrast to the state of affairs among the principal nations of

Europe—that he finds it difficult to get up enthusiasm and eagerness for employing his time, thought, effort and capital in regions too far distant from "Broadway."

With every desire to make at least some graceful concessions to the views held by the previous speaker, and probably by the majority of this audience, I am bound to conclude that I know of no practices which can justly be characterized as Economic Imperialism on the part of America.

3. *The Allegation of Financial Imperialism*

Lastly, as to Financial Imperialism: The facts are simple and patent. America holds half of the total available stock of the world's gold. Its people are prosperous and have a surplus of funds for investment. Many nations are in need of funds, and naturally turn to America.

The American banker acts as middleman between the lender and the borrower. His first function in that capacity is to investigate the solvency and stability of the applicant for funds. Next, he requires assurance that the proceeds of the loan desired are for legitimate and constructive purposes. He then negotiates terms, both as to the rate of interest and as to the special security (if any), requisite in order to make the loan palatable to the American investor. (I will not omit to add that these terms include a commission

for himself and those associated with him, but I will also add that, of late years, the rate of that commission has become practically as fixed and stereotyped by custom as that of a real estate broker or an architect.)

In making arrangements for terms and security, he must, of course, bear in mind that the ultimate provider of the funds desired to be raised, is not the banker, nor even the financial community, but the great army of investors. His own function is merely that of negotiator and distributor. The goods which he purchases are intended for resale to the public. They are not meant to remain on his shelves. If they do, it is proof of misjudgment, and if he falls into repeated misjudgment, the penalty is exhaustion of his working capital, and, eventually, probable failure. The essence of correct banking is that the banker must keep the bulk of his funds in liquid shape.

Therefore, in appraising the terms and the security required in the case of a loan to be offered to the public, the banker has two principal things in mind, namely, the salability of the bonds which he buys and the permanent solvency of the borrower. The public holds him, the banker, morally responsible for his recommendations, and the penalty of carelessness or poor judgment on his part is the withdrawal of the confidence and the patronage of the investor, i.e., the weakening, or even the destruction, of the very fundament on which his business rests.

Is it not perfectly manifest, that in the whole process of the dealings of the financier with the borrower there enters only one main question, namely, the plain question of business, and that there is neither room nor reason for the element of Imperialism?

One final function remains to be fulfilled before the banker, having completed mutually satisfactory negotiations with the prospective foreign borrower, whether a Government, or a Municipality, or a governmentally guaranteed or administered undertaking, offers his wares to the American investor. By custom, which has acquired the force of law, inquiry is made of the American State Department whether it sees any objection to the proposed transaction. An approving reply from Washington involves, of course, no kind of moral guaranty or pledge on the part of our governmental authorities. It involves merely an implied conclusion on the part of the State Department that the proposed loan is intended to serve a legitimate purpose and that its consummation is not inconsistent with the point of view of the American Government.

And that is all the State Department has to do with the matter, except to use its good offices if circumstances arise which jeopardize the rights or the safety of American capital placed, in good faith, in foreign countries. That is the limit of the Government's intercession. There is not a single instance when the armed forces of the American Government have been employed to collect

debts, or otherwise maintain the rights of American bankers, financiers, concessionaires or bondholders. The actuating motive for the use of such forces, in all cases when armed intercession was resorted to, was to enact national, not private, rights and duties. If among the results of establishing order and aiding to set up a proper system and administration of government were the fulfilment of due financial obligations and compliance with legal pledges, it remains true, nevertheless, that the bringing about of these rightful things was one of the effects of the action of the American Government, but was not, either in fact or in spirit, the reason, incentive or purpose which caused such action to be taken.

One other matter remains to be referred to, which, to the casual and perhaps not too benignantly inclined beholder, may have the appearance of imperialistic interference, but which in fact has no such purpose, meaning or effect. It has occurred (as it will doubtless continue to occur) that the willingness of American bankers and investors to loan funds to certain foreign countries was made dependent upon the American Government designating American citizens to administer special guarantees, pledged to secure the loan service, such as customs or similar specific sources of revenue. There is no more of Imperialism in our Government making such designation, as and if requested by borrower and lender, and in the exercising of such functions by the

persons so designated, than there is Imperialism in the action of Mr. Gilbert in exercising the functions of Reparation Agent under the provisions of the Dawes Report, by the common consent of Germany and the other nations concerned.

Most of the nations of the world, as well as many municipalities and industrial concerns abroad, are eagerly asking for accommodation in the shape of the loan of American dollars, to an extent, indeed, exceeding, for the time being, the inclination and capacity of American finance and the American investor. To call measurable compliance with such requests, on reasonable conditions as to security and otherwise, Financial Imperialism, is surely to attach a novel and strange meaning to that term.

When, after the close of the Civil War, Europe poured funds aggregating hundreds of millions of dollars into the United States (taking as security railroad and land mortgages) and thus provided the means for recovering from the effects of that struggle and for the development of American resources and opportunities, did she practice Financial Imperialism? If so, it seems to me that Lincoln's famous reply to the complaint of indulgence in whiskey-drinking, brought against a victory-winning General, may well be applied to that kind of Imperialism.

The tales of an unsophisticated and subservient State Department and a ruthless, treaty-dictating, world-manipulating Standard Oil or other "big

business" power are simply myths. The plain fact is that business men do not possess the super-qualities which, either in laudation or in condemnation, are frequently attributed to them. They have neither the craftiness and greed, with which they are charged, nor the profundity and far-sightedness, with which they are credited.

Having had some little experience with the inner workings of things, I have no hesitation in saying that while finance and "big business" have had occasion at times to act as servants of the State Department, they have never, within the period of my recollection, been permitted to be its masters. And I say further that not only have such services, generally, not been compensated, but that in more than one instance that I know of, they have involved both expense and effort, not recoverable either directly or indirectly.

It is astonishing how often legends about the power and sway of bankers spring into being, and how credulously they are accepted. For instance, the recent international loans to Austria and Germany have been the text for many stories telling how high finance, through the conditions governing these loans, reduced these countries to a state of vassalage to its power. The fact is that in neither of these cases did bankers have anything to do with determining the conditions which were basic for the loans. In the case of Austria, the conditions were established by the League of Nations. In the case of Germany, they

were fixed by the Dawes Commission and by the conference of Prime Ministers and Finance Ministers in London last summer.

All that the bankers were called upon to do, and did, was to assist in the working out of certain technical matters, and to advise what were the financial terms at which the proposed issues would appeal to investors, and, particularly, what were the assurances of stability, of security and of freedom from outside interference, which were requisite in order to enable them (the bankers) to take the responsibility of recommending the loans to investors in their respective countries. According to well-authenticated reports, the person most outspokenly in accord with the bankers' point of view in the latter aspect and most insistent in demanding compliance with it (not, of course, because it was the bankers' view, but because he believed it to be the right view), was none other than the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Labor Government of Great Britain, the Socialist Philip Snowden. And the then Prime Minister, the Socialist Ramsay MacDonald, rose in the House of Commons to declare that the bankers had in no way gone beyond the expression of such advice as had been asked of them, and that he gratefully acknowledged the value and the spirit of their services.

It is neither my function nor my inclination to claim a spotless record for American business, big or little. But I do claim that whatever other charge

may or may not lie against it, the charge of fostering or practicing Imperialism is without ground or warrant in fact.

* * * * * *

I have not tried to make an argument in respect of Imperialism "per se." I have not aimed either to defend or attack it. I have not sought to examine the question whether Imperialism, necessarily and in all contingencies, must be adjudged as evil and unwarrantable. I am merely saying that, according to my observations and judgment, Imperialism is not practiced by the Government or the people of the United States.

I am aware that my presentation of the case under discussion may engender the retort that it "doth protest too much." For debating purposes, it would doubtless have been good strategy to make my affirmations and denials less comprehensive. I can only say that if I had done so, I should have failed in adherence to what I believe to be the truth.

I am likewise aware that nothing lends itself more easily to scoffing and derision than the avowal of disinterestedness of purpose and decency of motives. I realize that the profession of one's belief in the genuineness of such avowals, especially in the case of nations, runs counter somewhat to prevailing intellectual fashions and is apt in many minds to create, against the person so professing, the presumption of gullibility, if not hypocrisy. Yet, I do not hesitate to confess that I am naive

enough to believe that one of the traditions and springs of action of the American people, consistent with a robust assertion of self-interest and self-counsel, is to do the fair and square thing by other nations, large or small, and, according to its lights, to endeavor to be a serviceable element toward the progress and welfare of humankind.

4. *A Few General Considerations*

May I trespass upon your patience for a little while longer to give expression to a few observations of a general character which, with your leave, I should like to submit to this gathering:

Let me begin by saying that, while I am not a Radical and while I wholly disbelieve in the theories of Socialism, I am far from being a "Standpatter." I yield respectful consideration to every opinion and every effort, the motives of which bear the hallmark of sincere and worthy purpose. I believe in progress and in the stimulus of intelligent and constructively directed discontent. I believe that the faults of Reaction, with the wars and repressions springing therefrom, have done more harm to the world than the faults of Radicalism. I am troubled by the reflection that, in too many cases, success in certain lines is too richly rewarded in proportion to the average yield, non-success too heavily penalized, that, too often, the same degree of effort meets with too uneven a measure of compensation, that too many of the trees of humankind, for

lack of sufficient light, warmth and sustenance, are stunted in their growth or even doomed wholly to wither and decay.

I believe that the mass of the American people want what is sensible and just and making for the general welfare. I believe that there is a vast majority who would gladly bring cheer and comfort if they are shown wretchedness and squalor, right if they are shown wrong, freedom if they are shown oppression. I believe it to be not a copy-book maxim but a sober and well-attested fact that the power of the spirit is far greater than that of the dollar, that the might of justice and right is far greater, ultimately, than that of selfishness, prejudice or greed.

Let me quote as a single but characteristic illustration in connection with this last sentence, the matter of woman suffrage. A great majority of American men were originally opposed to it, partly from reasoned conviction, partly from sentiment, partly from an instinct for the preservation of their "superiority," partly from apprehension that the enlargement of the electorate would strengthen the Radical vote. Yet when gradually it became plain to the average male voter that no argument based on justice could be sustained against the proposition of giving the suffrage to women, the opposition crumbled and woman-suffrage won.

Let me point out that such measures as, for instance, the progressive income-tax, collective bargaining by employees,

the eight-hour day, the governmental supervision and regulation of railroads and similar natural monopolies or semi-monopolies, are approved by the sense of justice of the business community, provided the application of such measures is kept within the limits of reason, and that they would not be repealed by business if it had the power to repeal them.

* * * * * *

What you Radicals and we who hold opposing views differ about, is not so much the end as the means, not so much what should be brought about as how it should and can be brought about, believing as we do, that rushing after the utopian is not only fruitless and ineffectual, but gets into the way of, and retards, progress towards realizing attainable improvement.

With all due respect, I venture to suggest that Radicalism too often tends to address itself more to theoretical perfection than to concrete amelioration; to phantom grievances or grievances of the past, which have lost their reality, rather than to actual matters of the day; to slogans, dogmas, professions, rather than to facts. Indeed, I have known leading Radical orators to bend and twist the necks of facts most mercilessly, if the poor, rigid facts happened to be facing in another direction than the speaker's arguments. I have known them to attribute all virtue to certain elements or sections of the community, and all evil to others; to lack in a sense

of proportion and in a homely appreciation of the realities; to advocate, in the name of Liberty, policies embodying the very reverse of individual freedom. I do not mean to be flippant when I say that the attitude and expressions of Radical spokesmen recall to my mind, at times, the story of the dissenting juryman who complained that he had never met eleven such obstinate men.

Leaving aside the demands of orthodox Socialism, the platform of Radicalism demands, to quote only a few of its planks, governmental control of banking credits; government ownership of railways; such extension of Governmental functions as would mean a vastly augmented bureaucracy; extreme, if not throttling, taxation of accumulated capital; emasculating restraints in respect of the Supreme Court; the abolition of an Imaginary Imperialism, and so forth. I am frank to say that I do not see in what respect the attainment of these and similar things would prove of tangible benefit to the plain people.

I see, on the contrary, under the operation of the existing social and economic system—gradually and progressively adapting itself to the problems and conceptions of the day—an advancing tide in the well-being of the people, a growing assertion of the social conscience, a noteworthy diminution in the difference of the standard, and the contents, of living between the well-to-do and the masses. And I see further that almost all the leading positions in government, industry and finance are held

by sons of the plain people, who fought and won their way to the top.

That does not mean that I see ground for self-complacent satisfaction. Much indeed remains to be accomplished, and some of the things thus remaining call urgently to be attended to. The advent of the machine period, about a hundred years ago, and the subsequent development of large scale production in industry, while they have brought results of vast benefit to humanity in many ways, did also bring grave maladjustments and social ills, for which the world has not yet found completely adequate treatment or wholly effective remedies.

It seems to me the purpose of right-thinking leaders, of whatever political affiliations, should be to seek principally the tangible result of making the lives of the people steadily fuller and richer, of bringing into them more of joy, satisfaction and reward, of dislodging squalor, misery, drabness, oppression, denial of opportunity.

Of course, the preservation of liberty, the vigilance and protest against injustice, are, or ought to be, the paramount concern of all Americans, whatever their station or occupation. I would frankly question, however, whether alleged Imperialism, and such-like highly contentious matters do cut an appreciable and immediate figure in the life of the average worker and his family, for good or ill. But, providing him with better housing; abolishing ugly and degrading tenements; creating parks and adequate playgrounds; establishing well-equipped,

clean and airy hospitals; furnishing quick and comfortable transportation; safeguarding him against unemployment, sickness and old age; seeing to it that he has sanitary and dignified working conditions, his due say, adequate opportunity, and a fair chance to share in the fruits of industry; making the administration of justice less cumbersome, complex and expensive; giving to him and his family ample access to knowledge, art, beauty, and culture—these and similar things do mean genuine and concrete additions to his enjoyment and contentment and to the value of his life.

Such things are not controversial in their essence as between Radicals, Liberals and Conservatives, their benefits are not debatable, and they are assuredly obtainable. Cannot we all join hands in trying to bring them about?

Extreme claims will only produce extreme resistance. Undue pressure will inevitably cause commensurate counter-pressure. Exaggerated pronouncements will produce exaggerated apprehensions.

Is it quite illusory to dream—in this land, favored as it is beyond all others with those things which make for widely diffused prosperity and ought to make for progress and happiness—that well-intentioned and thoughtful men, without yielding their respective convictions and ultimate aims, may declare a truce for a while and unite upon attempting to accomplish those things which most need to be done?

Granting you the privilege, if you so wish, to look upon Conservatives as oppressors, despoilers or besotted and upon Liberals as ineffectual, outmoded or trimmers, and reserving for Conservatives and Liberals the privilege to reciprocate in kind, is it really quite idle to hope that we may cease to accentuate and propagate friction, antagonism and bitterness, and, agreeing upon certain limited objectives desired by all right-minded men, that we may find a bridge across which we can all walk towards the attainment of those objectives for the common welfare of the American people?

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THE ATTITUDE OF THE UNITED STATES TOWARD PREPAREDNESS

AN ADDRESS

BY

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MARCH, 1916

An address delivered at the Mount Morris Baptist Church, New York, Jan. 23, 1916, by H. A. Garfield, President of Williams College

THE ATTITUDE OF THE UNITED STATES TOWARD PREPAREDNESS

ALL Americans believe in preparedness: we disagree only as to its kind and extent. Preparedness is a question of public policy, not of diplomacy. It is, therefore, a political question to be answered by the people and their representatives. But it is not a partisan question and ought not, therefore, to be made the football of politics. It ought to be discussed widely and thoroughly because it raises issues demanding the adoption of definite policies affecting our status at home and our relations abroad. No discussion of the question is adequate which does not include all phases of preparedness. Most of the discussion thus far has dealt with a single phase or has confused the arguments applicable to all of them. One phase of the question is military, another political, another social. I propose to consider each briefly.

I

The need of military preparedness is the simplest of the three to argue. It is easy to prove that vast armies can be landed on our coasts and lay waste the sea-board. Take for example, Great Britain. The British navy outranks ours three to one. Her merchant marine is more than ten times that of our sea-going merchant vessels. She could land 170,000 men and 90,000 animals on our shores in 14 days.[1] Yes, but under what circumstances? Only if the sea were first cleared of our defending fleet, and if all other conditions were favorable; and, what

[1] Army War College (U. S.). Statement of a Proper Military Policy for the United States, September, 1915.

is much more to the point, if Great Britain *wishes* to invade the United States. The student of military science always assumes that a nation which *can* attack *will* do so. From the point of view of his problem, he is correct, but his assumptions are not and ought not to be ours. If mere number and speed of vessels are to be considered, we can get much more impressive figures from the immigration reports. 200,000 foreigners have landed on our shores in a single month. More than 1,000,000 have landed in New York harbor in a single year.

But, aside from the wish of any nation to invade us, the question of military preparedness is not merely one of numbers and of speed of vessels. Even as a military problem, it must be qualified by the *ifs* of practical experience. What do the military writers say concerning over-sea expeditionary campaigns? All recognize that the problems are intricate and that experience thus far has not demonstrated precisely what can be accomplished. History offers us no example of an expedition brought together and sailing under hostile guns. In no case has a fleet of the size deemed necessary for a successful descent upon the United States attempted to proceed in compact, thoroughly convoyed formation across the ocean, nor does anyone pretend to say what would be the effect of a mid-ocean attack upon the unity and *morale* of such an expeditionary force. No landing has yet been attempted in the face of opposing forces on land or sea, except at Gallipoli,[1] and no nation is likely to repeat the blunder. It is agreed that landing on a hostile coast is possible only when the landing force is protected by a naval force superior to that which the enemy can bring to the spot at the decisive moment of

[1] Gen. Ian Hamilton's report to Lord Kitchener. *The Official Gazette*, Jan. 6, 1916, quoted *New York Times*, Jan. 7, 1916.

landing, and that in long voyages if the battle fleet is defeated there is nothing for the transports to do but to return home. After considering all the improvements introduced by modern machinery, it remains true that a transport fleet is a body easily wounded and that a few hostile cruisers or torpedo boats could inflict on it incalculable damage. It is furthermore stated that to attempt to make an effective landing within range of considerable hostile garrisons or fortifications is impossible.

The testimony concerning expeditionary forces is generally treated under three heads, embarkation, the voyage, and landing. As to the first, it is clear that success depends on the skill and experience of the officers in charge and on the port facilities. Before one can fairly comprehend the immensity of the task, a word is necessary as to the number of ships of all kinds required for the expedition. Let us assume, as the writers generally do, an expeditionary force of 100,000 troops. No one pretends to say that it is feasible to transport these troops with their horses, field guns, equipment, and ammunition without providing a base of supply which must be carried along. Moreover, it is agreed that success in modern warfare demands the presence of siege guns, complete equipment for landing on an open shore; in fact, everything to support life for man and beast and keep each in fit fighting condition for a period of from five to thirty days after landing. Telfer-Smollett[1] of the English army estimates that 134 large steamers would be required to transport an army corps and a cavalry division (*i.e.*, 36,500 to 48,000 men and from 1,500 to 3,000 horses). According to this estimate,

[1] Telfer-Smollett, Lieut.-Col. C. E. D. The best method for carrying out the conjoint practice of the navy and army in embarkation and disembarkation for war. Journ. Roy. United Service Institution, v. 49, p. 353. London, 1905. Gold medal prize essay.

therefore, at least 270 ships would be needed for an assumed expeditionary force of 100,000 men and 6,000 horses.

One must make heavy drafts upon his imagination to picture a fleet of 270 troop-ships, to say nothing of the additional ships necessary for seige guns, ammunition, and base of supplies, and of the convoying battleships. The 134 ships alone anchored as near as is thought to be safe, viz., at intervals of 400 yards between ships, would form, as Telfer-Smollett says, "an enormous parallelogram 1½ miles wide and more than 3 miles deep . . . . marked out on the ocean by 134 steamers, helpless, unmovable, and crowded with soldiers, horses, and equipment." If this fleet should form in order four abreast, there would then be a line 33 ships long, that is, a parallelogram nearly one by eight miles in extent. But observe that 134 ships will bear only one-half the assumed expeditionary force of 100,000 men and that no account is here taken of the ships which must accompany the fleet.

To load and bring together such a fleet is nothing short of an herculean task. It cannot be accomplished from any one port because speed is of the utmost importance. At least half a dozen ports of departure must be cleared for action and made to contribute with clocklike precision to the composition of this mammoth flotilla. Moreover, the fleet must be brought together at a common meeting place. Care must be taken that no enemy is lurking about, otherwise there will be mortal injury to the enterprise at the outset. All agree that speed and surprise are important elements in the problem. The speed can be no faster than that of the slowest vessel and innumerable things may happen to disarrange the order and delay the voyage. Nor will it do to apply the old

maxim "divide and conquer." It is agreed that an expeditionary force must be kept together—that it is weakened and imperilled by attempting landings at different places. No, the journey must be made by the fleet as a single body enclosed as it were in the surrounding hulls of battleships. There must be ships of war enough to prepare the way and to act as convoy for the transports.

But if the task of loading appears herculean and the perils of the voyage extraordinary, what shall be said of the difficulties of landing? Of ships of all kinds, including battleships, there will be no less than 500. One writer, though not a military authority, places the figures as high as 900.[1] A dock is the best landing place, but obviously this cannot be had for the asking and the great ports are well protected by fortifications. Edelsheim[2] states that the fortifications of the great American trade harbors cannot be subdued without serious loss. The next best place of landing is stated to be a protected bay, but most of the historic landings have been necessarily made on an open coast, the least satisfactory of the three. Before a landing anywhere can be planned, it is necessary that the battleships of the invading force should clear the sea of enemy ships. Moreover, landing on an open coast will be greatly delayed if the weather be not propitious. Assuming, however, that the weather conditions are favorable, this mammoth fleet will, according to the military experts, approach the shore on the night before the intended landing. Obviously, it must be an extensive shore, for if we are to consider only the ships

[1] Jonathan A. Rawson, Jr. *New York Evening Post*, Oct. 4, and Nov. 20, 1915.

[2] Freiherr von Edelsheim. In the service of the German General Staff in 1901. Operationen Über See. Gray's translation, London, 1915.

bearing troops, horses, and such supplies as will be immediately necessary, we have discovered that 270 ships must be drawn up in order, no simple task on a sufficiently dark night when lights must be extinguished if there is to be the least element of surprise in the landing. It is estimated that the ships must not be more than four deep from the shore, otherwise the distance and the danger of collision of the passing transports between ship and shore would be excessive. But we will assume the difficult task to have been performed. On the morning of the next day then, there will be drawn up, say one mile from shore, 270 ships in four lines, each line 16 miles long. How many stretches of main shore 16 miles long, connected with strategic points have we?

The experts agree that an oversea expedition is a mammoth undertaking, is without parallel in experience, and that nothing but long-continued practice in times of peace conjointly between military and naval forces will render the undertaking anything but extremely hazardous. Admiral Fiske[1] urging a greater navy and army says that if the only kind of defense required is to prevent invasion, navies are hardly needed. Our dependence should then be, he says, on forts, mines, and submarines. As to the length of time of the expeditionary enterprise from its inception to the day of landing, it is variously estimated, the minimum being fourteen days. But this is only if Great Britain with her enormous tonnage were undertaking the task. The lowest estimate for any other nation is from 16 to 22 days,[2] provided weather conditions are perfect and there are no delays due to sea battles or the breaking down of machinery. Considered as a practical proposition,

[1] Rear Admiral Bradley A. Fiske, U. S. N. Naval Principles. *No. Am. Rev.*, Nov. 1915, p. 693.

[2] Army War College. Statement, *supra*.

the estimates vary from four to nine weeks. Edelsheim says: "If on the German side the preparations of the transport squadron and the landing begin as soon as the battle fleet is sent out, it can be assumed that in ordinary circumstances this corps will be in a position to begin operations on American soil after about four weeks."[1] As to the question of secrecy, it is agreed that there is very little chance of an expeditionary force sailing without knowledge of the fact.

One of the arguments advanced for a larger and more effectively organized military establishment is based on the proposition that the "use of raw troops" and "want of expansive organization, adequate for every emergency"[2] prolongs war and is wasteful of men and treasure. Up to a certain point this is true. Our army and navy ought to be well organized and equipped, and economically maintained. But we ought not to have a larger military establishment than we need to police our country and defend our shores.[3] The so-called offensive-defensive military policy is certain to excite jealousy and is likely to provoke war. One great war is vastly more ruinous than many small ones. From the Declaration of Independence to 1880, we had one year of war for every three years of peace, but the total wastage during this period, including, of course, the enormous losses of the Civil War, was insignificant compared with the wastage of the present European war. And yet the least prepared of the European nations was better prepared from a military point of view than our forces were at the beginning of any of our wars.

[1] Operationen Über See. *Supra*, p. 102.

[2] Bvt.-Maj.-Gen. Emory Upton, U. S. A. The Military Policy of the United States, p. viii, Washington, 1912.

[3] Cf. Sec'y of War (U. S.). Annual Report, 1914, pp. 4, 5.

Another argument advanced for an increased military establishment is that "the safeguard of isolation no longer exists."[1] The statement is startling and most important if true. The reason advanced by the War College for this statement is that the oceans are now easy avenues of approach by reason of the number, speed, and carrying capacity of ocean-going vessels. But the United States also shares in this advantage. If the ocean can be crossed more quickly by enemy ships of greater tonnage, our greater ships can come as swiftly to the point of attack. The submarine, the aeroplane, and the wireless telegraph are as helpful to us as to the enemy. To base our building program upon that of other nations is to put ourselves in the vicious circle of naval competition and to commit ourselves to a policy dictated by Europe and absurdly inapplicable from a political point of view to our needs. I for one, am not ready to accept the dictum of our War College that "the use of any part of the high-sea fleet for local defence . . . . is a misuse of naval power."[2] It may indeed "defeat the chief object of the navy" as maintained by the War College, but we are less concerned to accommodate ourselves to the wishes of the navy than to insist that the navy carry out our policy of defence. What that policy shall be is not yet determined. If the Congress of these United States, after due deliberation, decides to adopt the war policy of Europe and at all hazards secure and maintain control of the high seas as recommended by the War College division of our General Staff Corps, then and then only will we be warranted in entering into competition with European governments in the building of navies. If this calamitous program should be adopted, then indeed our navy must be made "free to

[1] War College Statement. *Supra*, p. 8.
[2] War College Statement. *Supra*, p. 9.

take the offensive promptly," but in that event we can no longer complain of the aggressive-defensive policy of any nation under the sun. We will then have committed ourselves to the dismal belief that war is the natural state of man and peace a foolish dream. Adequate defense of our coasts doubtless calls for battleships, but it calls especially for swift-sailing vessels and submarines. We have great soldiers and noble-hearted men in our army and navy, but it is not for them to determine our policy at this crisis. What this policy shall be is closely knit up with the second phase of our main question, namely, political preparedness.

II

The first question which confronts us here is this:—Are we likely to be drawn into war with one of the European powers in the near future through the infraction of the Monroe Doctrine, or of some other right which we conceive to be essential to us as a sovereign people? Those who answer this affirmatively and therefore urge military preparedness on a scale hitherto unknown in the United States must adopt one of two hypotheses—either that the world will continue to be actuated by motives with which we are familiar, or that there will be a profound change away from inclinations to peace to the militaristic type exemplified by Rome and the Middle Ages. To those who adopt the latter premise I have little to say. It is based upon an assumption unsupported by reason. It is unreasonable because it leaves out of account the appeal to self-interest. Nothing the belligerents have done in the present war warrants the assumption. The invasions of Belgium, France, and Russia by the Germans and the occupation of Greek territory by the Entente Allies, have

been in each case in response to what the invaders *believed* to be military necessity. Whatever view we may take of the argument from necessity, it is at any rate based on reason and not on lust of conquest. We do not yet know what the result of the campaign in and about Salonika will be, but it is to be observed that the forces of Austria and Bulgaria have halted outside the Greek border, while the forces of the Allies have entrenched themselves at Salonika. If reports from Vienna are to be believed, Salonika has ceased to be regarded as of strategic value. The Austro-Bulgarian forces appear to be content to keep the way open from Vienna to Constantinople and to allow the forces of the Allies to maintain their expensive base at Salonika. The circumstances may change at any moment, but the failure of the Austro-Bulgarians to pursue their retreating enemy over the Greek frontier is evidence of the continued existence of motives with which military men and modern governments are familiar.

In a lecture recently delivered at Williams College, Professor T. C. Smith, after reviewing the history of the several wars in which the United States has been involved, said: "Since the formation of our Republic, then, it is a safe conclusion to draw that neither England, France, Italy nor Spain has sought war with us. They have tried even under difficult circumstances to conduct themselves so as to avoid pushing us beyond the danger line, just as we, on our side, have acted with similar discretion. It was only when a naval and commercial war was under way and England and France were deeply involved, with their fighting blood up, that their behaviour was persisted in against our protests until we lost patience. The two newer powers, Japan and Germany, so far as their record goes, have displayed an identical disposition. Of course there has been an abundance of bad language and of

threats besides ill-will and contempt. From the literature, newspapers, and parliamentary speeches in these countries one might easily gather a great collection of anti-American utterances, and from such anthology draw the conclusion that an irrepressible antagonism existed between our country and each of the others. But dislike and speculative imaginings regarding world-rivalries are worth nothing as historical evidence of national policy when placed against the actual performances of states. One of the most vicious historical fallacies is to credit such utterances with any importance when they are not actually carried out in deeds. The plain fact that Japan, for instance, has uniformly behaved with dignity and restraint, regardless of the grievance created by the legislation of California, outweighs any amount of conjectural antagonism on the part of the Japanese people and state, in defining Japanese policy."[1]

The Mexican crisis of 1866 has been cited recently to prove the wisdom of military preparedness. It is said that Napoleon III yielded to our demand that French troops be withdrawn from Mexico because then, for the only time in our history, we were prepared with an army of 1,500,000 veterans trained by four years of war. It is true that Grant and others of our military group wished to fight. Seward did not. Like the present administration, he adopted a policy of progressive firmness and patience. He also was called weak and pusillanimous, but his policy won the victory. How little our military preparedness had to do with the result is shown by the sequence of events. On May 1, 1865, we had 1,052,038 veterans under arms. Then we began to disband. On November 6 of that year, when we refused to recognize the Maximillian government, about 800,000 had been

[1] Faculty Lectures. Series 1915-16. Nov. 30, 1915.

sent home. On April 3, 1866, when France agreed to withdraw her troops from Mexico, not more than 80,000 men were left in our army. June 30, 1866, the army numbered only 42,000. But the crisis of the affair was not reached until November, five months later, when "the volunteer army of the Civil War had practically ceased to exist."[1]

"If history teaches anything and if analogies are of any value," to quote Professor Smith again, "one is warranted in concluding that the United States is not yet in any greater danger of war than it has been many times in the past, and that while the possibility of a crisis arising over European war methods exists, the two sides have shown what can at worst be termed a willingness to avoid war with this country. If we fight we shall do it because we see fit, not because war is forced upon us."

Under what circumstances will Europe seek a cause of war with the United States? If we possess or claim the right to possess or control that which Europe needs, and if we refuse to grant Europe's demands, a cause of war will be discovered. What is it that each of the nations now at war will need most of the Western Hemisphere after peace is established? In the first place, each will look for trade connections. Nowhere will this need be more satisfactorily met than in the Americas. Europe will turn to the west for trade as an exhausted man turns to food. The man will fight for food and Europe for trade if necessary. But it will not be necessary for Europe to fight. Trade is reciprocal. When each party has something the other wants exchanges follow. In the second place, each of the nations now at war will seek to establish friendly relations with as many other nations as possible, for each will advocate some policy of international law

[1] J. H. Rhodes. Hist. of the U. S., v 5, chap. xxvi.

which will seem to it vital and which it will try to have established. For this reason, also, our friendship will be desired. Each belligerent at the present time dislikes us in proportion to our refusal to permit practices favorable to its mode of warfare, but contrary to international law. But none will allow this dislike to stand in the way of its ultimate need. We ought, therefore, to prepare to satisfy these reciprocal, commercial, and political needs. No one except the ultra-pacifists will deny that in so far as our army and navy are below their normal equipment and condition they should be brought up to fullest efficiency. If we have an army and navy, let them be adequate to our needs. My quarrel is with those who fail to see that our needs are also Europe's needs and, being blind, would scare us into the adoption of a foolish policy. To over-develop in any direction is to weaken ourselves. If Europe's need is to trade with us, then we ought to prepare for a great increase in our foreign trade. Anything which hinders development in that direction is unwise. We think ourselves philanthropic when we send food and clothing to needy non-combatants abroad. We shall perform an equally worthy service if, after the war, we open our markets to the reviving commerce of Europe. Under these circumstances, political preparedness demands that we find a way to adjust international differences by the reciprocal method. This method emphasizes national duties and international rights. We are concerned in a common welfare that includes all nations. Such a method of adjusting international differences is proposed by the League to Enforce Peace. Any organization which looks merely to our own national welfare advocates a mistaken policy unsuited to the times and inimical to the existence of the ties which bind the people of the several nations together. The League to Enforce

Peace postpones force to arbitration, but it insists that its decrees shall be carried out. This is the essence of free government. It calls upon us in case of need to join in enforcing its decrees, but it does not impose upon us the necessity of supporting a military establishment in excess of what we decide to be necessary for our needs.

The essential feature of every reciprocal arrangement is trustworthiness and freedom from suspicion. If the United States adopts a policy contrary to the spirit of the proposed reciprocal arrangement, or which arouses distrust, it will imperil the arrangement from its inception. We cannot reverse our attitude toward standing armies and big navies without at least exciting the suspicions of Europe. It will make little difference on what ground we base our program. Europe will see in the departure from our traditional policy a menace that will move the nations to greater military activity. Moreover, we must not fail to consider the effect of this departure upon our institutions of government. If we admit the principle of military competition with Europe, we must reject an important principle of democracy or fail miserably in the competition. Democracies are by their nature unable to compete successfully with autocratically governed countries in the conduct of war. Of this the framers of our Constitution were well aware and therefore provided machinery whereby, in the event of war, the President of the United States may become military dictator. Do not misunderstand me. Democracies have waged great wars, but they have done it wastefully and have succeeded only when they have evolved themselves for the time being into something not democratic. The departure advocated by the enthusiasts for a big army and navy is not for a season but permanently. We must be big and we must stay big. That is the burden of their vocif-

erations. What I urge upon you to believe is that if this is to be done it is folly to attempt longer to maintain our democratic institutions. If necessity dictates that we enter into competition with European states in the maintenance of great army and navy establishments, then wisdom demands that we adopt as permanent machinery of government that which under our Constitution was intended for emergencies only; in other words, that we put our liberties in commission and clothe our President with autocratic powers and surround him with expert military advisers. Do we wish to do so? It is a question which deserves our most serious consideration. But it is impossible to answer it wisely until we first decide upon a national policy. Is the Congress now sitting prepared to adopt a policy, and, if so, are we prepared to stand back of Congress? The Monroe Doctrine is the only great principle affecting international relations that has received much consideration, and concerning its nature and scope there is diversity of opinion. New questions are emerging—the freedom of the seas—government manufacture and control of munitions of war—Pan-Americanism—the rights of neutrals. How do we stand on these questions? Ought we to strengthen our coast defences, provide ourselves with mine-laying ships and swift-sailing torpedo boats, or ought we to follow the advice of the experts who tell us that the battleship is "the primary or paramount type" of a fleet? Preparedness of the right kind is the result of a long process. It calls for years of training not alone in the science and art of war, not even primarily in that branch of human activity. The sword is the surgeon's knife, and war an operation on the diseased condition of civilization. That which lies back of military preparedness and which is a condition precedent to its achievement is the training of school and

college. It is found in the business and professional schools. It is vitalized by the dynamic power of religious teaching and experience. It is developed by learning how to subordinate self-interest to the common welfare. This brings us to the third phase of our question, namely, social preparedness.

III

We are beginning to understand that the victories of the present war are due to social and civic preparedness quite as much as to military preparedness. A nation cannot be strong whose citizens in large proportion are indigent or enfeebled in body, mind, or will. No nation can make effective use of its naval and military forces whose citizens are not both ready and able to devote their best powers to the improvement of social conditions. To this end we greatly need, first, to learn the meaning of thoroughness in training, whether in the workshop or the school.

"Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control
These three alone lead life to sovereign power."

Then, being well trained, we need to learn the art of cooperation—in meeting emergencies, in the harder task of overcoming conditions adverse to the development of our less fortunate fellows, and in the still more difficult task of building up community life, for this calls for great devotion to ideals and exertion of force of will. Nor would I limit this by a narrow patriotism. It is true that activities are limited by environment. Men must labor for the community in which they find themselves. But their aim should be to strengthen the community—that is, to improve the living conditions of all the unfortunate members of the community, in order that the community may in its turn add strength to the state. But the state—one's country—is not the end. The state must in turn

make its contribution to the family of nations to the end that the lot of men everywhere may be ameliorated. We begin with man and we work back to man. Communities and states are but instrumentalities to an end. The end is *useful* service to mankind.

But you will say, this is pure altruism. What has it to do with the stern and terrible reality of war? Everything. The condition in which England finds herself to-day is proof enough of it. As Lloyd George is reported to have said, England's worst enemy at the present time is drink. So long as Englishmen are unwilling to sacrifice personal liberties to the common weal, they will by so much weaken their power to overcome the common enemy. But we need not point the moral by comments upon a sister nation. We, too, resent what we are pleased to call infringement of our personal rights. Sumptuary laws, even when the object is clearly for the public welfare, are considered intolerable. This is strikingly evidenced by the attitude of many temperance-loving people toward liquor-traffic regulation. They abhor the saloon, but they cannot bring themselves to legislate against it. They apparently include among the "unalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," the right of intoxication. If we were all of one mind concerning the necessity of military preparedness on a large scale, it would still be true that selfishness in the name of Liberty plays too large a part in our national life to promise effective results. Political parties are preparing to make capital out of the present crisis. Manufacturers in many instances are unwilling to sacrifice profits to the betterment of the social conditions of their employees, to say nothing of the subtile influence of the manufacture of munitions upon the opinions of men concerning peace and war. Fears and prejudices are played upon to put through pro-

grams involving vast expenditures for military purposes. If success attends these efforts, the crushing weight of the financial burden will probably fall most heavily upon those least able to bear it.

Were it necessary, every American would be willing to bear his share of the burden of war, but is he ready, has he shown himself ready to bear his share of the burdens of social preparedness? In view of the fact that there is time for deliberation, is it not the part of wisdom and true patriotism to pause, to look before we leap? The crowd demands hasty action. Not all are unselfish. The pressure on Congress and the President is well-nigh overwhelming. Let us as reasonable men urge upon the attention of our representatives in state and nation the impressive duty of social preparedness. Meanwhile, Congress may wisely bring our army up to its full quota and provide for such increase as will enable us to discharge our trust in the Philippines and elsewhere without unduly weakening our forces at home. The training camps, established two years before the outbreak of the war, afford opportunity for the reasonable training of our young men. The strengthening of our fortifications and the construction of coast defense vessels of suitable type will, with our present navy, protect us against the possible danger of invasion.

Preparedness in every department of civic and social life is our greatest present need. We shall not be prepared until we have driven out illiteracy and reduced to a minimum the waste of incompetence, of accident, sickness, and unemployment, and have learned the art of governing ourselves wisely and economically. A people so trained will know when to build battleships and equip armies and when not to do so. They will not listen to selfish ambition nor be moved by false pride nor take counsel of fear.

World's Affairs Wait on Treaty Ratification

STATEMENT BY THOMAS W. LAMONT

THOMAS W. LAMONT of J. P. Morgan & Co. and former member of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, in a statement severely scores the Senate for its failure to ratify the Peace Treaty.

Mr. Lamont says that since it became evident to the world of commerce that the action of the United States might nullify the treaty there has been an alarming fall in the rates of foreign exchange; for this no remedy can be had so long as delay continues at Washington; no plan for the extension of foreign credits, so necessary to maintain America's export trade, can be evolved.

"It is hard to conceive," says Mr. Lamont, "the attitude of mind that insists upon such calamitous fumbling with the most critical situation that the world has ever seen."

Mr. Lamont's statement follows:

"Since my return from Paris I have, until now, in response to frequent urgings, declined to comment upon the existing situation with respect to the treaty, and to the industrial problems that are hanging upon the ratification of it. I am a member of the Republican party, and have had confidence that the Republican Senate majority, whose patriotism cannot be questioned, would, after the careful investigation and consideration which it was its duty to give, vote an early ratification of the treaty. But I, in common, I believe, with the country at large, have become greatly disturbed at the continued uncertainty and delay—a delay which, in my judgment, is already responsible for having rendered social and industrial conditions in both Europe and America distinctly worse.

"The whole world is crying for peace, for a chance to renew its normal life and work; and America, by continued inaction, refuses to grant her consent to the settlements necessary. Since it became evident to the world of commerce that the action of the United States Senate might nullify the treaty, there has been an alarming fall in the rates of foreign exchange. For this no remedy can be had as long as the delay continues at Washington; no plan for the extension of foreign credits, so necessary to maintain America's export trade, can be evolved. It is hard to conceive the attitude of mind that insists upon such calamitous fumbling with the most critical situation that the world has ever seen. The only explanation is, that there is still almost incredible misunderstanding, both of the treaty provisions themselves, and of the manner in which the affairs of the world await America's assent to peace.

"One point should be cleared up now, and that is the misapprehension existing in many quarters as to President Wilson's attitude at Paris. I hear it repeated that he was unwilling to take counsel with his delegation. That is untrue. He constantly and earnestly sought the advice of his associates. I hear it said that in fighting for the League of Nations he yielded up vital points in the main treaty. In the Shantung settlement perhaps Japan's attitude as to the League was a consideration. Aside from that, I know of no clause in the treaty that was tempered or modified at all by Mr. Wilson's solicitation for the League. President Wilson, being a human being, undoubtedly has certain defects; but, as a member of the opposite political faith from his, and as taking a continuous, albeit unimportant part in the work at Paris, I am bound in all fairness to say that throughout the complexities and anxieties over there President Wilson acted with moderation, common sense, and great patience; he played no politics and what is more, he showed constantly extraordinary courage in fighting for the idealism that we call American. His course there was such that it should command the admiration of his fellow citizens regardless of party.

"As to the treaty itself, the situation, then, is this: America played an enormously important part in the war. Without her co-operation it could not have been won. In the same way, in making peace her allies and associates in the war looked to her for leadership. It was the effort of the American Mission at Paris to give to the settlement of peace the same unselfish, just and generous effort that America had shown in the war. Working steadily upon these principles for months at Paris, the American Commission was active in negotiating a treaty which commanded the approval of our own and of the delegation of twenty-two other powers.

"Admittedly, the treaty is not a perfect document. By no theory is it ever possible, among a score of divergent interests, and in a chaos of states confused politically and half paralyzed economically, with the whole social structure tottering, with a half-score of nationalities torn, bleeding, saddened and dazed by the sufferings and horrors of war—in no way, I say, can perfection in the drafting of a human document be attained under such conditions. Compromise ought to, and must be made. They were made by all parties to the treaty,—less, as a matter of fact, by the American delegation than by the others, although the material interests of our country were far less involved than those of the other powers; and though, on the theory of maintaining an unselfish attitude, we could have been excused for conceding at least as much as any of our allies. As Senator Knox well put it, years ago in a speech favoring international co-operation:

"'Every material and moral advance in the solidity of nations, for universal, as distinguished from local or domestic purposes, is achieved by concessions restraining to a greater or less degree the liberty of action of individual states for the benefit of the community of nations and in obedience to the demands of an international public opinion.'

"The American delegation in the main, then, carried through its ideas, and was enabled to do so because there was openly accorded to it a position of arbiter of justice. Repeated instances arose where the other commissions requested the American delegation to prepare a solution which in effect the others would indorse in advance. I point out these facts to emphasize that, even with the compromises

that were evidently essential to make, to America was granted, in large measure, a position of guidance and leadership. It is not true that the United States was 'hooked' by the other powers, in either the main clauses of the treaty, or in the League of Nations Covenant.

"This peace settlement then, upon which all Europe has been hanging for months, for which all industry (employer and employee alike), all restoration and return to a life of order, have been waiting, is brought to Washington for ratification or rejection. It is plain that, despite the attitude of certain senators, the majority of the Senate is disinclined openly to reject the treaty. It is equally plain that some senators are contemplating its rejection by the much more objectionable method of making certain alterations in it, none of them of great importance, but with a net result of compelling us to go back to Germany and ask her to have the grace to execute a new treaty with us. This we cannot do without also begging our own allies to reopen negotiations with Germany, and to assemble their own parliaments (which in the case of England, of Belgium, and of some other states, have already approved the treaty) to argue for perhaps further long months over the proposed American alterations.

"Close examination of the points which are styled as dangerous by those senators who desire to amend the treaty fails to disclose any perils whatsoever. President Wilson, in his meeting with the Foreign Relations Committee on August 19, went with great care into these points. Why reopen the whole peace negotiation; why let Europe go from bad to worse while we are discussing a condition that does not exist, and that was never even contemplated at Paris? Minor though these points at issue are, there is no reason why any one of them should not be brought up, and if need be clarified at the initial meeting of the League of Nations in Washington next October. We should appreciate that the Covenant of the League is not a rigid, but a mobile instrument. Hardly more than the rough machinery for the workings of a Society of Free Nations was set up. At Paris it was expected that the perfection of the instrument would take years to bring about; that meantime, there would be almost constant changes proposed and made.

"As to the main treaty, the clause about Shantung is the only one exciting controversy. Well, nobody likes that clause—President Wilson, as he has intimated, as little as any one. But it is one thing to dislike that clause and another thing to bring about an immediate change in it. Japan drove the Germans out of Shantung; and back in the earlier days of the war, before America had come in at a time when things were going badly, and when Japan's support was sorely needed, Great Britain and France promised Japan, in response to her demand, that so far as they were concerned, Japan should inherit Germany's position in China. Now when three years later the question came up at Paris perhaps it might have been possible for President Wilson to say in effect to Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Clemenceau: 'You made a poor bargain with Japan, and you must tell her I won't let you carry it out.' But how could Mr. Wilson have actually taken such a position? Fortunately, his decision was rendered somewhat less difficult by reason of the fact that the Japanese delegation solemnly and repeatedly stated its intention to make early modification of the Shantung settlement.

"I, myself, believe that in this we must rely upon two things; First, upon

Japan's good faith, and second,—if that should fail, which I can hardly conceive—then upon the effective workings of the League of Nations. But as to Shantung, just how our Senate today can by amendment to the treaty force England and France to go back on their agreement with Japan, and just how we can say to Germany, who has accepted the loss of her position in China, that we want her to withdraw that acceptance and consider some new plan, it is impossible to conceive. Meanwhile, certain of our senators continue grossly to question the good faith of Japan, to insult her, and to render infinitely more difficult the settlement of other momentous questions that have to do with the whole future of the Far East.

"Finally, the treaty that was evolved imposes justly severe terms upon Germany. Those terms should be put into effect at once. If they are not, Germany will be able to evade her obligations, and the American people will in every way suffer serious loss. Senator Knox declares that those terms are so hard on Germany that the whole treaty should be rejected. Does he favor treating Germany in a way to encourage her to start another war? Does he and those of his colleagues who are trying to defeat this treaty forget that it was Germany who plunged the whole world into darkness and woe, in a struggle that brought death to at least ten million beings, incapacity to twenty million more; the breakdown of law and order; the wasting of over two hundred billion dollars of treasure, and calamities from which the world can hardly recover within a hundred years? The aim of the nations assembled at Paris was to draft a treaty that was just, but so framed as to prevent Germany or any other nation from repeating such crimes as these.

"To this end the treaty sets up the initial machinery for a League of Free Nations. The United States Senate cannot pull apart that machinery without making the whole treaty void. Any such action as that will spell renewed Bolshevist effort throughout Europe, spreading, as there is already evidence, to America; will mean continued chaos among those newer nationalities that America has helped establish; worse than all else, will bring starvation this coming winter over there, not to thousands, but to millions of human beings.

"No one will object to clarifying interpretations, even though they are unnecessary. But if the United States insists today upon sending the treaty back with changes and reservations, we shall certainly witness the calamities that I describe; and furthermore, by continued delay, we shall probably postpone action until finally we shall have the United States entering the League of Nations hand in hand with Germany, novitiates together in this wonderful enterprise that is to set the world free from the slavery of war!

"That may be what the American people want, but I don't believe it."

Reprinted from *The New York Evening Post*
September 8, 1919

THE MASSACHUSETTS PEACE SOCIETY

WHAT IS THE NEW INTERNATIONALISM?

BY

JAY WILLIAM HUDSON

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251 Causeway Street
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WHAT IS THE NEW INTERNATIONALISM

I

THE civilized world unites in regarding the present European war as the worst war in all history. Never before has there been such a universal revulsion against force as a means of settling international quarrels. Can it be true that, as some people maintain, the war is an evidence of the failure of civilization? Many clergymen have even gone so far as to say that it is a decisive token of the failure of Christianity in Europe.

Yet, it is always easy to see only one side of a question. Thus in the present European crisis it is especially easy to emphasize the darker aspect of the situation. And surely it is dark enough. Yet the very fact that the people of the world are so thoroughly awakened to the irrationality of the European conflict is one of the most hopeful signs of the times. One can never say that civilization has failed in an age when war is an object of such universal condemnation. Greater than the war itself is the present world-remonstrance against war. The movement for international peace is no longer confined to peace organizations. The whole civilized world is yearning for a new international understanding and co-operation which will make war forevermore impossible. Especially in America one finds a practical unanimity with regard to the colossal folly of trying to

decide questions of international right through the exercise of murderous force. The European mobilization for war was swift indeed; but the American mobilization for peace was swifter. Truly, this movement toward world-peace is the greatest movement that has been launched since Christianity was given to the world: it is indeed, rightly seen, part of the fruits of that very Christianity which some people think has failed. No, civilization is not yet defeated: Christianity is still triumphant.

It is no wonder at all that the American people should have been appalled at Europe's sudden plunge into chaos. It is no wonder that when the war broke out in August, American newspapers and magazines, American educators, American statesmen, American clergymen, and the great masses of the American people all united in expressing amazement, protest and regret. This attitude has not grown less pronounced with the progress of the war. When the American people saw that European nations were determined to fight out their differences with gun and sword, their first concern was that the war might cease as quickly as possible so far as it could be made consonant with the achievement of the permanent peace of Europe.

There are abundant reasons why the American people should view the European war with increasing concern. First of all, the great leaders of American thought ever since the time of Washington have been educating the public to regard war as needless and criminal, especially in view of the fact that modern civilization has evolved other more just and efficient means of settling international questions. If the decision of international disputes by international law instead of international

murder shall ever come to pass — and it will — it will be largely due to America's influence in that direction for the last century.

Let us see what a few of America's greatest warriors, statesmen and philosophers have said with regard to the war-system.

Washington, himself, one of the greatest military leaders the world has seen, who was thoroughly acquainted with the meaning of war, and whose statesmanlike insight into the future has elicited the acclaim of many statesmen of the Continent, once said:

"My first wish is to see this plague to mankind (war) banished from the earth, and the sons and daughters of this world employed in more pleasing and innocent amusements than in preparing implements and exercising them for the destruction of mankind.

My first wish is — although it is against the profession of arms, and would clip the wings of some of your young soldiers who are soaring after glory — to see the whole world in peace, and the inhabitants of it as one band of brothers striving who should contribute most to the happiness of mankind.

It is time for the age of knight-errantry and mad heroism to be at an end. Your young military men, who want to reap the harvest of laurels, do not care, I suppose, how many seeds of war are sown; but for the sake of humanity it is devoutly to be wished that the manly employment of agriculture and the humanizing benefits of commerce would supersede the waste of war and the rage of conquest.

I shall never so far divest myself of the feelings of a man interested in the happiness of his fellow-man as to wish my country's prosperity might be built on the ruins of that of other nations.

It would be wise, by timely provisions, to guard against those acts of our own citizens which might tend to disturb peace with other nations, and to put ourselves

in a condition to give that satisfaction to foreign nations which we may sometimes have occasion to require of them. I particularly recommend to your consideration the means of preventing those aggressions by our citizens on the territory of other nations, which, furnishing just subject of complaint, might endanger our peace with them.

Peace with all the world is my sincere wish. I am sure it is our true policy."

Jefferson, who had as much as any man to do with the formulation of the fundamental principles that were to guide our country's growth, was especially anxious that our own United States would be wise enough to so conduct its policies that it might be spared recourse to arms as a means of solving its international difficulties. His words are so forceful and so timely that it almost seems as if they were written in view of the present European crisis:

"I recoil with horror at the ferociousness of man. Will nations never devise a more rational umpire of differences than force? Are there no means of coercing injustice more gratifying to our nature than a waste of the blood of thousands and the labor of millions of our fellow-creatures? Wonderful has been the progress of human improvement in other lines. Let us hope, then, that the law of nature, which makes virtuous conduct produce benefit and vice loss to the agent in the long run, which has sanctioned the common principle that honesty is the best policy, will in time influence the proceedings of nations as well as individuals, and that we shall at length be sensible that war is an instrument entirely inefficient towards redressing wrong, that it multiplies instead of indemnifying losses.

Had the money which has been spent in the present war in Europe been employed in making roads and conducting canals of navigation and irrigation through the

country, not a hovel in the Highlands of Scotland or mountains of Auvergne would have been without a boat at its door, a rill of water in every field, and a road to its market town. . . . A war would cost us more than would cut through the isthmus of Darien; and that of Suez might have been opened with what a single year has seen thrown away on the rock of Gibraltar.

I do not believe war the most certain means of enforcing principles. Those peaceable coercions which are in the power of every nation, if undertaken in concert and in time of peace, are more likely to produce the desired effect.

War is not the best engine for us to resort to. Nature has given us one in our commerce which, if properly managed, will be a better instrument for obliging the interested nations of Europe to treat us with justice.

I love peace, and am anxious that we should give the world still another useful lesson, by showing them other modes of punishing injuries than by war, which is as much a punishment to the punisher as to the sufferer.

I abhor war and view it as the greatest scourge of mankind.

Peace has been our principle, peace is our interest, and peace has saved to the world this only plant of free and rational government now existing in it. . . . However, therefore, we may have been reproached for pursuing our Quaker system, time will affix the stamp of wisdom on it, and the happiness and prosperity of our citizens will attest its merit. And this, I believe, is the only legitimate object of government, and the first duty of governors, and not the slaughter of men and devastation of the countries placed under their care, in pursuit of a fantastic honor, unallied to virtue or happiness."

Benjamin Franklin, one of our greatest diplomats, whose wisdom on international affairs has never been questioned, and who did so much to promote the friendship of European countries for the United States, never expressed himself more forcibly or more eloquently

than upon the subject of such an international understanding as would make war an anachronism. Let us hear him:

"I hope that mankind will at length, as they call themselves reasonable creatures, have reason and sense enough to settle their differences without cutting throats. . . . What vast additions to the conveniences and comforts of living might mankind have acquired, if the money spent in wars had been employed in works of public utility! What an extension of agriculture, even to the tops of our mountains; what rivers rendered navigable or joined by canals; what bridges, aqueducts, new roads, and other public works, edifices and improvements, rendering England a complete paradise, might have been obtained by spending those millions in doing good which in the last war have been spent in doing mischief, in bringing misery into thousands of families, and destroying the lives of so many thousands of working people, who might have performed the useful labor!

When will mankind . . . . agree to settle their differences by arbitration? Were they to do it even by the cast of a die, it would be better than by fighting and destroying each other. . . . Even successful wars at length become misfortunes to those who unjustly commenced them, and who triumphed blindly in their success, not seeing all its consequences.

To me it seems that neither the obtaining nor retaining of any trade, how valuable soever, is an object for which men may justly spill each other's blood; that the true and sure means of extending and securing commerce is the goodness and cheapness of commodities; and that the profit of no trade can ever be equal to the expense of compelling it, and of holding it, by fleets and armies. . . . . If statesmen had a little more arithmetic or were more accustomed to calculation, wars would be much less frequent.

Justice is as strictly due between neighbor nations as between neighbor citizens. A highwayman is as much

a robber when he plunders in a gang as when single, and a nation that makes an unjust war is only a great gang.

God grant that not only the love of liberty, but a thorough knowledge of the rights of man, may pervade all the nations of the earth, so that a philosopher may set his foot anywhere on its surface and say, 'This is my country.' "

These unequivocal utterances are sufficient to show the attitude toward war of those who first shaped our country's destiny. Throughout our nation's history, leader after leader has voiced his convictions concerning the folly of war in no uncertain terms. Of these great leaders we must content ourselves to quote only a few of the more conspicuous sentences.

Josiah Quincy:

"A state of society such as we have reason to anticipate will not so much diminish the influence of the military class as annihilate the whole class, by rendering it useless. . . . War-establishments are everywhere scions of despotism; when engrafted on republics, they always begin by determining the best sap to their own branch, and never fail to finish by withering every branch except their own."

Emerson:

"War and peace resolve themselves into a mercury of the state of cultivation. The sympathy with war is a juvenile and temporary state. Not only the moral sentiment, but trade, learning and whatever makes intercourse conspire to put it down. Trade brings men to look each other in the face, and gives the parties the knowledge that these enemies over sea or over the mountain are such men as we; and learning and art, and especially religion, weave ties that make war look like fratricide, as it is. History is the record of the mitiga-

tion and decline of war, though the slow decline. For ages the human race has gone on under the tyranny of this first brutish form of their effort to be men, for ages showed so much of the nature of the lower animals, the tiger and the shark. But the eternal germination of the better has unfolded new powers, new instincts. The sublime question has startled one and another happy soul in different quarters of the globe,— Cannot love be, as well as hate? Cannot peace be, as well as war? This thought has now become so distinct as to be a social thought. This having come, much more will follow. Revolutions go not backward. So it is not a great matter how long men refuse to believe the advent of peace: war is on its last legs; and a universal peace is as sure as is the prevalence of civilization over barbarism, of liberal governments over feudal forms. The question for us is only, how soon?"

General Grant:

"Though educated a soldier, and though I have gone through two wars, I have always been a man of peace, preferring to see questions of difference settled by arbitration. It has been my misfortune to be engaged in more battles than any other American general, but there never was a time during my command when I would not have chosen some settlement by reason rather than the sword."

General Sherman:

"I confess without shame that I am tired and sick of the war. Its glory is all moonshine. It is only those who have neither heard a shot nor heard the shrieks and groans of the wounded who cry aloud for more blood, more vengeance, more desolation.
War is hell."

One might well pause to remark here that in saying war is hell, General Sherman has really done injustice to hell. For according to report, uninviting as hell is,

and to be avoided by all people of good taste, there is one thing to be considered in favor of hell: only the wicked are punished there. But in war the wicked, that is, those rulers and diplomatists who instigated the war, are rarely punished at all; whereas, it is the great mass of the innocent people who suffer,— the soldiers who do not create the causes of war at all, and the innocent women and children, who are abandoned to all the horrors that war, with its poverty, disease and want, can bring to devastated homes. Imagine the goodly heroes of the race, the saints who have prayed and struggled for higher things, the torch-bearers of truth and of righteousness, the mothers who have suffered that a new generation of sons and daughters might people the earth, the little children, not yet old enough to know even the difference between right and wrong — imagine all these, I say, amply deserving of heaven, thrust into the flames of the hell that was meant for the wicked alone; then indeed hell would be like war and it would be an adequate description to say that war is hell.

II

The utterances of these great leaders of American thought have been quoted to show one of the reasons why the American people had arrived at that point of view which was ready to protest against the folly of the European war as soon as it had decisively begun. Perhaps, too, this is one of the reasons why we look upon this war as the worst war of history,— namely, because we have come more and more to look upon all war as unreasonable and, therefore, have less and less patience

with it when it occurs. Perhaps the greatest influence of all in molding American public opinion against war as a means of settling international disputes has been that of the great American peace organizations, whose expert leaders, often of international reputation, have never wearied of showing the folly of force as a substitute for reason, and have pointed out a constructive policy for international understanding and co-operation. Indeed, the first peace societies of the world were organized in America, and to-day their efficiency is known and felt over the entire civilized world.

But there is a far deeper reason for the conviction that this is the worst war of history. This reason is not that it is the most horrible war, that more lives are being lost, more atrocities committed, and more suffering inflicted. No, not this, although the manifold horrors of this great war are sufficient to mark it as the direst war of the world: but there is a deeper reason still, within whose full meaning one may find a hope that this is the last war that civilization will tolerate. What is this deeper reason?

In a nutshell, it is this: in past ages nations might engage in war without very seriously affecting the welfare of any other nations but themselves. A vast change has come over civilization, and one which, involving the entire character of the world's life, makes it utterly impossible any longer to localize war. To-day civilization is so constructed that when any group of nations begin to kill each other on a grand scale, the peoples of all countries, even the most remote, must suffer grievously on account of it.

What is this great change that has come over civilization, especially within the last century? Let us see.

The time was when the life of a nation was lived for the most part within its own boundaries. Each nation had its own civilization, its own culture, its own interests, which were fundamentally independent of the civilization, the culture, the interests of other nations. Even religion was a national matter, and the gods of one nation were the by-words of the rest. Each nation was sufficient unto itself. To be true, there was some bartering and trading between nations, and isolated instances of scholars visiting foreign lands to glean of the wisdom of their sages. But commerce did not bring the nations very intimately in touch with each other, and the wandering scholar was extremely rare.

But see what a change has come over the world! Through the invention of all sorts of means of intercommunication the world has been growing smaller and smaller, until now it is easier for a man to travel over the entire surface of the civilized globe and visit every nation on his way than it once was for one to traverse the comparatively circumscribed area of the Roman Empire. The ocean steamship, the railroad, the telegraph, with and without wires, the cable, the telephone, and equal to all these, the printing press, have made all the various peoples of the world neighbors and members of one family. No nation can any longer boast of a god or a religion that is all its own, of a culture confined within its own narrow boundaries, or of a civilization that has not escaped to the uttermost ends of the earth. The life of the people of the world is no longer merely a national life: it has become a vast, complex, rich, many-sided international life.

Let us look at this great fact a little more in detail, that we may realize it thoroughly and see how the new

order of things is affected by war as the old order never was. Truly this is a most fascinating study for citizens of the twentieth century.

The business men of every nation have realized for some time how interdependent the commercial and financial interests of the various nations have become. A great business house in New York is not only likely to have business interests in numberless places all over the globe, but may even have branch houses in London, Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburg, or even in some metropolis of China. It buys and sells with peoples of all nationalities and of all races. Its fortunes are inevitably bound up with the fortunes of the people of a score of countries. If certain banks in Paris should fail, their failure would certainly carry with it the failure of other banks in London and Berlin; and the failure of certain banks in these three cities would be likely to precipitate a panic the world over. In other words, the economic prosperity of the world has become an international matter, so that the people of no nation can look with indifference upon the fortunes of the people of any other nation. As Norman Angell tersely and vividly puts it:

"When the prosperity of an average German factory is distributed pretty evenly over some such factors as these: the capacity of a peasant in Provence who sells his olives in New York to subscribe to a South American loan, in order that a dock might be built on the Amazon to enable the manufacturer in Manchester to sell furniture in Baku to a merchant whose wealth is due to the development of petrol consumption in an automobile trade created in Paris,— in a world where business is done under such conditions as these, we are told that the limits of commercial or industrial activity are determined by the limits of political influence, and that there exists

some direct relation between political power and economic advantage! And we are still told it even when the prosperity of lesser states with no political power give it daily the lie. The whole thing is one vast mystification, the most colossal illusion of the modern world."

Norman Angell's book, "The Great Illusion," is one of the most brilliant expositions in existence of the economic interdependence of nations and is deserving of a special study by itself. It has made a profound impression upon the leading thinkers of both Europe and America.

But it is not merely in the realm of economic relations that one finds the dawning of a new international life. There is hardly an interest of the human spirit but has ceased to become the property of any one nation and has become international and interracial.

We term this an age of scientific discovery. Now, nearly every great scientific discovery of recent times has been the result of the co-operation of the scientists of all countries. The workers in the chemical laboratory at Harvard are co-operating with the men who are experimenting in the laboratories in such universities as those at Berlin, St. Petersburg, Paris and Oxford. Sometimes, indeed, a scientist in America cannot proceed with his experiments intelligently until he has heard the result of some experiment across the seas. The up-to-date seeker for truth reads the journals devoted to his field in a number of European languages, or he reads translations from these journals in his own language. The search for truth has thus become a world project, dependent upon the co-operation of the people of all lands.

We Americans boast of our marvelous system of education,— and well may we boast of it. But where did

we get it? Some of it we borrowed from England, some of it from Germany, some of it from Italy, some of it from France. Hardly a nation but has contributed something. We in turn have been helping Europe to solve her educational problems. Thus, education is part of this new international life. This educational co-operation has proceeded so far that now some of the leading universities in Europe annually exchange professors with some of the leading universities of America. Through this means the universities on both sides of the water are strengthened. Froebel was a German: but his kindergarten system has spread over the world. Madam Montessori is an Italian: yet the children of all countries have benefited by her wonderful methods.

Thus it is with all the great human interests: they are no longer merely national; they are shared, they are fostered, they are developed by the people of the whole civilized world regardless of race and national affiliations. The dramas of Shakespeare are appreciated as much in Berlin as in London. The poetry of Schiller and Goethe is read in the shadows of the Himalayas. A novel by the Polish Sienkiewicz becomes in a day the "best-seller" in all the capitols of Christendom. An English novelist, Lord Edward Bulwer Lytton, writing for an international audience, dedicates one of his novels thus:

TO
THE GREAT GERMAN PEOPLE
A Race of Thinkers and of Critics
A Foreign but Familiar Audience, Profound in Judgment
Candid in Reproof, Generous in Appreciation
This Work Is Dedicated

The fairy tales gathered from the folk-lore of many lands by the Grimm brothers go forth to fill the hearts of the world's children with wonder and delight. The music of a Wagner or a Beethoven transcends all barriers of race and language and becomes the treasured possession of all humankind. The creations of the French painter, Jean Millet, such as "The Angelus," for instance, are to be found in the homes of all nations, appealing to the same universal human heart. Even democracy, which we Americans once boasted as a peculiarly American vision, has become the dawning ideal of the oppressed peoples everywhere and is already realized in great measure in England and France and several other European countries. Even Asia has awakened from her age-long sleep, and the beginnings of democracy are there.

So this vast international life is no longer a dream: it is a fact,— the most significant fact of present day civilization; and this fact is made all the more evident by the necessity, which men and women of all nations feel, of inaugurating international societies and conventions for the discussion of nearly every subject that is vital to human welfare. The existence of these international societies and congresses shows that we have come to the consciousness that we various peoples cannot get along without each other. To-day there are over five hundred international organizations. In recent years there have been great international congresses in the interests of such disparate subjects as chemistry, religion, medicine, international life, postal regulations, weights and measures, sanitation, peace, fisheries, earthquakes, transportation and education. These congresses, bringing together representatives from all nations, have been held in every conceivable portion of the globe: in Brus-

sels; in Copenhagen; in Washington; in Berlin; in Panama; in Rio de Janeiro; in Mexico; and in Santiago, Chile.

Surely when the historian of the future shall look back upon the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, he will find that the marvelous growth of this international and interracial life out of the previously isolated existences of separate nations and races is the most dramatic unfoldment in all the varied story of human progress.

III

All this, then, gives us the reason why war can no longer be localized within the area of its waging. In reducing international relations to anarchy and chaos, war very seriously damages or destroys that complex international life which is the most precious achievement of modern civilization. For instance, the present European war affects not only the financial prosperity of the countries involved in it, but upsets the economic equilibrium of the entire world. In *Scribner's Magazine* for November, 1914, Mr. A. Barton Hepburn thus describes the effect of the declaration of war in Europe:

"Americans abroad were unable to get money upon the usual instruments of credit with which travelers provide themselves, and suffered great hardships. Credit was withdrawn from American commerce, trade between the United States and Europe for a time was absolutely closed, and the New York stock market was availed of to sell anything and everything that would create a credit with which to get gold for export. Many people failed through no fault of their own, but owing to this paralysis of business and the resulting depreciation in prices."

The cordial co-operation between the scientific experts of the various countries involved at once ceased. German savants of international reputation tore up the degrees conferred upon them by English universities and melted the medals bestowed upon them by those who are now regarded as their bitter enemies. In London the rendition of German music was a question for awhile. The Russian people became so antagonistic to the German language even — the language in which some of the noblest literature of the world is embodied — that they changed the name of their capitol from St. Petersburg to Petrograd. The war in its mission of destruction proceeded to annihilate forever art treasures that the whole world had adopted as its own. International congresses that had been planned on a variety of those subjects whose international discussion is so vital to human progress had to be abandoned indefinitely. One could multiply these instances *ad libitum*, but worst of all, international sympathy and understanding, which lay at the basis of all these larger things of civilization, was in one moment destroyed, and in its place arose international misunderstanding, with all the old prejudices and hatreds intensified immeasurably.

One can take the lowest form of animal life — a jelly-like mass, undifferentiated into stomach, heart, lungs and organs of sensation — and cut away a portion of it and do little damage, for what is left still lives and performs its functions about the same as before. But when one takes an animal which represents the summit of evolution,— an animal very complexly organized with specialized nervous centers ramifying in a bewildering fashion throughout the whole body — and injures any one part of it, the whole is likely to suffer and die. So

it is with our modern civilization as compared with primitive civilization. Primitive tribes could war without hurting the rest of the world very much, but modern nations cannot slay and destroy without seriously crippling that great international life which humanity has attained after a struggle of thousands of years.

The one great good which the war has done is to bring this fact decisively home to the consciousness of mankind. Perhaps through the suffering which the entire world is now undergoing we shall add to the international *life*, which we had already attained, a new international *consciousness*. Indeed, this new international consciousness is already here in large measure. And the great question which it is asking itself with deep concern is, What can be done in the future to prevent a repetition of the sort of cataclysm that now prostrates Europe? What can be done to insure that the common interests of mankind shall in the future be regarded so sacred that no single nation or group of nations shall put selfish aggrandizement and national aims before the welfare of humanity?

A new international *conscience* will surely follow the international consciousness and the international life upon which it is based. This international conscience will realize that there is no logic in bullets and bomb-shells; that no new light is shed on a controversy by the mere flashing of sabres. The new international conscience will insist that the great fundamental interests of humankind, which, as has been shown, have become international, shall be safeguarded and protected by an international law, an international court, and an international executive force.

The thought of some of the greatest statesmen of the entire world has been slowly formulating the possibility

of such a procedure for the settlement of international quarrels. It is no longer a mere vision, a mere ideal of the poet: it is a practical certainty; the only question is, *how soon?* And "how soon" depends upon how soon the public opinion of the world can be educated to see the feasibility and advisability of seeking solutions to humanity's problems through reason and order rather than through force and anarchy.

The first truth that people must see clearly is that *there need be no conflict at all between enlightened national patriotism on the one hand and loyalty to the great world-interests on the other.* This means that men will realize that no nation or group of nations has the right to set up its own selfish national purposes and ambitions in conflict with the universal and permanent welfare of mankind. No nation in this advanced civilization should set its own interests above justice. The fact is that, in view of the complex organization of the world, no nation can afford to do this, even from a selfish standpoint. Just as no individual grows through forceful defiance of social law and right: so no nation can develop in the long run in terms of forceful defiance of international law and right.

Whenever a nation has achieved this outlook, it has achieved the New Internationalism.

We may be proud that our own America has accepted this conception of international responsibility in a number of recent acts. When Mexico was in the throes of revolution it was America's chance to conquer Mexico and annex it. A nation holding to certain European conceptions of national greatness would have done this, and would have glorified the conquest as a phase of legitimate national expansion; but America did not take advantage

of Mexico. Why? Because she believes in a new internationalism, which insists that it is her duty not to take advantage of a nation's weakness, save to make it strong to serve itself and the world. This new internationalism is best expressed at the present time in our policy of neutrality. It is not merely that we gain by being neutral. That is important, but it is not the main issue. The great reason why we wish to be neutral is that in this way we can place ourselves in a position to aid Europe, either to come to terms of permanent peace, or to recover her commercial and cultural equilibrium after this devastating conflict is done.

In the second place, public opinion must become accustomed to the need and the perfect practicability of an international law-making body, an international court, and an international means of carrying out the edicts of this court with reference to such nations as might rebel against the law and order of the world.

The first Hague Conference, which met in 1899, comprising representatives from twenty-six nations: and the second Hague Conference, which met in 1907, with representatives from forty-four nations, have already achieved the beginning of the formation of a more enlightened international law. Again, the Hague Court, an outcome of the first Hague Conference, before which many international disputes of importance have already been settled, marks the prophecy of that permanent international court before which nations shall bring their disputes for rational settlement. The complete story of the Hague Conferences cannot be told here: it would require a volume or two; but there is no doubt in the minds of many eminent statesmen that these Hague Conferences mark the most decisive step that has yet been

taken toward a better international understanding and the abolishing of war.

In a remarkable article which appeared in *The Independent* for September 28, 1914, Mr. Hamilton Holt says:

"Furthermore, a careful study of the formation of the thirteen American colonies from separate states into our present compact Union discloses the fact that the nations to-day are in the same stage of development that the American colonies were about the time of their first confederation. As the United States came into existence by the establishment of the Articles of Confederation and the Continental Congress, so the 'United Nations' will come into existence through the development of The Hague Court and the recurring Hague Conferences; The Hague Court being the promise of the Supreme Court of the world and the Hague Conferences being the prophecy of the parliament of man. We may look with confidence, therefore, to a future in which the world will have an established court with jurisdiction over all questions, self-governing conferences with power to legislate on all affairs of common concern, and an executive power of some form to carry out the decrees of both. To deny this is to ignore all the analogies of private law and the whole trend of the world's political history since the Declaration of Independence. As Secretary of State Knox said not long ago:

> 'We have reached a point when it is evident that the future holds in store a time when war shall cease, when the nations of the world shall realize a federation as real and vital as that now subsisting between the component parts of a single state.'

It would be difficult to recall a more far-visioned statement than this emanating from the chancellery of a great state. It means nothing less than that the

age-long dreams of the poets, the prophets and the philosophers have at last entered the realms of practical statesmanship."

When such a world-legislature and such a world-court have received the sanction of a sufficient number of the greater powers, these powers can and should then agree to disarm. Of course, no one nation can disarm first: but all can disarm together. The fact is, that with other means of settling international disputes there would be no further use for the grievous burden of armaments. There is no need of building up a great army and navy for defense if there is no army and navy to attack. Think what all this would mean to the progress of the civilized world that now spends the vast majority of its wealth in maintaining standing armies and in buying munitions of war, all for destruction. All this vast sum of money, as well as the lives of those lost in militaristic non-production, could then be invested in the great constructive projects of human progress. Think of what it would mean to the United States, which spends seventy per cent of its total annual income for military expense, if it could divert this sum to where it belongs: to the building of schools and colleges, the battling with disease, the improvement of the economic conditions of the masses, the building of roads, the irrigation of the vast areas that could be made to blossom as the rose, the encouragement of art and literature, let alone the new constructive ideals that would arise in the dawn of this new-born progress!

The only army that will be needed, and even this is a question, is an international army which shall act as an international police to enforce the decrees of the international court upon any nation that may defy the

world order. Such a use of force we recognize in the police forces of our own communities; and this is the only legitimate use of force, for it is the expression of the social will already determined by social reason rather than the coercing of the social will against its convictions. But many think that even this use of force will not long be necessary, if indeed at all. "Non-intercourse," as it is sometimes called is regarded by many as sufficient compulsion. Describing this means of maintaining the international order, the late Justice David J. Brewer, of the United States Supreme Court, said:

"Now if the nations in the coming conferences at The Hague shall agree that any nation that refuses to enter into arbitration with a nation with which it has a dispute, or which refuses to abide by the award of the arbitrators selected in accordance with the provisions of the Hague Convention, or some other convention, shall be isolated from all intercourse with and recognition by any other nation on the face of the earth, can you imagine any compulsion which would be more real and peremptory than that? If all the other civilized nations would say to such a nation, 'From this time forward, until you submit this dispute to arbitration, we will withdraw all our diplomatic representatives, we will have no official communication with you, we will forbid our citizens from having any business transactions with your citizens, we will forbid your citizens from coming into our territory, we will make you a Robinson Crusoe on a desolate island,' there is no nation, however mighty, that could endure such an isolation, such an outlawry as that would be. The business interests of the nation would compel the government to recede from its position and not longer remain an outlaw on the face of the globe.

Such a procedure would involve no military force, no bloodshed on the part of the other nations. The only

military force, the only bloodshed that might follow, would be in case the nation thus outlawed attempted to attack some of the other nations, when they would all unite in resisting it. The very fact that it was outlawed would place it in a position where it would have to submit; it would be a compulsion, as real as a compulsion of a marshal with a writ in his hands. In some such way as this the force which stands back of the court within a nation might possibly be exercised by the nations upon any nations that refused to enter into arbitration or abide by its decisions."

V

This, then, is the New Internationalism which the leaders of the new peace movement, as well as many great thinkers in all walks of life, are urging upon the enlightened conscience of the world. Its cause is the greatest cause of modern civilization, for with its success or failure modern civilization succeeds or fails. But it will not fail. We are yet to realize the sublime dream of the world's great dreamers — the dream which belonged to Plato, to Rousseau, to Kant, to Goethe, to Franklin: the vision which the Nazarene gave to the world in the gospel of the brotherhood of man: the dream that now belongs to all the enlightened minds of the earth and which they intend shall speedily be realized.

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ON

THE NEW INTERNATIONALISM

BY JAY WILLIAM HUDSON

PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY, UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI
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Military Training for School Boys

Does America Want It?

A Symposium

Eighty of our recognized leaders in Education, Physical Training, Social Reform, Child Study and Welfare, Boy Life, and Moral and Religious Training answer this vital question.

From College and University Presidents

CHARLES W. ELIOT
President Emeritus Harvard University

My present opinion about military training for school boys is, first, that what is called military drill is not a good form of physical exercise for boys between fourteen and eighteen; secondly, that the useful part of such military drill as is now given in a few private and public schools is the "setting-up" drill, and that this "setting-up" drill ought to be given to every boy during his school life, but in the form of calisthenic exercises, having no military purpose in view; and thirdly, that training in the real work of a soldier, that is, marching under a heavy load, digging as rapidly as possible in the ground, and using effectively rifles, machine guns, hand grenades, bayonets, short swords, heavy and light artillery, and motor vehicles, including aeroplanes, should not be begun before the twentieth year.

The Swiss, who know as well as any people in Europe how to organize and maintain an effective army, do not begin real military training until the twentieth year, except that they encourage practice with the rifle for boys and young men organized into rifle clubs, and provided by the government with ammunition and ranges.

For these reasons I am opposed to military training for school boys.

JOHN H. FINLEY
President University of the State of New York; State Commissioner of Education

Against military training in our schools I have protested and would continue to protest, not because I object to the drill in itself (for I do not), but because I think we ought not to make that which implies a perpetuation of international hatreds and brutish warfare a purposeful feature of the education of our children. I can, though with difficulty, conceive of conditions which might make such emergency training necessary; but I cannot bring myself to believe that we are to let our whole system of education reach its acme in recrudescent savagery or in preparation for it.

WILLIAM H. P. FAUNCE
President Brown University

It seems to me most unfortunate to put the burden of military training upon the schoolboys of America. Certainly if boys are to have such training, the wage-earners should be included as well as those who are at school. But we all know that very few of the nations now at war have ever imposed military training upon boys in school. They have given such training after school days are over. The physical results of military training for boys are certainly not equal to those achieved by other forms of physical education, and the social and ethical results are likely to be disquieting. Even military authorities would far prefer to have the boys in a summer camp than to have them for a few minutes each day of the school year. I stand with Charles W. Eliot and John H. Finley in deprecating hastily undertaken experiments with school children.

ROBERT J. ALEY
President University of Maine, and President National Education Association, 1916-1917

Most military countries in the world have not found it necessary to train their school boys as soldiers. In view of this experience, it is difficult to see why we should be urged to make military training part of the curriculum of American secondary education.

We do not want military training given to our schoolboys, because better bodies may be produced by proper physical training and directed school sports, and because these formative years should be devoted to the development of a spirit of internationalism which shall make war and preparation for war ultimately unnecessary.

WILLIAM T. FOSTER
President Reed College, Portland, Ore.

After three years of typical military training in a public high school and subsequent study of the problems of the physical development of adolescent boys, I am convinced that military drill is not only wasteful but actually harmful for boys of high school age and altogether a poor substitute for a scientifically devised plan of gymnastics and wholesome sport.

HARRY A. GARFIELD
President Williams College

I do not favor military drill in the colleges. As a means of cultivating alertness of mind and self-control athletic games are superior to military drill. Any one of the regular games played at our colleges requires a wider range of mental activity, a greater degree of accuracy, and far more quickness than is required in military drill.

Military drill is out of harmony with the aims of college. The aim of the college is to train men for citizenship by discovering and developing the best and highest intellectual powers of each, to the end that each may make the largest contribution to the common welfare. The aim of military drill, as above stated, is to train men in the use of a particular implement, to the end that citizens may defend their country by force of arms. But defence of country is not confined to force of arms. Our first line of defence is enlightened citizenship. Our second line of defence is enlightened civilization, and so is our third. Civilization has interposed many lines between its outer boundaries and the first line of military force, and it is the supreme task of the college to bulwark these advanced positions of civilization. Therefore, I say, let our colleges keep to their great tasks, and let our young men learn the art of the soldier where it can be better taught than in our colleges.

ARTHUR T. HADLEY
President Yale University

I believe that the military training of young men of high school age should be of the kind which is given in Switzerland: training in gymnastics, in orderly movement of large bodies, and in hygiene of camp life; and that lessons in the actual use of arms should be postponed until a later period. While I am compelled to believe that general military training is a necessity for the maintenance of popular government and the ideals which go with it, I am confident that lessons in the actual use of arms should come in the later stages of that training instead of the earlier ones.

G. STANLEY HALL
President Clark University; Author of "Adolescence," "Youth," etc.

I am opposed to military training for boys in this country under present conditions, because it is not the best for them for physical exercise. It is more professional than cultural. I have never seen it where it seemed to me to be very successful. I do not value the military spirit which they are supposed to get.

DAVID STARR JORDAN
Chancellor Leland Stanford, Jr., University; President N. E. A., 1915

I am totally opposed to the introduction of military training in any form in the high schools or grammar schools of America. To voluntary training, I am opposed as a waste of time that might be better used. It is not true that the conventional military drill is superior to the drill of a well-ordered gymnasium. Every expert teaches the contrary. Some features of drill may be better than no gymnasium, or military training itself may be interpreted as ordinary gymnastic work. But the ethical value is lost when it leads to the use of arms and to preparation for killing. There is moral damage in the association of killing or preparation for killing with "patriotism." No word has been more cheaply degraded in these times than the word patriotism. Love of country which is genuine brings harm to no one.

If we wish to develop a nation of free men we must work for the discipline from within, the self-control and the self-direction, which it is the aim of military discipline to destroy.

HENRY CHURCHILL KING
President Oberlin College

I still feel decidedly that it would be a distinct mistake to introduce military training into our public schools. Even from the point of view of preparedness, I believe that all-round physical training would be better, and it seems to me it would be a calamity to keep the military idea perpetually in the minds of our young people of public school age.

ALEXANDER MEIKLEJOHN
President Amherst College

I wonder if available evidence shows that military training does, in our American life, give better results in terms of obedience, discipline, precision, the sense of order and of obligation, than does non-military training. Are the graduates of our military schools better boys than those who come from other schools? As against that suggestion I would put in evidence the statement that apparently the overwhelming majority of our schoolmasters have been opposed to military teaching.

Are our soldiers and sailors better men, better citizens, in the ordinary relationships of life than are other men? I would not deny it, but I should hesitate to found a universal scheme of training upon it.

The plain truth is that there is not one of the virtues under discussion which can not by proper teaching be as well developed in connection with the teaching of other subjects as under the guise of military training. If those subjects are not giving the virtues as well as we have a right to expect, then they are not properly taught.

SAMUEL C. MITCHELL
President Delaware College

I am opposed to the introduction of military training into our schools. Unquestionably, there are many causes that account for the explosion in Europe at the present time, but no sane man doubts that the chief cause was militarism. A nation had become obsessed with the idea that it could hack its way to world dominion. In contrast to the methods that led to this catastrophe in Europe, America should seek to make her children constructive citizens, sound in body, pacific in purpose and responsive to the demands of human brotherhood. We do not wish to encourage the wolf and tiger in the heart of the child, but rather to strengthen his will for the common good and to train his intellect to appreciate truth and spiritual values in life. True preparedness will aid to promote sobriety, abolish the slum, mitigate child labor, banish ignorance, further the

cause of public health and bring peace between warring classes of society and the nations of the world.

ISAAC SHARPLESS
President Haverford College

Military training in high schools is objectionable for the following reasons:

(1) It would be an interruption to the general work of the school, and would divert student attention from its serious intellectual functions and be very costly.

(2) It is not the best form of physical exercise.

(3) Its inculcation of unquestioning obedience to men is not the best discipline for civil life.

(4) It is not desirable for military purposes. European countries do not permit it to exist as a part of educational life. A recent German writer opposes its introduction in these words: "Behind the heroism of trenches and assaulting parties stands the old German thoroughness. * * * If these military exercises become a pretext for the boys to neglect their school tasks, or other daily duties, they will surely prove a poor way of inculcating fortitude under shell fire."

(5) The military spirit is opposed to the best traditions of our American democracy and the standards of Christian morality.

WILLIAM F. SLOCUM
Ex-President of Colorado College

Everything that tends in the minds of our young people to prepare them for the killing of human beings is against movements for peace and leads toward reversion to barbarism. I see nothing whatever to be gained by this and a great deal that is most unfortunate from either an educational or a moral point of view.

JOSEPH SWAIN
President Swarthmore College; President N. E. A., 1914

I oppose military training in the public schools for two reasons:

First, because experience shows that well-selected exercises in the gymnasium and various forms of athletic games furnish better physical training than military tactics.

Second, military training has a tendency to divert the attention of the boy from the main purpose of the school. It also emphasizes government by force rather than by justice and law. While some form of police force is now necessary for city, state and nation, a means should be devised to adequately provide it without injecting the military spirit into our public schools.

CHARLES F. THWING
President Western Reserve University

It is said that military training is good for schoolboys, for the claim is made that military training emphasizes mental alertness, value of bodily health, value of bodily gracefulness, obedience, promptness to duty, courage, the sense of communal life, co-operative service, subordination of self to a superior will, the spirit of enthusiasm and the conception of duty as of highest worth. Such values are of course of primary significance.

The chief elements of worth in these great human ideas and ideals can be secured, and usually better secured, by some other training than the military. Mental alertness is more effectively gained in the well-conducted recitation of a good school. Health and gracefulness belong more to the gymnastic director. Obedience and promptness are functions of the school teacher quite as much as of the drillmaster. Courage—the most common of all virtues—has a field each day in the home and on the street for its use and discipline. The sense of the community life is trained on the playing fields quite as well as in the camp. Self-sacrifice and duty are the habit of the noble boy, as they are of the gentleman. The home and the school cultivate them better than can the recruiting officer.

There are better ways, therefore, than the military for bringing up and out these schoolboys in their self-development, for their glad devotion to national and human welfare.

BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER
President University of California

I am in favor of some such system of universal military service as that existing in Switzerland. Military drill for four weeks in each of two suc-

cessive years after the age of eighteen is reached seems to me to be sufficient, except for an occasional call to arms for a brief period, like a week or ten days once in five years. This leaves, as you see, no place in the scheme for the drilling of schoolboys, and I am inclined to think that it is not best that military service should be carried down into the grade schools.

Other Eminent Authorities on Education

PHILANDER P. CLAXTON
U. S. Commissioner of Education

For peace or war the country needs both men and women, sound in body and mind, with high ideals, strong purposes and good will, and possessed of the physical health and strength and the control of muscle and nerve that will enable them to make their ideals, purposes and will effective for their own and the public good. To this end every public school and every other agency of education should make the care of the health of children, the establishment of health and of right health habits, their first duty. All schools should provide such means of physical culture through outdoor and indoor games and exercises as will result in the best possible control of the body and all its members. I do not believe that military drill in our public schools is the best means to this end, and I feel quite certain that rifle practice in the schools is undesirable. There is so much else that is better for all purposes that can be provided at much less cost.

ELLWOOD P. CUBBERLEY
Professor of Education, Leland Stanford, Jr., University

My chief objection to military training as such for schoolboys is that it is physically dangerous and often results in permanent physical injury, while, on the constructive side, it offers little that is of any educational value to boys or of much use to us from a national preparedness point of view. I believe in preparedness, and in universal service after the Swiss plan, but this belongs to the post high school age.

JOHN DEWEY
Professor of Philosophy, Columbia University; Author of "The School and Society," "Schools of Tomorrow," "Democracy and Education," etc.

I am opposed to military training in our public schools for many reasons, among which are:

1. Experts in physical training are agreed that such exercises are far from the best form of physical training for youth of this age.

2. The usual experience of military schools (for pupils of this age) shows that the rigid discipline of this part of the training is accompanied by relaxed discipline in everything else, students not feeling full responsibility when not immediately under the direction of others.

3. The drill is not of sufficient importance to be a factor in any military sense. Germany never resorts to this method.

4. It puts an additional burden on education and a premium on release from schooling. If youths of from 14 to 18 are to have special training it should be given to those who have left school. They need looking after most, and this method does not penalize those who remain at school by imposing upon them from outside a non-educational activity bearing no relation to the rest of their school work.

SAMUEL T. DUTTON
Professor Emeritus of School Administration, Teachers College, Columbia University

Were the United States to become committed to military training for boys, it would make her to appear more militaristic than any other great nation. To force military drill upon schoolboys would crowd out other and better forms of physical training. It would violate the best medical opinion. It would foster in young minds the idea that war is expected or necessary. It would present to the world the lamentable spectacle of the most democratic nation on earth doing what not one of the great military nations of Europe has done. It would tend to thwart the central aims of modern education, namely, to develop the largest bodily freedom as well as the highest degree of self-direction and initiative. If more

money is available for education, let it be spent for industrial education, which is needed, and not for military drill, which is not needed and which is out of place in the training of young boys.

IRA W. HOWERTH
Professor of Education, University of California

The introduction of the military idea in the schools through compulsory military training will defeat the realization and true object of efficiency, and will inculcate and encourage inflated and pernicious notions of national superiority, false conceptions of patriotism and a distorted view of the relation of soldiering to social welfare. We need to get away from the idea that service of country is confined to or chiefly concerned with the military life.

CHARLES HUGHES JOHNSTON
Professor of Secondary Education, University of Illinois; Editor "Educational Administration and Supervision"

Neither military science nor formal military exercises can successfully be superimposed or plastered upon our developing system of secondary education. High school boys who are acquiring physical and mental control through a conscious educative process of personality development, in its broadest and best sense, will automatically make a nation unconquerable. Vital unpreparedness is physical and mental and moral in a much more profound sense than it is technical.

EDMUND A. JONES
State Commissioner of Common Schools, Columbus, O.

I am not much in favor of military instruction in our public schools. I can readily see that some advantages may result to our boys in an erect and manly bearing from a military drill in marching, etc., but I do not believe it is advisable to place rifles in the hands of boys of thirteen years and over in our public schools. I served in the civil war and was wounded in the defense of my country at that time, but I believe we have reached a time in our civilization when international difficulties can be settled by arbitration without the horrors and sacrifices of war.

PAUL MONROE
Professor History of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University; Editor-in-Chief "A Cyclopedia of Education"

Military training in the schools is advocated for a variety of reasons, none of which is convincing.

First, it is argued that it is extremely valuable as a means of physical education, and yet even specialists in this field will give evidence that it is inferior to the other forms of physical training which have been developed.

Second, it is argued that military training is desirable for the purpose of developing patriotism, but even the militarists will recognize that the military spirit alone is one of the lowest forms of patriotism and is apt to do quite as much harm as good, even though military activities may be unavoidable at times.

Third, it is argued that we are living in an age of militancy which is apt to continue and that every citizen should be prepared to perform his duties to the government should military defence be essential. To this I would answer that investigations that have been made, as well as observations, show that a very small part of military training which can be given in the school functions at all in modern warfare. The investigations made at Boston, where they do have military training, indicate that at least 98 per cent of the activities under the caption of military training do not function in modern warfare.

Fourth, it is argued that military training offers a specific form of co-operative exercises which would introduce much of the desired social spirit into the school. To my mind, this argument, so far as it relates to group activity, sense of discipline, comradery, motivation by common objects, and so on, is the strongest argument, and that to a considerable extent could be gotten from these features especially in schools where the spirit is so largely individualistic as our own. Nevertheless, I believe this same object could be accomplished through means which are very much more desirable and commendable in themselves.

NATHAN C. SCHAEFFER
State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Pennsylvania

The study of war, the military drill during the most impressionable periods of adolescent life, leaves in the subconscious depths of the soul the materials for wars and the worst that human nature is capable of. If we would avoid plunging the land of the stars and stripes into another hell, let us keep military drill out of the public schools.

DAVID EUGENE SMITH
Professor of Mathematics, Teachers College, Columbia University

War is a barbarism which all men should hate, and we are not going to foster this hatred by devoting part of their school life to preparing for it, even under the guise of preparing against it. Real preparedness for national safety is not coming through this channel.

DAVID SNEDDEN
Teachers College, Columbia University

Military drill in schools is sometimes asserted to be a valuable means of school discipline, and it is also contended that the youth thus trained has instilled a special sense of honor. These are doubtful claims as yet, and need examination. * * * The largest need of the urban youth, probably, on the side of physical development, is a great deal of varied and relatively spontaneous physical activity. A large part of the military training now found in schools is always a "getting ready" for extensive plays, real exertion and expression, which, however, never comes. The activities of the Boy Scouts may be much better, as contributions to needed physical development, at this stage, than of the Manual of Arms.

EDWARD L. THORNDIKE
Professor of Educational Psychology, Teachers College, Columbia University

I am opposed to military training of the traditional variety for schoolboys, because it seems foolish as a preparation for either war or peace.

JAMES H. VAN SICKLE
Superintendent of Schools, Springfield, Mass.

Where adequate physical training has been introduced the recent agitation for military training

for boys in the public schools seems likely to have little effect. Military drill cannot compete with games in the cultivation of such desirable traits as initiative, resourcefulness, co-operation and group-loyalty, and it is of doubtful value from the hygienic standpoint. Military drill assumes maturity, strength and endurance that are very unevenly distributed in any group of high school boys. A system of uniform exercise for young and old, weak and strong, mature and immature, defective and sound, violates all recognized principles of physical training; and boards of education have no right to impose it upon the young boys under their care. It is their duty, however, to provide a graded system of physical training, with exercises suited to the varying degrees of the physical capacity of the pupils.

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON
Late Principal of Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

I cannot see my way clear to indorse any proposition that has for its object the training of college students for military service. It seems to me far better and wiser to train them to use their influence to promote peace and friendship and love. Constantly training young men for war and the constant thought of war and preparation for war is what, in my opinion, has brought about the miserable conditions that now exist in Europe. This country certainly ought not to make the same mistake.

Opinions of Moral and Religious Leaders

FELIX ADLER
Leader of the Society for Ethical Culture of New York

Military service is a commendable expression of patriotism only when dire necessity is laid upon a people. It should never be rendered, except under a heavy sense of sorrow for the occasion which compels it as well as for one's antagonists. Schoolboys are not capable of taking this attitude. In their case military training tends to produce national self-conceit and an aggressive temper.

CHARLES F. AKED
Former Pastor Fifth Ave. Baptist Church, New York, and First Congregational Church, San Francisco

Train a boy to arms, and he will want to use arms. Make a man a master of an art, and he thinks about his art, is proud of his art, wants to exercise his art. The capable surgeon does well to practise surgery; the successful writer to write; the preacher who can preach ought to preach. Teach the boy the use of weapons, and he will wait for the day to come when he can use weapons, as he thinks, legitimately. Military training for schoolboys means military desires for men and militaristic policies for nations—and war for the world.

BISHOP WILLIAM B. BELL
Los Angeles, Cal., President of World's Social Progress Council

Military training for boys in grammar and high schools is, in my judgment, wholly ill-advised. Harm only can come of it. More than ever America should assert herself in behalf of unarmed peace. Compulsory military training as above indicated is a dangerous and unnecessary recognition of force as a justifiable method in modern civilization. Military training suggests, anticipates and promotes an expectation of appeal to arms. America should give the world leadership in democracy and international good will. If we are to follow up the European folly by inculcating the military spirit in our younger students, such leadership is thereby made impossible. Physical training in the case of advanced students is useful and desirable, but let us keep hands off our grammar and high school students, so far as military training is concerned.

WARREN A. CANDLER
Bishop, M. E. Church South; Chancellor, Emory University, Atlanta, Ga.

Our public schools ought not to be invaded by military training. There is no room for such training in the public schools, and no need for it. Any military preparedness our country may need can be secured in some other and better ways than putting military training in the public schools.

JOHN WRIGHT BUCKHAM
Professor of Christian Theology, Pacific Theological Seminary

Physical training of boys and young men for corporate constructive action is a good thing. Training for the destruction of human life and property is contrary to the welfare of the individual, the nation and humanity, and helps to perpetuate barbarism. To promote the war spirit among our youth at the time when humanity, sick of hatred and carnage, is almost ready to abandon the senseless and bestial crime of war, is not only a mistake but a betrayal of trust.

GEORGE A. COE
Professor of Religious Education, Union Theological Seminary; Author of "Education in Religion and Morals," etc.

1. The present demand for military training in the schools does not proceed from any reasoned plan for maintaining permanent peace, but from such false assumptions as that peace is impracticable, or that armies and navies are the proper agents for determining our position among the nations.

2. Under these conditions, any military training now introduced into the schools will be militaristic. It will imbue the children with the false and fatal standards to which the present world-tragedy is due.

3. We should train the children with reference to international conduct, but solely from the standpoint of the ethical principles that properly control the conduct of both individuals and nations.

CHARLES F. DOLE
President Boston Twentieth Century Club

Military training is a continuous process, by subtle suggestion, to fill people's minds with the thought of enemy nations to be suspected and feared and perhaps fought and killed. This is the worst possible training for citizenship in a democracy. Our American democracy rests upon a basis of mutual respect and good will; it implies a faith in the common humanity; it stops, therefore, at no boundary lines; wherever men are it presupposes human worth and seeks to establish

relations of friendliness. The characteristic note of its training is that it looks for the best and not the worst in all kinds and conditions of men. The democracy falls apart in an atmosphere of ill will or mistrust.

The war system, on the contrary, toward which military training inevitably tends, has always been the ally of aristocracy and tyranny, and is to-day the tool of every form of mercenary imperialism. It throws its glamor over the youth at their most susceptible age; it possesses them with a fictitious and artificial sense of the necessity of armies and battleships; it habituates them to distrust neighbor nations; it grows, indeed, out of fear and suspicion; looking for enemies, watchful against possible insults, proud of the instruments of power, it keeps the world restless and fearful. It fosters a vulgar national patriotism which cries, "America first," instead of a nationalism of Brotherhood which places "Humanity over all." It therefore sets aside the noblest traditions of religion. How can we honestly teach our boys to obey the Golden Rule and proceed to train them to shoot men?

WASHINGTON GLADDEN
Columbus, Ohio

I do not believe in teaching children to kill by wholesale or retail. Murder is not one of the arts which it is wise to teach in our schools. There is good reason to hope that before these boys are grown this business of killing will be out of date. All the belligerents now solemnly declare that they are fighting to put an end to war. Is the United States going to be the one nation which, in the presence of such a purpose, proposes to feed the flames of that inferno?

PROFESSOR JESSE H. HOLMES
President National Federation Religious Liberals, 1915

Our schools are intended to equip our children for effective living. They should supply the necessary foundation for future specialization. Military drill introduces specialized exercises aimed for specific purposes and does not serve the general purpose of a sound body. Moreover,

at an impressionable age at which ideals are being formed it tends to establish the military ideal as against the democratic ideal.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
Minister Church of the Messiah, New York City

I am absolutely opposed to military training for schoolboys. We do not want it and must not have it.

From the strictly educational standpoint, military training is a betrayal of the prime object of education in a democratic community, which I assume to be self-development fulfilled in self-control. It takes a boy's distinctive individuality at its most impressionable period and degrades it to the repressive and deforming rigor of a wholly external system of iron discipline. Personal peculiarities, gifts, aspects of genius, are not only neglected, but deliberately removed. For boys, like men, fit into the military machine only to the extent that they are standardized.

From more general viewpoints, military training is similarly to be condemned. It awakens an interest in and devotion to that very system of discipline which, more than any other one thing today, threatens civilization with ruin. It cultivates an ignoble type of patriotism which interprets national loyalty in terms of distrust and hatred of alien peoples. It fosters an ethical standard of self-assertion and self-aggrandizement, rather than of self-sacrifice. It corrodes the religion of brotherhood and good will.

Nothing can justify military training for schoolboys, even from the militarist standpoint, but necessities of national defense. Such necessities for this country have yet to be proved, when, in the super-preparedness epoch of 1900-1914, no European nation found it necessary to resort to this device.

One need only to observe the human slaughter in the present war to realize that war is the greatest enemy to civilization known to men and that, if it is ever to cease, it must be through the education of the young in the truth that the higher virtues demand greater courage and more enduring qualities of character in the daily lives of

men and women and in the self-control which results in a stable and prosperous nation than are ever demanded in times of war.

Boys, as well as girls, should be trained for life rather than for death. The highest courage is not shown in a disregard for death, but in loving some great principle more than life in the face of opposition and ignominy in times of peace, when no applauding multitude shouts its approval.

CHARLES E. JEFFERSON
Pastor Broadway Tabernacle Church, New York City

I do not believe in military training for schoolboys. That is a form of foolery to which we Americans should never submit. Every movement looking in that direction must be promptly and resolutely resisted. Let us not be deceived by the plea that our boys need physical exercise. We can give them physical exercise without drilling them in the art of human slaughter. War belongs to the savage and bloody past. It is our business to build a fairer and saner world. To do this we must keep our youth from associations which suggest the glory and inevitableness of war. The Pequots gave their boys military training. Why should we revert to their stupid and fatal practice?

JENKIN LLOYD JONES
Pastor All Souls Church, Chicago; Director Abraham Lincoln Centre; Editor "Unity"

My judgment, conscience and heart rebel against this un-American,, undemocratic and, as I believe, absolutely unnecessary clamor for military training for schoolboys. I object to military training in public schools because:

1. The physical advantages that come from such a training are a negligible quantity. Everything up to the manual of arms can be reached and in many ways is reached and exceeded by other methods now in vogue.

2. It will apply only to the male section of our school population. If the boys need it the girls do. If the girls do not need it the boys can get along without it.

3. Its implication is reactionary. It inflames the imagination in wrong directions and revives

the brute, ever dormant and not far from the surface in the average boy.

4. It endorses and reinforces a vicious statesmanship. Only crown-governed nations rest upon bayonets and bullets. Democracies have had their rise and derive their adequate strength from ballots and spelling books. They need no guns.

5. It is an abandonment of the proud position already achieved. Loving boys have proved themselves loyal; intelligent youths have demonstrated their courage. Noble citizens have proven themselves equal to any military emergency that may arise. No patriotism is adequate that is not international. Our schools should make citizens of the world.

CHARLES R. JOY
Minister of the First Parish, Portland, Maine

It is because the war system has deeper roots than we realize that it is so difficult to eradicate. One of these roots finds its nourishment in the early training of our boys. If, then, we are to remove the curse of war from the earth, sooner or later we must deal with such apparently trivial things as the toy soldier, the boys' uniform, the history textbook and the military drill of our secondary schools. Our boys must be taught that war is not a glorious thing from any point of view; that at best it is a deplorable catastrophe in the history of the race; that justice and righteousness and God are the strongest defences a nation may have; that arms may fail, but love never faileth.

HARRY LEVI
Rabbi Temple Israel, Boston, Mass.

What purpose is served by giving boys military training that is not attainable by more legitimate means? Ask authorities on physical culture. Athletic exercises achieve much better physical results. Military training gives schoolboys false ideals. It gives the impression that the function of education is to prepare boys to fight, whereas the real purpose is to train boys to work along with others in peaceful channels for the successful achievement of common benefits. It makes for suspicion of those who live in or come from foreign lands, and so operates against the

development of democracy. It makes for hatred, and hatred breeds war. It checks the growth of brotherhood, for children are impressionable and do not easily forget their prejudices, and so the cause of religion suffers. Military training, especially with children whose vision is limited, promises to secularize, materialize and brutalize. And except education spiritualizes the while it develops capacity, it is a failure.

SHAILER MATHEWS

President Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America; Dean Divinity School, University of Chicago; Editor "The Biblical World"

Militarism is not only a system, it is an attitude of mind. It is a survival of days when men failed to see the might of the Spirit of Jesus and the good sense of love. Doing one another injustice, both intentionally and in ignorance of the laws of social welfare, they felt the need of soldiers to defend and enforce their policies. Thus history revolved in a vicious circle. Bad internationalism demanded military establishments, and military establishments diverted attention from Christian ideals in national policies.

To my mind military training in schools will serve to consolidate this same attitude of mind in growing generations. Military training cannot fail to make impressionable lives feel the justice of militarism as a spiritual attitude toward other nations. It will divert attention from ideals of justice and friendship in the same proportion as it is defended and enforced. Pride and suspicion are indispensable accompaniments of military preparation. Why should boys and girls be given such lessons? As far as real military preparation is concerned, military training in schools is of no real value; but as developing a bent of mind, an accustomedness to military thinking and a respect for war, it is liable to be a psychological suggestion which will make sanity and justice more difficult in all dealings of future public opinions with international relations.

Schools should look to the future and not to the past. If preparation for war must ever come, let it come as a consciously confessed evil, rather

than as an expression of attitudes engendered and justified in the midst of a formative educational process. Boys and girls should be taught that war can be averted by giving justice, and that fighting is a survival of a lower civilization, rather than an expression of truest patriotism.

J. EDGAR PARK
Minister Second Church, Newton, Mass.

I oppose the military training of boys because the regular outdoor sports and indoor gymnasium exercise tend to make a stronger, more independent man out of the boy. Older people, especially those to whom a boy is nothing but a noisy, dirty, unruly animal, think it is very cute to see boys all clean and straight, walking with mechanical accuracy, obeying with absolute unanimity, standing still, saluting superiors, and such things. The joy is all in the adult mind. God did not make boys to be tin soldiers. You destroy something divine in the boy when you allow the world to begin too soon to drill him into an exact reproduction of the man next him. If you want to do it, at least wait till he has had his boyhood. If the worst comes to the worst, the best soldier will be the boy who has not felt the military roller over his body and soul till after his body and soul have had their natural chance of growth.

Our good friends who advocate the military training of boys are right in their ideal, but a little hasty in their method. National service is more than merely training for slaughter. Let boys learn first to be a part of the national life by helpful service.

From Some of the Eminent Women of America

ANNA HOWARD SHAW
Honorary President, National American Woman Suffrage Association

The theory that order, obedience and discipline can be instilled into the minds of the young only as a part of military training is illogical and inhuman. These are qualities of the mind and are as essential in times of peace and in the successful

carrying forward of the arts of peace as of war. They are demanded in the life service of girls and women as much as of boys and men, and any system of education which implies that the development of these qualities are essential for one sex only is based upon the false assumption that war is necessary to human progress and development.

JANE ADDAMS
Hull House, Chicago

I am, of course, shocked at any proposition to introduce rifle practice into the public schools.

If war is to continue, at least let us insist that the use of firearms shall be confined to the soldier as strictly as the surgeon's knife is limited to the man professionally prepared to use it.

ROSE DABNEY FORBES
President Massachusetts Branch of the Woman's Peace Party

I am opposed to military training in schools.

1. Because there is danger that military training, especially if begun early, will tend to militarize our whole population.

2. Because the forces for good, discipline, hardihood and personal care, which are claimed as results of military training, are to be obtained through everyday school-teaching, and thus taught are more certain to become the permanent possession of each individual.

3. Because the boy who is spending several hours a week in military practice unconsciously gets the idea that men of other nations will sooner or later become his enemies, and that this is why he is being trained.

We teach our children to look with sympathy on all people, since sympathy leads to just estimates and to co-operation, while prejudice tends to misunderstanding and conflict between races. Furthermore, we should keep in children's minds the fact that war is a hideous and unjust method of trying to settle the disputes of nations, a method which the citizens of the twentieth century no longer tolerate. Instead of teaching this point of view, we shall be inculcating sympathy

with the war system and encouraging a consciousness of racial antagonism if we put military training into our schools.

MARY V. GRICE
President Philadelphia Home and School League

Herein lies the crux of my opposition to military training in the schools: It is preparing for the use of and the reliance upon a force which has in the past proved itself ineffectual in bringing about conditions desired. Military training, as a means to meet the needs of the age, seems a deliberate setting of our faces backward.

There are today divine indications, stirrings on all sides, pointing to the vaster, subtler energies of mind and spirit, the very power of which lies in their independence of force. "A power which bids the strong man not to use his strength; which tells the muscled arm not to strike back; which strips its soldiers of their weapons of violence and clothes them instead with forgiveness, trust and love."

This I believe to be the upward push of life toward something finer than man has yet tried. As his experiments in the physical world are lifting him from the solid earth to launch him in the air, so the untried forces of the spirit challenge his powers.

Therefore, if we are to train our boys for that which will result in a richer, fuller civic consciousness, let it be in the development of those forces which make for Love, not Hate; for Life, not Death.

LUCIA AMES MEAD
Chairman Peace and Arbitration Committee, National Council of Women

The Massachusetts Commission, which examined the question of military training, after many hearings reported to the Governor in 1915 that they found overwhelming testimony against the value of military drill for boys, except as to the setting-up drill and marching.

Military drill does not teach self-control in obedience to conscience, but only obedience through fear. Soldiers, when mustered out, are no more chaste, temperate or orderly than other

men. Self-control, personal responsibility, the power to "reason why," must be taught as the republic's truest defense.

The psychological effect on boys of compulsory gun practice would be to make them feel new dangers required this unprecedented expenditure of time and money. It would tend to grossly over-emphasize fear of outside dangers, generate suspicion of nations that had never attacked us and distract attention from far greater dangers within, which they were not being trained to meet.

If Americans adopt compulsory military training, Asia and South America would be profoundly affected, and world organization, the sole hope of durable peace, would be retarded. This peace can come only by bringing about "a condition of organized living together among nations." Study of methods to secure this would provide far greater defense than learning how to kill old-time friends whom blundering statesmanship had turned into enemies.

HANNAH K. SCHOFF
President National Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Associations

Now, through the fear which seems to have overtaken so many, the demand comes for compulsory training in every school. Preparedness has many definitions, but even those who most strenuously advocate universal military training have never before come to the point of requiring every child to have his thoughts directed to military service before he completes the education given in the grade schools.

Whatever profession or trade one may adopt, a care-free, happy childhood, with development of body, mind, and spirit carefully promoted, will lay the best foundation for fitness and preparedness. The effort to enact legislation for the introduction of military training in grade schools would be the drafting of the childhood of America into military service.

Has the country come to such a critical pass that this is necessary? Are there not duties and responsibilities that belong to a later period of

life? Has America come to such a place that it must take the freedom of choice away from its youth and demand specialization for military service for all?

These are questions which every state is facing. They are the questions which concern every parent, every mother.

Our country stands today at a crisis in its history. Granted that it needs an army to enforce peace; granted that the millennium is not here; granted that the maintenance of peace at the cost of dishonor is too great a price to pay, still may we not find a way for America to lead to better means of protection than to require that every school be a military school and every child imbibe all the attributes of war before he has yet had time to imbibe the attributes of peace?

MARY E. WOOLLEY
President Mount Holyoke College

"Military Training for Schoolboys; Do We Want It?" No. Why not? First, because we believe that better physical and disciplinary results may be secured by another form of training. Physical instructors are by no means agreed that military training is physically good for boys of average school age.

Second, because we believe that the psychological influence is harmful. Our duty is to educate the coming generation to a more civilized Christian conception of internationalism, not to emphasize militarism by making military training a part of our educational system.

Physical Training Experts

C. WARD CRAMPTON
Director of Physical Training, Department of Education, City of New York

The duty of the schools is to prepare boys and girls for the discharge of all human duties, both high and low. They should develop strength of body and character, loyalty to God and man, and should develop an ability to serve both well. Though it may be contrary to your belief, I hold that boys should be trained to defend their homes and lives. To do this best they must have train-

ing in hygiene, gymnastics, athletics, in the elementary schools and in the high schools. There must be no military training in the elementary schools, for the values of such may be gained through physical training. Moreover, I am convinced that it serves no worthy purpose. For the high school boy I wish a thorough Boy Scout training.

A silly, hysterical, fatal mistake seems to be running through the country now, a notion that military training has something to do with preparedness. This drilling small boys and putting them in uniform is absurd, from the military point of view, so far as making them soldiers goes. It is worse than absurd, from an educator's point of view.

DR. C. E. EHINGER
Physical Director State Normal School, West Chester, Pa.

I do not approve of military training for schoolboys because:

1. All the benefits which the advocates of this plan claim can be secured as well or better without it, and at the same time avoid inculcating the pernicious war spirit.

2. There is great need of better physical training for our youth of both sexes, but I should not call this military training nor have it under the jurisdiction of the army, navy, state militia or other military organizations. That the military training, as we know it now, does not give the best physical training is evidenced by the fact that for years our military school at West Point and naval school at Annapolis have employed instructors of physical training to overcome the disastrous results of the one-sided practice of the manual of arms and other military drills.

3. The inevitable result of military training is to emphasize preparation for war, while physical training emphasizes training for the battles of life.

GEORGE W. EHLER
Director of Physical Education, University of Wisconsin

Influential and prominent advocates of preparedness, carried away by their feelings and influenced by the superficial and concrete, propose

to introduce military drill into all public schools and colleges as the chief means of preparing growing boys and youths for possible military service. * * * Military "drill" is a sound-deadening, enthusiasm-killing, contempt-developing treadmill. Preparedness involves * * * primarily and fundamentally the possession of vitality, endurance, integrity of structure and function of every organ, alertness, bodily skill, self-control, hardihood, courage— in other words, the fullest development of the physical, mental and emotional powers, the result of real physical education. * * * Let us not confound drill with training nor substitute "military drill" for physical education.

GEORGE J. FISHER, M. D.
Secretary Physical Department, International Committee, Y. M. C. A.; New York State Military Training Commissioner

In the training camps in England it takes a full year to get the men in condition after they enlist. England's experience in this war indicates that the big problem is not primarily the training of the men in military tactics or drill, but conditioning the men. Therefore, the lesson to us should be to discover what methods can best be used to put and keep men in good physical condition.

DR. DUDLEY A. SARGENT
Director Hemenway Gymnasium, Harvard University; Director Normal School of Physical Training, Cambridge, Mass.
(Before the Massachusetts Special Commission on Military Education, 1915)

Does military drill in the schools develop these qualities in youth which prepare a nation for the struggles of war, to say nothing of those of peace? No, because:

1. It is not an adequate means for physical training, being not only very limited in its activities, but actually harmful in its effect on boys less than eighteen or twenty years of age.

2. It does not offer sufficient opportunity for the development of the individual's powers of muscular and mental co-ordination and the exercise of judgment under unusual and trying circumstances.

3. It does not offer sufficient opportunity for struggle, which requires and develops a spirit of co-operation and self-sacrifice, loyalty and a strong will.

4. The most military nations in the world do not have military drill in their schools, but give military instructions and training only after the boys have reached eighteen or twenty years and have received years of physical training as a part of their schooling.

5. The same qualities that are of most value for war are of most value in peace. Military drill also is inadequate as a preparation for the struggles of peace, such as are necessary to sustain the place of the individual or nation in the pursuit of science, politics, commerce, etc.

6. Military drill in the schools cannot teach boys the real art of war, since they are too young to handle the real weapons and undergo the vigors of adequate instruction. Hence it is apt to foster a bombastic military spirit of "tin-soldierism" and a false sense of patriotism which does not appreciate the seriousness of war nor the glories of the struggles of peace.

WILLIAM A. STECHER
Director Physical Education, Philadelphia Public Schools; Editor "Mind and Body"

Sound physical growth must be at the foundation of all preparedness, be this for success in the pursuits of peace or for personal and national defense. And sound physical growth can be given to school children better and for much less expense by means of adequate physical training than through military training.

RANDAL D. WARDEN
Director of Physical Training, Newark, N. J.

I am totally opposed to military drill in the public schools of America. I believe that the science of military training is too technical and arduous for boys under sixteen years of age. Of course, the tactics and the manual of arms can be taught to boys under this age, but this, in my judgment, is of no great importance or helpfulness in the teaching of national protection.

In place of military instruction in the public schools I believe that a thorough course in physical training should be compulsory.

From the Report of the Special Commission on Military Education and Reserve, State of Massachusetts, 1915

The overwhelming weight of opinion from school teachers, military experts, officers of both the regular army and the militia and the general public is against military drill. It is generally agreed that the military drill which a boy receives in school is of little or no advantage to him from the point of view of practical soldiering. As far as available evidence goes, drill in the schools has had no beneficial effect in promoting enlistments in the militia, except in a few isolated localities. For various reasons it has seemed to create a dislike for soldiering. Military drill in the schools is objected to by many on the ground that boys of school age have not attained sufficient mental maturity to appreciate what war and fighting mean, and are therefore unable to digest ideas which military drill presents to them in concrete form. It is worth noting that military drill as such is given in the schools of no countries of the world except Australia and Japan.

The Commission does not recommend military drill in the schools, but is opposed to it.

Physical training which tends to make a boy strong, physically well set up and mentally alert is the proper preparation for the real intensive training necessary to make a soldier, as it is also the proper preparation for civil life. The overwhelming weight of public opinion favors the greater development of physical training in the schools and the standardization and inspection of such training by some central authority.

Authorities on Boy Life

JAMES E. WEST
Chief Scout Executive, National Council, Boy Scouts of America

We must frankly admit that thus far, as a nation, whenever the test has been applied, we have been woefully deficient in physical preparedness.

As a result, because of the European War and recent Mexican developments, the country is alarmed and aroused, and an effort is being made by many well-meaning people to impose the burden of military preparedness upon our schools and boys in their teen age.

If those who are leaders in physical education would come forward with a definite program of instruction which would greatly improve the physical condition of the product of our public schools and colleges, I feel confident that the most radical advocates of the technical military training would be satisfied with it as a preliminary program and would be content to have their strictly military program commence at a more mature age.

Those things which make for discipline, obedience, loyalty, courtesy, endurance, resourcefulness, initiative, alertness, moral courage, good health, knowledge of how to care for oneself, etc., should not be considered distinctive military training, but should be given as part of citizenship training to all boys and girls to properly prepare them for their later responsibilities as home makers, wage earners and citizens.

WALTER S. COWING
Scout Executive, Philadelphia

There are two reasons why I am not an advocate of military training in the schools. First, I believe such a system to be educationally and biologically incorrect for the Grammar and High School boy. Secondly, the real underlying purpose of military training in the schools is to produce efficient soldiery. According to many competent observers, military training for boys does not produce good soldiers, but tends to impair their usefulness as such.

OWEN R. LOVEJOY
Secretary, National Child Labor Committee

The epidemic of military training in the public schools of this country is childish and cowardly in the extreme. No reason exists for such training which did not exist a decade ago. At that time it would have been impossible to induce intelligent citizens to lay such a yoke on American

childhood. When the international slaughter in Europe shall have ceased our people will again realize the futility of this craze that has swept the country. No other nation, even in the extremity of frontier danger, has gone so far as to thus expose its children.

Specifically, my three reasons for opposing military training in school are:

1. The burden on the public school is already heavy enough and poorly enough carried.

2. If military training is essential it can be better done outside the school than inside.

3. My belief in world peace forbids me to sanction the training of young boys in the use of instruments of death for the same reason that I could not countenance the teaching of cannibalism to children because, forsooth, some untouched tribe on earth may still practice the custom.

WILLIAM A. McKEEVER
Professor of Child Welfare, University of Kansas; Author of "Training the Boy," etc.

In my opinion, the general introduction of military training in the public high schools of the country would be nothing short of a national calamity. Such a procedure would be the most direct and certain means of involving the country in war some time within the next quarter of a century. I regard the military training of the youths and young men of the central European powers as the chief contributing cause of the awful conflict now in progress. If a patriotic war ever occurs in this country its battles will be fought best by the young men who have been trained to work, to do their full part as citizens, to live honestly and soberly and to fear God and keep His commandments. Such young men naturally love their country because of what it has done for them, and they will die for it if need be.

Four Editorial Opinions

A. E. WINSHIP
Editor Journal of Education, Boston, Mass.

There is a vital objection to the introduction of military training into the schools at this time.

It will be introduced, if at all, because of the European War, the worst in all history. It will always be associated with that war. It will always be regarded as one of its results, as one of the lessons which Europe has taught America. It will never have an educational flavor. It will only be a war echo.

J. McKEEN CATTELL
Professor of Psychology in Columbia University; Editor of "Science," "The Scientific Monthly" and "School and Society"

I concur without reservation in the statement made in the declaration of principles adopted by the National Education Association which reads: "The association deplores any attempt to militarize this country. It again declares against the establishment of compulsory military training in the schools, on the ground that this is reactionary and inconsistent with American ideals and standards." I wish that this resolution might be placed before every teacher in the country.

PAUL U. KELLOGG
Editor "The Survey," New York

We Americans stand for public schools and compulsory education for the purpose of giving the next generation the biggest opportunity in life we have to offer—to make them fit in body, in mind and in spirit. To turn that broad conception of education into a scheme for developing soldiers—or even to permit it to be bent far in that direction—is, to my mind, as senseless and wrong-headed as to twist it into a scheme for universal training of young folks as scavengers, sanitarians, doctors and nurses, because we are constantly threatened with the encroachments of epidemic diseases.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD
President New York Evening Post

I am opposed to military training for schoolboys on moral, spiritual and practical grounds. The Germans, the most efficient military people the modern world has ever seen, have never even in the throes of this dreadful war dreamed of giving military training to schoolboys. When I

attended a "gymnasium" in Berlin the boys were given the gymnastic training suited to their individual physical development. The authorities would have hooted at the idea of pulling the shoulders of these boys out of shape with guns, and there is no thought of introducing school drilling after this war is over. I know, moreover, that the military training of boys in public schools in this country is a farce, so far as military or physical results are concerned. If anybody doubts this let him watch the annual field day of the Boston Public School Regiment. Thorough military training of boys is only possible in schools that make a business of it. If introduced in our public schools it will merely add another item to an already overloaded curriculum and increase the dangerous tendency to superficiality and lack of thoroughness already so serious in our school systems. On moral grounds I believe the argument against it is unanswerable. It falsifies values, lays emphasis on brute force and makes directly against the ethical training which is supposed to be the teacher's first duty.

What Prominent Socialists Have to Say

ALLAN L. BENSON
Socialist Nominee for President, 1916

I object to military training in the public schools because I am opposed to giving the little capitalist class that controls government more power with which to snare the people into war. I object to military training in the schools for the same reason that I object to the glorification of war and war heroes in school histories. It is dastardly thus to poison the minds of the young. It is the more dastardly when the selfish purposes of the poisoners are considered. The real reason for the demand for military training in the schools is that the great capitalists want more military power with which to get and hold foreign trade. They also have an eye to the possibility of labor troubles among their exploited workers. America's young blood should not be corrupted for purposes so vile.

EUGENE V. DEBS
Socialist Candidate for President of the United States 1904, 1908, 1912

I am absolutely opposed to the military training of schoolboys for the reason that such training develops the military instinct and kindles to flame the base passion for military glory.

Military training of school children, deny it as may those who are craftily scheming to introduce it in the interest of the ruling class, is the first step toward militarism, and militarism in all its forms and manifestations is an abomination that should be wiped from the earth.

As long as we teach our school children a false and vicious patriotism and train them how to kill under the plea of love for the flag and the nation, we shall have armies and navies and machine guns, and we shall have war with all its unspeakable horrors. I would sink all of these to the bottom of the sea. War is simply murder in its most terrible form, and a nation that prepares for war is not civilized. I would no more teach school children militarism than I would teach them arson, robbery or assassination.

MAX EASTMAN
Editor "The Masses," New York

Since men are patriotic and warlike by hereditary instinct, they will most of them fight whenever wars arise. We must prevent wars arising. We must prevent war from seeming natural. We must not let war become the habit of our thoughts. We must not let militarism become the habit of our bodies. Nothing is more important than this. A people trained in military patriotism will be last to surrender their petty bigotry to the great purpose of international union.

GEORGE R. KIRKPATRICK
Socialist Candidate for Vice-President, 1916

Schoolboys are helplessly pliable, helpless to resist the teachings that are satisfactory to a ruling class.

Schoolboys are eagerly active, easily impressionable, highly imitative and deplorably gullible.

The military training of schoolboys produces the prompt and stupid obedience of the slave, the strutting egotism of the bigot, the noisy narrowness of vulgarly petty nationalism, blasts the naturally social nature of the child till he is rendered incapable of conceiving the brotherhood of man, and reduces the child to the cheap level of an automatic tool of flesh and blood easily manipulated in the service of the ruling class.

The military training of schoolboys is an outrage upon our innocently pliable younger brothers.

MEYER LONDON

Member of the House of Representatives, Twelfth District, New York

To teach the child the art of war means to proclaim the supremacy of physical force, to abandon all belief in a nobler future for mankind; in short, to sanctify war.

I repudiate the notion which is now so assiduously being inculcated, that war is a part of human nature. Not even in the animal world do the animals of the same species seek to destroy one another. Are we to educate our young into being more beastly than the beasts?

JOHN SPARGO

Author of "The Bitter Cry of the Children," etc.

Military training for schoolboys is one of the most dangerous and insidious aspects of the militaristic menace. It is dangerous because it must inevitably foster the militarist psychology—reliance on brute force, arrogant pride of power, contempt for the less powerful and for ethical values.

The specious pretext that such training would be valuable as a physical culture agency, apart from any possible military use, must not be suffered to deceive the friends of peace. The greatest authorities on physical training agree that military drill is a very poor medium of physical culture.

Other Statements Worth Regarding

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN
(At National Education Association, 1916)

Is all our progress vain, and must we, now a great nation, great in numbers, great in resources and isolated from the countries of the Old World, must we turn over a new leaf, reverse our policy, lower our ideals, step down to the brute level of the Old World, convert our nation into an armed camp, and use our schools as breeding places for an army?

MARTIN G. BRUMBAUGH
Governor of Pennsylvania

I have never felt that it was right to have military drill in the public schools. I am strongly in favor, however, of physical training of a practical sort that will make the bodies of our boys obedient to their minds, and in this way predispose them for any specific training which later on may be required of them. The school is essentially a preparation for life in its broad sense and not a place to train our individuals for a possible, and let us hope, an improbable service.

THOMAS W. CHURCHILL
President, Board of Education, New York, 1913-1916

Many men to whom we should not deny patriotic motives declare that our public schools should become training grounds for war. Even though we assume that the advocate of preparedness is right, and I am not going to argue that he is wrong, the method proposed is not based upon the example furnished by belligerent nations. France, England, Germany, Russia have no military training in their schools. Switzerland, whose system of instruction, though it includes the idea of equipment of the nation for war as well as peace, excludes from the schools anything that savors of militarism. The only two countries in whose public schools military drill for children obtains are Australia and Japan.

As a form of exercise it is inferior to an intelligently graded system of physical training. As a matter of economy, in the narrowest as well as the broadest sense, it ought not to be considered.

All communities are groaning now because of congested educational budgets. Military drills mean uniforms. What item of expense shall we cut out to provide them? Must we lop off more kindergartens to provide brass buttons and epaulettes? Military drill means guns. What fund is not too depleted to pay for them? Are we to close more night schools and to omit classes formed to Americanize our foreign population? Uniforms mean sameness. The curse of education now is the barren uniformity of it, crowding into the same kind of mold every boy that comes to school. Guns mean shooting. Shooting, to be of value, must be shooting to kill.

The root and sap and flower of education is that which maketh alive. By what alchemy of pedagogy the everlasting law of civilization delivered among the thunders of Sinai, "Thou shalt not kill," is to be impressed upon a lad with a gun in his hand is beyond my understanding. Could you get the fine distinction drawn effectively in your boys if you taught them civics at 10 o'clock and firearms at 11?

Militarize our schools, inject suggestion of combat, martial glory and pomp and circumstance of war, and you but educate a nation with a chip upon its shoulder, with a gun which one wants to hear go off. What, then, can save us from the telescopic eye, keen to see and flashing to avenge perpetual insult to our flag? Who has not seen in labor riot, or in other sudden outbreak, how thin upon our race is this veneer of control, restraint and patience, component qualities of civilization? Who does not know of the upspringing of license and wanton rage within an hour when a town sets about a lynching, blind to presumptions of innocence or guilt, but insane with the madness to kill? Behind and suffusing such an outbreak is always familiarity with use of firearms, equipment with the instruments of death.

JOSEPH L. COHEN
Social Worker, Henry Street Settlement, New York

The boy has a claim to the best physical and mental training which it is possible to provide.

He has a right to the healthful, vigorous activities which are natural to his age, but he must be left free from the cramping spirit of a military training. Military training points to war; the public schools point to peace.

WILLIAM W. COMFORT
Professor of Romance Languages and Literatures, Cornell University

My opposition to the introduction of military exercises into our public schools is not due to the fear that they will inject a fighting spirit into our youth. I think that danger is negligible. I am opposed to such measures as have been hastily and inconsiderately rushed through at Albany for three reasons, one pedagogical and two moral. First, our high school curriculum is overcrowded now. Money, time and brains are all lacking for an adequate training. Second, the infliction of military exercises as such upon mere boys is outdoing the practice of even the most hardened military countries of Europe. Third, such measures retard the day for which civilization is travailing, because they give currency to the idea that right dominates only through might. I am disposed to combat the theory that our country requires this sort of patriotism of its children.

JOHN W. FOSTER
Former Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

The natural tendency of the youth of our country to military exercises is great enough already, and it is cruel to stimulate in them the art of killing their fellow-men.

J. FRANK HANLY
Former Governor of Indiana; Prohibition Candidate for President of the U. S., 1916

I am opposed to military training of schoolboys. It would breed a martial spirit in them at a time in life when impressions received are apt to be permanently retained, fill their minds with favorable thought toward war and lead them to the acceptance of the dangerous policy of militarism.

EDWARD A. STEINER
Professor of Applied Christianity, Grinnell College; Author of "Introducing the American Spirit," etc.

I object to military training for schoolboys because of my general attitude toward war. If I were not a pacifist I would object to it, because such training has not proved effective and has been discarded by militaristic nations. That is, it has interfered with the general educational processes and therefore has not been a good preparation for the life of a citizen who at the same time is a soldier, but much less time a soldier than a citizen.

EX-JUDGE WALDO M. YORK
Former President Board of Education, Los Angeles, Cal.

Our schools should not be devoted to military training of little value as a physical exercise and entirely inadequate in time of war, but rather to developing strong, healthy and patriotic citizens and statesmen who will promote in this country the fundamental principle upon which our government was organized and bring into the world the fruitage of the gospel of "Peace on earth and good will toward men."

CHARLES ZUEBLIN
Boston, Mass. Author "American Municipal Progress," etc.

Rifle practice in the public schools would not only be abhorrent, but useless. I hope our schools may instill ideals of peace. As disarmament seems at present utopian, I think a modification of the Swiss military system, demanding one year of national service of each able-bodied young man and woman, might be utilized to develop physical endurance and team-play. Their main activities would be useful work for the government. But athletics and manual training are infinitely preferable in the schools.

Additional copies of this booklet may be obtained at Room 25, 304 Arch Street, or Room 15, 1305 Arch Street, Philadelphia.
PRICE, 5 CENTS EACH

THE PEACE MOVEMENT AND SOME MISCONCEPTIONS

BY

MRS. J. MALCOLM FORBES

THE PEACE MOVEMENT AND SOME MISCONCEPTIONS*

It is a satisfaction to be asked to speak to you of the Cause which I believe the most far-reaching of our generation. I know it is as yet an unpopular Cause, but this is because of misconceptions. The ideas and ideals of Peace workers are not yet generally understood, and it is occasions such as this, where broad-minded persons come together for the purpose of looking into one another's aims and work, which are going to remove misunderstandings.

I maintain that as fast as it is understood, the movement for the substitution of law for war will make adherents of every man and every woman in our land, and in all civilized lands.

The chief reason for the widespread misapprehension of the Peace Movement has come, I believe, from the name "Peace." Truly a beautiful word, but not suitable for the title of a movement at once radical and bold, formed for the abolition of the war system.

Had the men and women who, in the beginning of the last century, banded themselves together for the overthrow of slavery, called themselves by some title which had a like flavor of piety and finality, I believe that the Anti-Slavery Movement would have met with as many hindrances as has the Peace Movement. Largely because of the word "Peace," persons not yet in the Movement imagine that those who are working to bring about the new order are making use merely of appeals to sentiment, talking in gentle tones of how to bring in the millenium, and crying, Peace! Peace! whereas, the truth is that the *war against war* is and has long been an aggressive campaign of education, its

* Address delivered at a meeting of the Executive Board of the National Civic Federation (New England Section), May 4, 1916.

teachings proclaimed in no mincing or uncertain tones. *The Peace Movement is a determined onslaught on the old and barbarous system of war, and a persistent pointing of the way to constructive international relations.* The Peace worker deals not in doves nor olive branches. He must summon all the clearness of thought and logic that he can command; and he must needs stand firm in his faith, heeding neither the ridicule nor the sneers of the unconverted.

When a man new to the Movement hears the words, Peace Society, Peace Advocate and Pacifist, he not unnaturally associates the movement for which they stand, with passive and mild attributes; he thinks he would almost be ashamed to join a Peace Society, for he says he does "not believe that man is intended to live without fighting." Then the explanation has to be made that the " fighting" he means (healthy struggle and competition) is not synonymous with the killing of men. The Peace Movement *is* a battle. In the words of Phillips Brooks:

"It is not that the power to fight has perished, it is that the battle has gone up on higher grounds."

In addition to this fundamental misapprehension there is at present much misunderstanding because of the so-called "Preparedness" Movement, which is demanding the attention of every patriotic American. One hears statements implying that there are two antagonistic societies at work: the Preparedness Society on the one hand, and the Peace Society on the other. This is a misconception. It is true that nearly all Peace societies are opposed to colossal armament, believing that over-large armies and navies invite war, and are opposed to legislation which subjugates civil to military interests, but the Peace Movement as a whole stands for adequate defense. There is certainly as great a difference of opinion as to what constitutes "*adequate* defense" found among Peace workers as among militarists—but no Peace worker thinks the millenium has come or that nations can yet disarm; on the other hand we maintain that there are many ways in which a nation may defend itself besides guns and dreadnoughts, and

that these newer ways make for a better and more permanent defense. Peace workers stand for a more comprehensive Preparedness than mere military efficiency: that Preparedness which subserves international interests, rather than national interests alone.

I should like to read a few paragraphs from statements which were issued this winter by the Massachusetts Peace Society (to which belong many men and women of the State); and by the Massachusetts Branch of the Woman's Peace Party, which is one of the strongest, although one of the newest of the Peace organizations. We call this Massachusetts Peace Society pamphlet, "Law Must Replace War." It reads partly as follows:

"(1) MILITARISTS SAY that the Peace Movement is opposed to adequate national defense.

The truth is that what we oppose is not national defense, but the international war system which makes military defense seem necessary. The Peace Movement has use for both those who advocate increased provision for national defense and those who believe that 'preparedness' invites war.

(2) MILITARISTS SAY that the Peace Movement is unpatriotic.

The truth is that the Peace Movement expresses the highest type of patriotism,—that patriotism which sees that national welfare depends upon international cooperation in all matters of international concern. Its object is international justice in accordance with the principles of international law.

(3) MILITARISTS SAY that the European war has proved the futility of the Peace Movement.

The truth is that the developments of the past year have demonstrated the correctness of the position taken by the workers for peace. The terrible menace of militarism now stands revealed,—its ruthless destruction of the very things that civilization most cherishes.

(4) MILITARISTS SAY that peace advocates want 'peace at any price.'

The truth is that the peace we want is that based on

just and friendly international relations: it has no connection with that passive acceptance of injustice and tyranny which the phrase 'peace at any price' suggests.

(5) MILITARISTS SAY that peace advocates are impractical and visionary sentimentalists.

The truth is that the constructive program of the Peace Movement commands the active support of leading statesmen, eminent legal authorities, economists, business associations, labor organizations, and of many men and women noted for practical achievement."

The other Statement reads as follows:

"In view of the widespread misapprehension as to the principles held by the Woman's Peace Party, the Executive Committee of the Massachusetts Branch desires to issue a statement which we believe to be a correct interpretation of the platform of the Party in its application to present conditions.

"The Woman's Peace Party was formed to protest against the war system and to work for the substitution of law for war. Peace at any price has no place in its platform, nor does it advocate non-resistance.

"Pending further steps to be taken jointly by the nations toward making world organization effective, we recognize that armies and navies must exist in the present state of international morality. But we believe that other and better means of preserving the vital interests of nations are already available. We emphasize the fact that there is more than one kind of defense. We thoroughly endorse plans for a League to insure Peace which provides drastic, concerted non-intercourse as a penalty for aggression by any nation, with action by an international police as a last resort.

"We feel that the state of fear and suspicion now being fostered in our country by the propaganda conducted by some newspapers and magazines as well as by individual militarists, is to be deplored. We look with apprehension at the placing of men personally interested in the manufacture or sale of munitions of war on National Advisory Boards and Congressional Committees. There is a serious danger that our country may become committed to a policy of such increased war preparations as will overstep real necessity and may place us in the grip

of a situation from which later it will be extremely difficult to free ourselves.

"No nation standing alone to-day can ever be sufficiently prepared to face a hostile coalition such as is possible in the modern world. Only in concerted action and co-operation can justice and security be attained. This war has demonstrated as never before the essential interdependence of nations. We can no longer, if we would, stand apart and work out our own salvation without reference to the interests and aspirations of other nations. Whatever policy is now adopted by this country as regards increase of armaments will compel other nations to follow its example. A grave responsibility is laid upon the people of the United States.

"We are opposed to compulsory military training in schools, and to compulsory military service. These are wholly out of keeping with American traditions and ideals.

"Concerning the vexed question of supplying munitions to belligerents by citizens of neutral nations, we feel that our government should take no action during the war. This and other matters should be considered after the cessation of hostilities in the reorganization of international law.

"The Woman's Peace Party stands for International Justice which alone can secure permanent peace. It stands for those principles of democracy held by the founders of our Republic, and which to-day are imperilled. We urge all thoughtful, patriotic women to work with us."

In the Massachusetts Branch of the Woman's Peace Party we are urging the *Newer Preparedness*, by which we mean such measures as *promote justice* between nations; measures that tend to *reduce friction* between nations; and measures which *produce cooperation* between nations.

Among these measures of the *Newer Preparedness* are:

(1) The League to Enforce Peace, which puts into concrete form that for which nearly all Peace societies and leaders have been striving for years.

(2) The creation of an Oriental-American Commission, which shall study the complex and important questions at issue between Japan and China and the United

States, and which shall from time to time make recommendations to the governments involved.

(3) The passage of the law advocated by the American Bar Association, giving federal control over aliens, in order to prevent local conditions in the several States from having undue influence in causing friction with other countries.

(4) The development of the Monroe Doctrine into a Pan-American Doctrine.

(5) Action to provide for the elimination of private profit from the manufacture of armament. This cannot be done till after this war, since international as well as national questions are involved.

The Woman's Peace Party has urged upon Congress "That a joint committee be appointed to conduct thorough investigation, with public hearings, and report within the next six months upon the condition of our military and naval defences with special reference to the expenditure of past appropriations."

We feel that it is both unbusinesslike and senseless to increase enormously—I do not say slightly, I say enormously—our present appropriations, until we have at least tried to patch the holes in the sieve through which a vast amount of the money contributed by our country for armaments is now running off. All persons inside and outside of the army and navy declare that only a portion of the money we yearly appropriate for defense goes where it should, and everyone knows that much of it goes into useless army posts and much of it into wretched and unnavigable naval basins. Shall we sit down and allow this waste to go on forever? We Peace workers say No!

Is it not in line with our careless and wasteful "Americanism" (not our ideal Americanism) to maintain this sieve, and to keep on calling for greater and greater sums for armaments? Is it not logical that we should see how far our appropriations, if properly administered, can make our present equipment efficient?

Why do not our Preparedness friends—and they are and must be our friends—carry on a whirlwind campaign for stopping up this sieve, and for reducing the

"pork barrel"? Most of the Preparedness propaganda which is now being carried on in our country is concentrating people's thoughts on our nation alone, on increasing our possessions and physical strength, with no thought for the welfare of other nations, or for the service which we can and should render to others. Is not this a narrow outlook?

Let us, while we are putting our own house into better order, promote measures which will help and not hinder our neighbors. Let us remember that in this modern interdependence of nations, the welfare of each nation is bound up with the rest.

Even from a purely selfish point of view, we shall be far less efficiently defended from future troubles if we are looking and laboring for our own interests only.

We feel that the *Newer Preparedness* is a very much broader movement than the kind of Preparedness which is threatening to become a replica of what Germany has been urging on her people for the last forty years, and which has led to war. But it is not Germany alone who has been preparing for war, misnamed "Peace," by inoculating all her boys and men with the militaristic spirit.

Let us keep our eyes open; let us keep our minds alert to recognize evil from good, that we may be able to pluck the tares from the wheat in these vital questions of Preparedness, Patriotism and Americanism.

Now for a bit of history: Although the Peace Movement in the last ten years has advanced by leaps and bounds, it had been marching forward, with few serious setbacks, since 1815, when the first societies in the world were organized. The first group was started in New York and is still working under its original name—The New York Peace Society. This year it is giving its whole strength to advancing the League to Enforce Peace.

The Massachusetts Peace Society was organized in the same year by a group of men and women who met in the study of Dr. William Ellery Channing's church in Boston. Later it became the parent of over thirty State branches under the name of The American Peace

Society with headquarters in Washington, D. C. A new Massachusetts Peace Society was formed six years ago, and is already one of the most vigorous of the State branches. It has been fortunate in having as its Presidents, Mr. Samuel B. Capen, Mr. Samuel J. Elder, and Professor Bliss Perry, who is about to begin his second term of office.

In the last one hundred years Peace Societies have multiplied enormously, not only here in America, but all over the world, so that there are now many hundreds of separate organizations with scores of branches.

But the seed was sown hundreds of years ago, and in order really to understand it one should study this Movement as he would any other great human development; he must know its aims, history and achievements.

Long before there was any Peace organization, there were prophets who spoke of the vision which had come to them; and though these voices seemed to speak in the wilderness, the words they uttered did not fall on deaf ears.

We find among early Greek writers some of the most powerful arraignments of war. Isaiah and Micah, with their glorious visions, were Peace prophets in Israel; and nineteen hundred years ago was born in Bethlehem the Prince of Peace, whose words are yet but little understood.

During the first two centuries after Christ, his followers refused to fight at all; then the church temporarily yielded to love of pomp and power, war was apotheosized instead of condemned, and the vision of the faithful was dimmed.

In the fourteenth century was born in the city of Coutances, Pierre Du Bois, who issued a plan for an international representative organization which, strange to say, was practically followed six hundred years later when the first Hague Conference met in 1899; though probably few individuals present had ever heard of this French lawyer.

Among the thinkers who put forth plans for International Peace, was Henry IV of France, who wrote "The Great Design," which proposed European federation as the means to attain the end.

Not long after this, Hugo Grotius, Holland's revered scholar and benefactor, gave to the world "The Rights of War and Peace," of which our statesman, Andrew D. White, wrote: "Of all works not claiming to be inspired, 'The Rights of War and Peace' has proven the greatest blessing to humanity."

In the seventeenth century George Fox with his followers in England endured beatings and persecutions for standing steadfast to their faith. They were called "Quakers" because they made the enemies of Peace to quake by their burning words against war.

In the same century William Penn for years kept peace with the American Indians, through putting into practice his theories of justice and cooperation. In 1693 he wrote "The Present and Future Peace of Europe," in which he advocated a Congress of Nations and a League to Enforce Peace.

Immanuel Kant, master mind of Germany, urged the organization of the world in his essay on "Eternal Peace," which was published at the very time that our Constitution made the American group of thirteen Federated States a world power. Kant insisted that World Peace could never be permanently attained until international organization was effected.

In the years following our Declaration of Independence the prophets came in greater and greater numbers, both here and in Europe. The "Father of Our Country," soldier though he was, spoke against war in no uncertain terms, declaring: "My first wish is to see this plague to mankind (war) banished from the earth, and the sons and daughters of this world employed in more pleasing and innocent amusements than in preparing implements and exercising them for the destruction of mankind; to see the whole world in Peace, and the inhabitants of it as one band of brothers striving who should contribute most to the happiness of mankind.

"I shall never so far divest myself of the feelings of a man interested in the happiness of his fellow-men as to wish my country's prosperity might be built on the ruins of that of other nations. Peace with all the world is my sincere wish. I am sure it is our true policy."

Then denunciations of the system followed from Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Samuel Adams, Josiah Quincy, David Low Dodge, William Ladd, Elihu Burritt, Noah Worcester, Charles Sumner, William Ellery Channing, Ralph Waldo Emerson, William Lloyd Garrison, Edward Everett Hale, and many others.

In Europe, Cobden, Bright and Victor Hugo were courageous champions of the new ideals, as was also Gladstone.

Early in the nineteenth century was born Jean de Bloch, a Polish Jew. He began life as a peddler, but later rose to power and fame, becoming a great administrator. Not only did he finance thousands of miles of railways, but he became an intermediary between the Czar's ministers and the powerful bankers of Europe. A lifelong student of war, he studied especially the relation of war to transportation. His great book, "The Future of War," was an analysis of statistics and scientific facts, gathered by the military experts of Europe, which his synthetic mind revealed in their bearing upon our civilization. This book, which passed under critical review of six generals, was long considered only less influential in the promotion of peace than "The Rights of War and Peace." It was assuredly one of the forces which led the Czar to call the first Hague Conference.

Is it not significant that over twenty years ago, Jean de Bloch said in conversation with William T. Stead:— "War has become more and more a matter of mechanical arrangement. Modern battles will be decided, so far as they can be decided at all, by men lying in improvised ditches, which they have scooped out to protect themselves from the fire of a distant and invisible enemy. As a profession, militarism is growing less attractive."

In 1909 there appeared in England a little book entitled, "Europe's Optical Illusion," written by Norman Angell, a man then wholly unknown to the world. Before the year was over, Count von Metternich, German Ambassador to England, had delivered a speech which was a frank paraphrase of this book; it had been quoted at length in the French Assembly; it had attracted the

attention of King Edward and of the Emperor of Germany, and it was stirring the admirals and generals of Europe. Sir Edward Grey declared that the "illusion," *viz.*, the erroneous idea that economic advantage follows military victory, had first dawned on his vision through reading this book.

The chiefs of four European States asked for "a book in place of a booklet"; whereupon, a year later appeared "The Great Illusion," which embodied the gist of the criticisms of the earlier booklet and presented cogent and penetrating refutations of the same.

Mr. Angell has been accused by Admiral Mahan of ignoring the primary cause of most wars—"sentiment, prejudice, and a perverted sense of honour"; but his very first book proves that he is a past-master in the analysis of these and other causes of war and of the psychology of the mob.

Since then several important books and scores of magazine articles have appeared from the pen of Norman Angell and his words are heeded all over the world.

Important works on International Relations and Peace *versus* War are now appearing almost from day to day. One of the notable books of this year, "Social Progress and the Darwinian Theory," is by a rising American author, George Nasmyth, who is in the foremost rank of the younger leaders in the rational or scientific Peace Movement represented by Norman Angell, the Russian sociologist, Novicow, and others.

Some persons, although in sympathy with the Movement, have asked why the Peace Movement should be carried on *now;* why not wait until the war is over? The answer is that *this is the very moment* to bring to the conviction of every man and every woman in our country that the war system must be condemned as the method of settling international disputes, and that it *is* in man's power to get rid of it; that in its place we must establish the system of law and order, under which alone is possible justice to all, and a continuation of civilization.

One of the erroneous ideas at present current in some quarters is that the workers for abolition of the War

System are not in sympathy with relief work. A preposterous accusation! I believe there is no group of persons who feel more sympathy and interest in the fate of wounded soldiers and prisoners of war than those who are working for the overthrow of the system of war.

We believe in the Red Cross work and its further extension and we hope that the American Red Cross will soon count its millions of members and not continue to lag behind European and Asiatic countries in this important matter.

In some societies "war relief and war prevention" have been combined. Anti-War Knitting Circles have been instituted: the plan being to combine knitting or sewing for the war sufferers with the acquiring of knowledge of the International Peace Movement. Striking Peace and War pamphlets or plays are read to the group at work.

We Peace workers believe in the Boy Scout Movement of America, and are determined that it shall continue to follow the lines laid down by its founder, General Baden Powell, who has always been emphatically opposed to its being militarized. His basic idea is to train boys for *normal, i. e., civic* citizenship; and to turn their courage and energy into channels of constructive service to their cities and to their countries. It is to be deplored that the other and newer organization, called the United States Boy Scout Movement, is being made essentially military; and it is unfortunate that it should not have chosen a less imitative name.

The accusation sometimes made that Peace teaching is liable to undermine patriotism, can be urged only by persons possessed of but superficial knowledge of the anti-war movement, for when we work to banish the war system from the earth, are we lowering the heroic ideals of manhood? Are we training our boys to be "mollycoddles"? Far from it! We bring up our boys to be ready to die for their country by *serving* humanity's need; and for daily, not occasional, service only.

Are not high forms of courage, devotion and self-sacrifice found in many of the careers open to both men and women, such as those of missionaries, doctors, nurses, sailors, firemen? It is a grave mistake to assume that the

one and the highest form of service to one's country is that of the soldier. At best that is only *one* form of service, and in the majority of cases the soldier is not exposed to discomfort, peril and death in the constant way that is the doctor or nurse or life-saver. Many other professions might be named which also are full of opportunity for devotion and self-sacrifice to ideals.

We who are working for Peace are the first to recognize the superb courage and devotion shown by the heroes of war, and we know that the world hourly needs such qualities, but we realize that there is entire scope for their manifestation without any battles of blood.

In this last year a false affirmation has been frequently heard, *i. e.*, that the women who went to the Hague as delegates of the Woman's Peace Party last April were expecting to *stop the war*. This was not true. They went to unite with the women of the belligerent and of neutral nations in making such a protest against the War System as must impress the world's conscience; to urge on the governments of the countries at war the calling of a conference of neutral nations; and to try to organize a conference for continuous mediation.

That a conference of nations shall be called as soon as the time is ripe, has been urged by Senator Root; and is constantly in the mind of President Wilson and of many statesmen in the neutral as well as in the belligerent countries.

The Woman's Peace Party was formed because Jane Addams felt that we American women must not stand by as onlookers merely, or as knitters merely, with this tragedy across the seas. In December, 1914, Miss Addams wrote to women representing many organizations in various parts of this country, asking them to assemble in Washington to see what could be done. Many responded to the call, and after three days' conferences, a platform was agreed upon, and the Woman's Peace Party came into existence.

Mr. Hamilton Holt, Editor of the *Independent*, wrote as follows: "They (the Woman's Peace Party) issued a manifesto, unsurpassed, we think, in power and moral fervor by anything that has been issued here or abroad

since the great war began. They adopted a Platform radical, sound, statesmanlike, constructive."

There may be differences of opinion regarding some of the eleven planks of the Platform, but in the words of our Declaration of Principles, "we have given freedom of expression to a wide divergence of opinion in the details of our Platform . . . . in a common desire to make our woman's protest against war and all that makes for war, vocal, commanding and effective," and the whole object of the Woman's Peace Party is to push constructive Peace work.

We want with us every woman who believes that the system of war must be abolished.

The late Justice Brewer said: "There never was a time since the beginning of days, that woman longed for bloodshed and the carnage of war, and the more fully she realizes its waste and destruction the more earnest will become her opposition. Nowhere in the world is she so potent a force in public life as in this country, and you may be sure that that force will be ere long concentrated in steadfast opposition to war. She cannot be sneered or laughed out of her faith."

"Nothing will carry on your Peace Movement as this war is going to do," was said to me in August, 1914, by one of our practical statesmen; and this is being verified, for the revulsion against war is now as stupendous as the war itself. The glamour has been dissipated, and the evils that war breeds are being exposed to the onlooker as never before in all history.

This present war is indeed helping on the Peace Movement, for at last two groups of men and women have come over into our ranks, who heretofore could not see the necessity of so doing.

One of these groups contains those persons who, before July, 1914, were saying, "Men always have fought, and always will fight, and what is the use of trying to stop wars?" They see now that if civilization is not to destroy itself, we must *force* men to keep the Peace, even when grouped in nations; just as we *force* men to keep the Peace in our cities and States. And this forcing is done in the main by public opinion, *i. e.*, moral force.

The second group contains those idealistic but unimaginative persons who thought war wholly a glorious thing because their only knowledge of it had been gained through history and poetry. As most of the literature of our schools and homes deals with the nobler human qualities which war—as well as earthquake, fire and flood—brings out in men, the knowledge thus gained had not brought to these persons a realization of the brutal developments which are also a part of war; so they would say, "War is a fine thing, and the world needs it now and then!"

To this type of mind one always wanted to quote the words of William Ellery Channing:

"It is said that without war to excite and invigorate the human mind, some of its noblest energies will slumber, and its highest qualities—courage, magnanimity, fortitude—will perish. To this I answer that, if war is to be encouraged among nations because it nourishes energy and heroism, on the same principle war in our families, and war between neighborhoods, villages and cities ought to be encouraged; for such contests would equally tend to promote heroic daring and contempt of death.

"We do *not* need war to awaken human energy. There is at least equal scope for courage and magnanimity in blessing as in destroying mankind. . . . Away then, with the argument that war is needed as a nursery of heroism!"

Both these groups are now recognizing the truth of what Anti-War workers have been saying for years—that war among nations is like the duel between individuals; and that evolution and history show the decline of war, and that war must go!

Cardinal Gibbons said a few years ago: "The time is fast coming when, like the duel between individuals, the international duel will be relegated to the museum of social monstrosities."

You remember Emerson's words: "It is not a great matter how long men refuse to believe the advent of Peace; a universal Peace is as sure as is the prevalence of civilization over barbarism, of liberal governments

over feudal forms. The question for us is only How Soon?"

How Soon? Yes, that is where the work for Peace societies comes in; it is for us to hasten the day! The day can be hastened if men and women will put their thought and strength into this war against war.

To quote again from Emerson's Essay on War: "If Peace is to be maintained, it must be by brave men, who have come up to the same height as the hero, namely, the will to carry their life in their hand, and stake it at any instant for their principle; but who have gone one step beyond the hero of war and will not take another man's life."

It was Bishop Brent who wrote from the Philippine Islands, soon after the European war broke out:

"All of us who have steadily been learning the meaning and value of Peace according to the ideal given us by the Prince of Peace cannot fail to be wrung with anguish by the tempest of hatred, selfishness and slaughter which is sweeping over Europe. . . . There is little that can be done by us to terminate this awful war. . . .

"But it seems to me our first duty is to examine ourselves and see how and where we as individuals are contributing to a social and national condition that makes war not only possible but easy. . . .

"There is no man, however humbly he counts himself a follower of Jesus Christ, who can fail to be roused to new earnestness by the war. Some of us may be called to do something extreme. But whether by much or by little we must stand boldly forth without counting cost."

It is surely the duty of every person who believes that war is a hideous anachronism in this age, to join at least one of the Peace societies. "In unity is strength," and if the Peace army in every country can have full membership, the system of war cannot endure a day.

Isolated indeed from the great currents of today's civilization is the man or woman who stands aloof from the work for Permanent Peace; who does not in some way help on this holy crusade of the twentieth century—the crusade for Justice and Brotherhood.

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Women and War.

BY GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.

One of the most tantalizing manifestations of that lack of logic which is popularly supposed to be the most charmingly feminine trait of the truly feminine mind, is the ability to be moved to emotion by isolated facts and single pictures, while ignoring utterly their connection one with another — the thread of thought and inter-relation which alone can give them their true significance.

To be absolutely frank, we should confess that this trait is not altogether a stranger to the superior masculine mind either; but it is certainly not so distinctively a sex characteristic as it is, unfortunately, with women. It is the trait that awakens hope within the breast of the ardent reformer who appeals to feminine tenderness and pity, only to receive a cold shower dash in the realization of an utter non-comprehension of his idea, in spite of ready tears and real sympathy with the sad pictures he paints.

Take the matter of war, for instance, with its present political manifestations of imperialism and militarism. Advocates of peace who really understand not the sentimental significance only, but the actual political and economic meaning of the words "war" and "peace," find ready sympathizers among women when they paint the agony of the battlefield, the misery of the bereaved home. But in the midst of their tears, a strain of martial music without will draw these same women to the window with enthusiastic exclamations of, "Oh, the gallant soldier boys! Don't they look fine!" They utterly fail to see the moral and ethical connection between the thing that arouses their enthusiasm and the thing that draws their tears; they utterly fail to realize that just as long as this absurd and unjustified glorification of brute force in the form of militarism continues, just so long will wars be fatally easy to enter into, just so long will imperialistic despotism and commercial tyranny find in the army a ready weapon for their selfish ends.

If women would stop weeping over the "silent,

upturned face," and admiring the outer trappings that mark the licensed murderer, long enough to think a little about the connection between the two, the cause of peace would take a seven-league stride onward.

For the woman who thinks comes naturally first of all to think of the good of her sex, and to concern herself about questions pertaining thereto; and for a woman interested in the welfare of woman as a sex, this question of war and militarism is so fundamental that it is incomprehensible how so many can still be blind to its significance.

The mother, wife, sweetheart and sister, weeping at home for the absent or the dead, are supposed to be the chief sufferers from war's devastations. In reality they are but a few isolated cases, whose sorrows are as nothing compared to what the sex as a whole has suffered from the sway of militarism throughout the ages and the point of view fostered by it.

It is this spirit of militarism, the glorification of brute force, and this alone, that has kept woman in political, legal and economic bondage throughout the ages, and there is still enough of it remaining in our enlightened twentieth century to make the idea of woman's participation in public office and public life a thing to be scoffed at by the majority, ridiculed and opposed.

It was not any manifestation of superiority of the masculine mind that first threw the chains of political serfhood around one-half of humanity; it was merely the fact that in the dark ages of the world's history brute force,—that is, militarism in one or another form,—reigned supreme. Where brute force was lord, woman with her differently constituted muscular development was considered an inferior being simply because she did not bear arms.

It was not that she could not fight, but that instinctively, even in the "dim red dawn of man," prehistoric man felt that giving life was greater than taking it; and woman, as the giver of life, was to be kept back from the possibility of unnecessary physical danger.

From this feeling, become unthinking and uncomprehended tradition, grew the idea that woman was inferior in bodily strength, and could not bear arms, and therefore was an inferior being.

Nineteenth century man, as far as he began to think at all, began to understand that brute force was not everything, began to find it necessary to discover another reason for woman's political and legal position; and thus was born the legend of woman's inferior mentality.

Mediæval man was far more honest in his brutal "Only man, who bears arms, can have a voice in the affairs of his country's politics." Mediæval man was consistent, too, and excluded even that part of the male population that did not bear arms from public estimation and from public affairs. Modern man has grown more enlightened with respect to his own sex, but enough of militarism still lingers to make very hard the path of the woman struggling for legal, political and economic rights for her sex.

The wonder is that so many even of these women do not understand the point of view born of the traditions of centuries of militarism that still opposes them in the solid front of the unthinking conservative mass.

While the military ideal holds sway in our modern world, woman suffrage and the attainment of full legal and political rights for women will remain a Utopian dream. The military state is the state in which woman has no place; the military mind is the mind that sees in woman only a drudge or a toy, and gives her the one right only to existence — the possibility of bearing sons who will in time become soldiers.

Women may work for the improvement of their minds, they may open schools for their sex, they may make their way in art, in commerce, in the professions, they may prove in a thousand ways their fitness to take part in public life, — but it will avail them little so long as one vestige of the tradition and the point of view born of militarism remains in the civilized world. The military point of view is that of contempt for woman, of a denial to her of any other usefulness than that of bearing children.

This is not an exaggeration, for although the military mind, being an anachronism in our modern world, must of itself be illogical, it has certain instinctive forms of thought which are born of strictly logical reasoning.

The most cursory survey of civilized nations to-day

will prove the truth of this. The inferior position of women in Germany is not by any means due to a lack in the mentality of the German woman, nor to a lack of educational facilities for either sex in a country justly proud of its magnificent school system. It is simply and solely due to the fact that at present the "nation of poets and thinkers" has for a time sold its birthright of mental preëminence for a mess of pottage — military glory and rampant imperialism.

What is it that has made the American woman the admiration of all civilized nations, the envy of her sisters elsewhere? She was not sent down fresh from Heaven in her present state, nor did she spring full-grown from the head of Jove. She was the daughter of mothers born in the military-ridden states of Europe. But now she is the product of several generations of freedom from the military idea. This, and this alone, has given her a measure of freedom beyond that attained by women anywhere else.

Let American women think seriously on this matter of war and peace, on this question of imperialism and militarism. If our nation should by any unfortunate but highly improbable combination of circumstances take her place amid the army-ridden, land-stealing world powers, it would mean much more to the American woman than a succession of wars that would bereave her of her loved ones, or send them back to her crippled or afflicted with loathsome disease. It would mean for American woman as a sex the loss of much she has gained by her happier circumstances of the past two centuries, and it would place the goal of perfect political and legal equality she still desires far, far out of reach,—in a cloud-land which even the most hopeful could scarcely vision.

American woman's being what she is is our greatest safeguard against the evils that appear to threaten us; but the trouble is, the American woman is what she is only instinctively and unconsciously as yet, and there are far too many of her in the ranks of those who look upon these threatening evils as something good to be desired. — *The Public.*

The American Peace Society,
31 Beacon St., Boston.

THE OBLIGATIONS

OF

VICTORY

BY

William Howard Taft

Ex-President of the United States

"I verily believe we are in sight of the Promised Land"

An Address delivered at the Convention of the League to Enforce Peace, at Madison, Wisconsin, under the auspices of the University of Wisconsin, November 9, 1918.

Published by

LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE

Bush Terminal Sales Building

130 West 42nd Street

New York

THE OBLIGATIONS OF VICTORY

By William Howard Taft

THE international compact which is to follow this war is to be more ambitious than any ever made before. The world is larger, the nations are more numerous, the field of war has been greater, and the political changes are to be far more extensive than the world has ever known.

The only peace comparable with this is that which was made after Napoleon's fall by the monarchs who constituted the Holy Alliance. That was a League of Nations, with a high sounding declaration of disinterestedness and love of peace. It was a failure because the real purposes which governed its formation and life were wrong and unstable. It rested on the Divine right of Kings, and its objects were to recognize dynastic claims and to establish and maintain them. It took into consideration neither the interest nor the will of the peoples under the governments which it was setting up and proposed to maintain. After it had lived a few years, it became a by-word of reproach.

The difference between the Holy Alliance and the League of Nations we propose is in the purpose and principle of its formation. Our League looks to a union of the democratic nations of the world, to the will of the peoples, expressed through their governments, as its basis and sanction. It looks to the establishment of new governments by popular choice and control. It is to be founded on justice, impartially administered, and not on the interests of Kings or Emperors or dynasties. It is to rise as a structure built upon the ashes of militarism, and it is to rest on the pillars of justice and equality and the welfare of peoples.

I have referred to the Holy Alliance not only to answer an argument, but also as a precedent to prove that a treaty of peace rearranging the map of Europe can not be made without a League of Nations. Think of what this present peace has to compass. We can realize it by considering the points of President Wilson's message of January 8th, which make an outline of the terms of the peace which are to be fixed.

Welfare of Backward Peoples

In the first place, we are to have some disposition of the German colonies, in accord with the interests of the people who live in them.

Germany has made such cruel despotisms of her colonies that it is quite likely the Allies will insist that they shall be put under some other power more to be trusted in securing the welfare of backward peoples. Thus we are to set up a new government in East and West Africa, in Australasia, in China, and in some of the islands of the Pacific. Then we are to deal with Russia. If we separate from her the Ukraine, and the Baltic Provinces and Finland, there are three or four new nations to establish. Great Russia is now under the domination of bloody anarchists, and we must free her and give to her good people the opportunity to organize and establish a free and useful government. This is a problem of the utmost complexity. In Austria we are to create a nation of the Czecho-Slavs, embracing Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia. We are to cut this nation out of the Dual Empire, and take it from Austria and from Hungary. We are to do the same thing with the Jugo Slavs on the south of Austria and Hungary and establish new boundaries there. We are to settle the boundaries of the Balkans. We are likely to give Rumania the Rumanians of Hungary and of Bessarabia. We are to establish a new state of Poland out of Russian, Austrian and German Poland, and we are to give this estate access to the sea. The fixing of these boundaries and the determination of the method of reaching the sea present issues of the utmost delicacy and difficulty. We are to determine the status of Constantinople and the small tract now known as Turkey in Europe. We are to fix the limits of Turkey in Asia, to set up a new government in Palestine, to recognize a new government of Arabia, to father, it may be, the creation of a new state in the Caucasus and to establish the freedom of Armenia.

International Commission

The mere recital of them is most convincing of the intricacy of these problems. The Congress of Nations will probably find it impossible definitely to settle them all. It will have to create Commissions, with judicial and conciliatory powers, able to devote time enough to make proper investigation and thus to reach just, defensible and practical conclusions. When the boundaries are all fixed, when the innumerable rights growing out of access to the Baltic, access to the Danube, access to the Black Sea and access to the Aegean, together with rights of way across neighboring states for freedom of trade, are defined, with as much clarity as possible, there still will arise, in the practical operation of the treaty, a multitude of irritating questions of interpretation. In fixing boundaries on distinctions of race and language, the Congress

will encounter the obstruction of racial prejudice and blindness to reasonable conclusions. Neither line of race nor of language is always clearly drawn, so that convenient and compact states may be established within them. To attempt in a great world agreement to settle the boundaries and mutual rights of so many new nations, without providing a tribunal whose decisions are to control, and are to be enforced by the major force of the world, will be to make a treaty that will become a laughing stock.

The New Map of Europe

We know that we have got to rearrange the map of Europe, and, in so far as it is practicable in that arrangement, to follow popular choice of the peoples to be governed. But such a flowing phrase will not settle the difficulty. It is merely a general principle that in its actual application often does not offer a completely satisfactory solution; and after the Congress shall have made the decisions, sore places will be left, local enmities will arise, and if that permanent peace which justifies the war is to be attained, the world compact must itself contain the machinery for settlement of such inevitable disputes. In other words, we don't have to argue in favor of a League to Enforce Peace—the nations which enter this Congress can not do otherwise than establish it. It faces them as the only possible way to achieve their object.

Germany and Austria and Bulgaria and Turkey are to indemnify the countries which they have outraged and devastated. Commissions must be created, judicial in their nature, to pass upon what the amount of the indemnity shall be, and then an international force must exist to levy execution if necessary for the judgment upon the countries whose criminal torts are to be indemnified. We must, therefore, not only have, as a result of the Congress, the machinery of justice and conciliation, but we must retain a combined military force of the Allies and victors to see to it that these just judgments are carried out. Moreover, the Congress can not meet without enlarging the scope of international law and making more definite its provisions. The very functions which the Congress is to exercise in fixing the terms of peace will necessitate a statement of the principles upon which it has been guided. That will lead to a broadening of the scope of existing principles of international law and a greater variety in their applications. Therefore, whether those who are in the Congress wish it or not, they can not solve the problems which are set before them without adopting the principles of our League to Enforce Peace in its four planks

in our original platform—a court, a Commission of Conciliation, enforcement of submission and a Legislative International Congress to make International Law. They will have to create such machinery for the administration and enforcement of the treaty as to the central powers, the new nations created, and Russia. Having gone so far as they must, can they fail to extend their work only a little to include the settlement of all future differences between all the nations that are parties to the League? A League for such future purposes will be no more difficult to make and maintain than the League into which they are driven by the necessities of the situation.

League Not Responsible for Extreme Views

Now I want to take up some of the arguments made against the League. In the first place, a good many have created a straw League and have knocked it down without difficulty. They have attributed to us the views and principles held by extremists who perhaps support our League, but whose extreme views we don't adopt or need to adopt. Thus it is said that we favor internationalism, that we are opposed to nationalism, that we wish to dilute the patriotic spirit into a vague universal brotherhood. That there are socialists and others who entertain this view, and who perhaps support the League to Enforce Peace, may be true, but the assumption that such views are necessary to a consistent support of the League is entirely without warrant. I believe in nationalism and patriotism, as distinguished from universal brotherhood as firmly as any one can. I believe that the national spirit and the patriotic love of country are as essential in the progress of the world as the family and the love of family are essential in domestic communities. But as the family and the love of family are not inconsistent with the love of country, but only strengthen it, so a proper, pure and patriotic nationalism stimulates a sense of international justice and does not detract in any way from the spirit of universal brotherhood.

No Interference with Internal Affairs

Again it is said that in the League we injure nationalism by abridging the sovereignty of our country in that we are to yield to an international council and an international tribunal, in which we only have one representative, the decisions of questions of justice and of national policy. Sovereignty is a matter of definition. The League does not contemplate the slightest interference with the internal government of any country. The League does not propose to interfere, except where the claims

of right of one country clash with the claims of right of another. To submit such claims of right to an imperial tribunal no more interferes with the sovereignty of a nation than the submission of an individual to a hearing and decree of court interferes with his liberty. The League is merely introducing into the world's sphere, liberty of action regulated by law, instead of license uncontrolled except by the greed and passion of the individual nation.

It is said that we are giving up our right to make war or to withhold from making it. We can not take away from our Congress the right to declare war, and no one would wish to do so. But that is no reason why we should not enter into an agreement to defend the impartial judgments of the League and to repress palpable violations of its covenants by those who have entered it. The question must always be for the decision of Congress whether our obligations under the League require us in honor to make war. We have guaranteed the integrity of Cuba, we have guaranteed the integrity of Panama. Does that deprive us of sovereignty? Yet we are under an obligation to make war if another country attacks them.

Germany Must Disarm First

Then the question is as to disarmament. The fourth of the President's fourteen points contains the provision that adequate guaranties must be given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety. That represents an aim and aspiration, but it can not have immediate and practical operation. We are the victors in this war which grew out of the extensive armament and military power of Germany. It will be a legitimate condition of peace exacted by the victors that Germany shall substantially disarm and leave the Allied Powers in a position with armament sufficient to keep Germany within law and right. How far disarmament can be carried must be determined by experience. Disarmament will be accomplished effectively in great measure by the economic pressure that will be felt intensely by all nations after this war, secondly by such mutual covenants and general supervision of an international council as experience may dictate, and third and ultimately by a sense of security in the successful operation of this League to Enforce Peace.

Question of Military Training

For the time being the people who are afraid that the United States will make itself helpless to defend its rights against unjust aggression

are unduly exercised. Any practical League of Nations will require the United States to maintain a potential military force sufficient to comply promptly with its obligations to contribute to an international army whenever called upon for League purposes. Such obligation may well be made the basis and reason for universal training of youth, in accord with the Australian or the Swiss system—a system that trains youth for a year physically and mentally and gives them a proper sense of duty and obligation to the state. There may be a difference of opinion as to whether we should have such a system, but there is nothing in the League to Enforce Peace and its principles which prevents its adoption, and either that or some other means of maintaining an adequate force to discharge our obligations under a League must be found. While we should lay broad the foundations for a League looking as far into the future as we may, we must trust to the future to work out the application to those principles, to amend the details of our machinery and to adapt it to the lessons of experience. We know that the real hope of reducing armament and keeping it down is the maintenance of a League which shall insure justice and apply in its aid the major force of the world. As the operation of that League is more and more acquiesced in, the possibility of the safe reduction of armaments in all countries will become apparent to all and will be realized.

When Germany May Enter

Another question that has agitated a good many people is whether we should let Germany into the League. That depends upon whether Germany makes herself fit for the League. If she gets rid of the Hohenzollerns, if she establishes a real popular government, if she shows by her national policies that she has acted on the lessons which the war should teach her, indeed if she brings forth works meet for repentance, then of course we ought to admit her and encourage her by putting her on an equality with other nations and by using her influence and her power to make the League more effective. The long drawn out payment of indemnities will keep her in a chastened condition and will keep alive in her mind the evils of militarism.

I don't now discuss the difference in the obligations of the members of such a League as between the Great Powers and the lesser powers. All should have a voice in the general policy of the League, but it is well worthy of consideration whether with the burden of enforcing the obligations of the League by military force which the greater powers must carry, they should not have the larger voice in executive control.

As they are the only ones likely to be able to create the major force of the world, they may reasonably claim a right to more administrative power. The rights of the smaller nations will be protected in the Congress in which they have a full voice, and by the impartial judgments of the judicial tribunals and the recommendations of the Commission of Conciliation. There is not the slightest likelihood that the mere executive control by the larger powers would lead to oppression of the smaller powers because should selfishness disclose itself in one of the great powers, we could be confident of the wish of the other great powers to repress it.

Stable Governments Must Dominate

One of the difficulties in the maintenance of a League of all nations will be the instability of the governments of its members if the League embraces all nations. On the whole, the greater powers are the more stable and the more responsible. It is well therefore that upon them shall fall the chief executive responsibility. While the principles of the League would prevent interference with the internal governments as a general rule, the utter instability of a government might authorize an attempt to stabilize it. That this might better be done by a disinterested League than by a single nation goes without saying.

The possibilities of many sided world benefit from a League after it is well established and is working smoothly, it is hard to overestimate. For the present, as the result of this Congress of Nations to meet and settle the terms of peace, we may well be content to have a League established on broad lines, with principles firmly and clearly stated, and with constructive provisions for amendment as experience shall indicate their necessity.

I verily believe we are in the sight of the Promised Land. I hope we may not be denied its enjoyment.

OUR PRESENT OUTLOOK

ADDRESS BY

ROSE DABNEY MALCOLM FORBES

(MRS. J. MALCOLM FORBES)

ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BRANCH OF THE WOMAN'S PEACE PARTY

BOSTON, MAY 23, 1917

"If by a pacifist is meant a man who demands an instant peace, regardless of its terms, without thought for the present and without hope for the future, then no one is a pacifist who is not a lunatic. But if by a pacifist is meant a man who desires a speedy and just and a permanent peace, then everyone is a pacifist who is not a criminal."

LORD BUCKMASTER.

Quoted in "The New Republic," August 18, 1917.

OUR PRESENT OUTLOOK

Members of the Massachusetts Branch
of the Woman's Peace Party:

The First Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Branch of the Woman's Peace Party, held March 3, 1916, at Ford Hall, was full of significance. Our morning session and luncheon, followed by several addresses at the Twentieth Century Club, left us all with a new hope and a fresh consecration. Our faith was that no matter what storms might surge over us, we should not only hold together, but work unceasingly for the lightening of the skies which must follow. In this past year our hopes of working together and strengthening each other have been realized; we are a more vigorous body than ever before; and we gain every month greater assurance from the coming into our active ranks of steadfast hearts and thinking minds.

To-day the clouds hang thickly above and the fog often sweeps around us, but a beacon light burns with more intensity within each one of us as the weeks go on. Everywhere men and women are grappling with vaster questions than they have ever before faced in their lives. We workers in the International Relations Movement are no exception; for the daily battle we must wage, our weapon is the "sword of the spirit, which is the word of God."

The word of God sometimes may be best spread by living it in activity of hand and quietness of spirit, while at other times we may convert our brother through the spoken word; but we must realize that there *are* times and seasons even for good works, and that it may be

under some conditions only self-indulgence, or the venting of spleen, to kick against the pricks. New problems will continually come to us; we must pray that we may meet them with grasp and with poise, and that our sight may constantly be clarified.

We have heard from a number of our chairmen something about the work which has been accomplished through their committees in this last year. Nearly two hundred of our members have been working on committees, and many others have done general volunteer service here at headquarters. But this tells only part of the story, for inspiration and help have come to the active workers from other members, who though unable to give strength and time for actual assistance on committees, yet by letter or message have cheered us on our way.

Encouragement comes from the sight at our public meetings of earnest and alert faces. The attendance has been good, but next year I hope it will be doubled, both at the Conferences and Study Classes.

Our progress and accomplishment can come only from the unity of purpose and co-operative action of many persons, and each day to find loyal friends at work at headquarters strengthens us all.

Some mornings the mail brings letters from members in far away places, saying for instance, "I wish I could help more, but I am with you heart and soul. I am doing what little I can in my own community." This starts a day of work with a note of cheer and there have been times, especially in this last year, when all of us needed such encouragement. One cannot deny that it has been hard to bear the misunderstandings, with the consequent hampering of work, which, due to national excitement, have more than ever beset the path of all workers in the peace movement.

We must needs be patient under misconceptions and we should work unceasingly to bring about the com-

prehension of our great cause; and let us see to it that we ourselves try to fathom the troubles in the minds of our critics and doubters, for most of these doubters are sincere, even if not always open-minded.

I wish there were time to say the many things which are in my mind in regard to our loyal official upholders; first to speak individually of the devoted vice-presidents and other members of the executive board, who throughout the year have given time and strength to their duties as directors; then to give a glowing tribute to our secretary, Mrs. Gorham, whose untiring devotion combined with wisdom and tact, have made for her a big place in our hearts.

I should like (for the directors as well as for myself) to express gratitude to those chairmen, who have, as you already realize, done such fine work for our Branch, and to each member of their committees who has earned our appreciation.

In these months of peculiarly hostile misunderstanding it has taken courage to stand by peace societies, and we deeply appreciate the loyalty not only of our vice-presidents, directors and chairmen of committees, but of our honorary vice-presidents who have stood up to be counted with us in this fight that we are making for the establishment of international democracy, justice and peace.

In February sorrow came to our board in the passing on of our beloved vice-president and ardent co-worker, Pauline Agassiz Shaw. The loss is irreparable, but her example will never cease to strengthen us, or the memory of her to refresh our spirits.

I cannot speak of great souls in the peace movement without referring to our dear president, Jane Addams. In spite of the doctor's orders to spare her health at present in every possible way, Miss Addams has done invaluable work this past winter and spring for the Woman's Peace Party. She has appeared in Congress

before a number of committees, and she presided at the annual meeting of the National Woman's Peace Party, in Washington, early in December, and has attended many sessions of the national executive board.

As individuals, the thousand or more members of our Massachusetts Branch probably differ as to what service, national and international, each wishes to give during the war, but there are certain lines upon which we can all work together.

There are many methods of furthering our ideals to-day. Some of the groups are working for the more immediate reforms, while others are keeping ever in mind the constructive and fundamental objects of all peace societies. To these fundamentals every week brings more adherents, and it seems to me that it is this part of the international relations work—the constructive plans—to which the Woman's Peace Party should chiefly aim to devote itself and use its instrumentalities for education at the present time.

More than ever before it is surely now our duty to our cause, as well as to our nation, to spend ourselves where we can be of real service, and not consume our days crying out against the inevitable. Since our country has entered this terrible war, we must face the fact, and be ready to serve, not only where our help is needed at once, but where it will also count for the future. It must needs be that all the people of our nation will see certain transient measures put into effect which are not the accepted ideals of a free republic; and it was inevitable that in these last months earnest and courageous peace workers should not always agree as to where duty lay: should differ as to where service to the larger aims compels the temporary submission to methods and conditions which are far removed from our democratic standards.

Examples of workers uniting consecration with quiet wisdom are before us in the persons of many supporters

of the peace movement. I beg everyone to read Mrs. Mead's letter to the state chairmen, dated April 6, 1917; and Mrs. Andrews' "A Call to Patriotic Service," in both of which are typified the attributes of patience and far-sightedness.

I quote from an article in the *Worcester Gazette* written by Professor Jay William Hudson, one of America's peace believers in the middle west. He writes:

. . . . . .

"The right kind of peace advocate will carefully point out that he is not any one of the wrong kinds that I have named. He has to do this or no one will listen to him further. . . .

I am convinced that there never was a better time for the right sort of peace talk, and I think that it is the duty of every thinking man to help spread the talk.

Now is an unparalleled chance to show how the great fundamental interests of men suffer through war, because civilization is to-day so much of a co-operative, international matter. . . . War destroys this co-operation and even destroys its products, ruthlessly and certainly. The European war is proving this every day.

If international co-operation is necessary for the fundamental interests and rights of the twentieth century man, then international law at once becomes a sacred thing, since it is the true safeguard of those interests and rights. So, at this moment, the business of the right kind of statesman—and every citizen in a democracy ought to try to be that—is to devise means for the creation of an adequate international law, as well as means for its administration and sure enforcement. . . .

Two other things the right sort of pacifist can do. With our country in a state of war, he can counteract as best he may, that blatant and dangerous jingoism which is only a hollow mockery of true patriotism. He can also aim, with all the resources of his thought, to create a public opinion for such terms of peace at the

close of the war as will mean a lasting peace—a peace that is worth while.

In the sense in which I have defined it, the peace movement was never stronger than it is to-day. People are at last realizing that peace is not an empty and colorless word, but that it is the positive condition of all virile, lasting progress—that upon the peaceful co-operation of the nations the future of the race absolutely depends." . . .

From England I lately received a letter from Norman Angell which I think you will like to hear.

He writes:

London, April 25, 1917.

My dear Mrs. Forbes: . . .

I have often thought of my friends in America at this juncture and know too well the dreadful time the last month or two must have been to them. I would just like to say this at this time—that the really useful and constructive work of the peace movement can now be done, and that the entrance of America into the war can be made the occasion for giving an immense impetus to the international movement (and of course the peace movement is on its constructive side internationalist). For what is America fighting? Certainly not for colonies, unredeemed territory, trade or any of the other things which may be mixed up with the motives of the other belligerents. America is fighting for a better internationalist order *which will be extremely difficult to organize*, and that is why the peace movement and the educational work which it will carry on is so important. How is the President's programme to be realized? It will not realize itself by the mere fact of victory. If the militarists tell you that it is not realizable at all, then their fighting is sheer murder. Their only excuse for fighting is that they are fighting for some worthy ideal, some better condition. If they declare that better con-

dition is impossible, they condemn themselves. What are they doing to organize that better condition? How do they propose to assure it when victory is won?

I think along these lines you can, by a slight re-direction of pacifist effort, do the one thing needful. Militarists of course will neglect this side of the preparation for peace, and if it were left to them, America would come to the peace so utterly unprepared that all her sacrifices would go for nothing. It is the work of pacifists to see that the sacrifices she does make in this war are rendered effective.

I venture to write at some length because I think it is along these lines that the pacifist movement in America, far from being put out of business by the war, will find in the war its real opportunity if it knows how to use it. . . .

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) NORMAN ANGELL.

Now a few words about some practical ways of carrying forward our message.

I believe that we can do an immense deal of steady and effective work this summer through our War Relief Reading Circles. I have always been a believer in the possibilities of this method; and my faith is not just theoretical but founded on the successful courses which we had in my home town three years ago, when our Milton Committee on the New Internationalism first arranged such reading circles.

Practically every woman now from the most conscientious pacifist to the ardent militarist, is doing some kind of practical relief work; knitting, sewing or folding bandages for at least part of every day, to meet either civilian or military needs. Why cannot each one of our members try to convince groups in her native town how interesting it will be to have reading aloud

going on with the knitting and sewing? The next step will be to demonstrate that at least part of the reading should relate to international problems, so that as every woman does her "bit" with her hands, she may do a more far-reaching "bit" with her head, for her own country and for the world.

If each woman studies international relations she will be the means of helping to bring into existence an enlightened public opinion on the international situation; and there cannot be an enlightened public opinion that does not make itself felt, especially in a democracy, by those men whom we have all asked to be our public servants. Our officials in Washington want to know what we are all thinking and wishing, and it is our business to think and to wish straight.

There is every kind of book and pamphlet, from the most popular to the deeply philosophical and historical, from which these groups who are to unite reading and knitting can select:—books of proved worth, and books scarcely out of the printer's presses.

If every one of our thousand members will form at least one reading circle this summer, think what this will mean in the way of spreading knowledge of the international relations movement through our state! Think what it would mean if she could start *ten!* These circles can be formed at times and places where it would be impossible or impracticable to get up public hall meetings or stereopticon lectures.

I hope you will all take with you to your summer homes the lists of books which we are compiling. Will you not suggest to friends to read such magazines as "The New Republic,"* which is full of strong articles

*I regret that in a recent number of "The New Republic" there was a most unfair contributor's letter on "Conscientious Objectors."

Whether one agrees or not with the stand they take, it seems incredible that any fair-minded man or woman can fail to recognize the staunch adherence to principle, and the supreme courage of standing nearly alone (to be misunderstood and often railed at by even their friends) which we see demonstrated in the characters and actions of the conscientious

on the international situation; "War and Peace," that intrepid English publication, which has had unnumbered difficulties to meet in the last two years, but comes across to us from London every few weeks; and "The World's Court," a new weekly published in New York. I call your especial attention to the Bulletins of the League to Enforce Peace. "The Advocate of Peace" has interesting and important contributions, and I ask you to be on the watch for letters in our daily papers, signed by "Magnus Mitchell," "Albert E. Congreve," "Lothrop Loring," "Lucia Ames Mead," "Gertrude Winslow," and "John F. Moors."

Mrs. Flebbe (Beulah Marie Dix) has written, besides her striking war plays, a war novel, "The Battle Days of George Daurella," which would lend itself to War Relief Reading Circles. Mrs. Flebbe's work for international peace makes us rejoice.

You have heard already from the chairman of the Civilian Relief of some of the achievements of her energetic committee, and of further work which has been planned. As far as possible I hope you will all give money and part of your time to this committee, for volunteer work will be needed more and more, if we are to enlarge our usefulness along a number of lines.

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objectors. I hope some one will write an historical and convincing reply to Mr. Lovejoy of Maryland. It should not be a difficult thing to do, since his argument is based on misapprehension, in that he intimates that the progress of the race has been achieved through war (Christianity to the contrary, notwithstanding), and he appears to think the only way to serve or die for one's country is by battling on the battlefields; whereas we know that even in war time, there is an infinitude of other ways, at least equally brave and full of sacrifice.

President Wilson, Secretary Baker and others in high places evidently comprehend and respect the conscientious objector; and I feel certain that, so far as is in their power, they will give him full justice whenever and wherever he is to be tested and judged.

Surely we must all be quiet but untiring guardians over the lives and reputations of these courageous young men, who, like the early Christian martyrs, are ready to die to uphold their principles; but I think we shall be making a mistake if we take the attitude beforehand that justice is not to be done them. On the contrary, we must assume that our officials and judges, whether in large or small places, will scorn to be unjust.

—*R. D. M. F.*

These headquarters will be open all summer; and we hope that visitors to Boston and our friends will come here and read our books and pamphlets, and will help us to obtain and to spread that educated public sentiment which in the end will have more effect for the establishment of *permanent* international peace than guns and airships.

Essential articles to be studied, and passed on, are those which deal with constructive peace programs. Many of these programs are being thought out both in Europe and in America, and we should make ourselves familiar with them, and be able to help persons around us to a knowledge of the general principles and plans of the various groups.

A pressing demand on us all, and we must make it everyone's business, is to *exert influence in the direction of a righteous peace-pact as the result or end of this war.* When the day arrives for the nations to confer together on peace, we—each one of us—must have helped to make it a durable peace, by having promoted a league of nations founded on justice and democracy, with the annihilation, the world over, of militarism and its attendant evils.

President Wilson said in his wonderful address: "We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of the nations can make them." . . .

And he says earlier in this message:

"We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized states."

Fellow Members, I hope you feel with me that in spite of this horrible war our cause has progressed further now than it has ever done before in the history of mankind! I believe, and say without reserve, that *our cause is nearly won!* The war now being waged by fifteen or more countries, is the most frightful in the history of the world, but nevertheless, we peace workers have reason for comfort and exaltation, since the principles, for which we have for years fought with all our strength, are being accepted more fully every day by men and women of every civilized country.

A World Court, A Council of Conciliation, and A League of all Nations—are current phrases; we hear of these mighty ideals of ours from nearly everyone we meet.

Already misunderstanding and prejudice are beginning to clear away! I believe that the day is fast approaching when, if we have kept ourselves sane and far-seeing, we shall not be battling against odds; when the word "militarism" will be anathema, and the words "pacifist" and "peace worker" will come to their own places of honor.

A few weeks ago there was delivered before a large New England school, one of the most impressive addresses which it has been my good fortune to hear. It was frankly called an address on Peace, and was given by a master who has gone to Plattsburg to complete his training as an officer,—in order, as he says, "to assist in this war to end war." Whether or not all who listened to him agreed with him as to the best method of abolishing war, every soul was thrilled to hear his exhortation to those boys, lads ranging all the way from ten to eighteen years of age. He pictured war in its desolateness and horror, and stripped it of romance and glamor; then he called upon the boys to give themselves soul and body to the service of the nation, *in order to annihilate the war system.* "Boys," he exclaimed, "the

future is in your hands! Yours is the responsibility to bring about the new order, to insist that this war shall be the last war between civilized nations!"

When we hear such denunciations of the war system as were uttered four weeks ago by Bishop Brent at St. Paul's Cathedral, London, we realize the utterly different point of view held to-day by the average man and woman from that of three years ago. Bishop Brent spoke before statesmen, prelates and royalty; and, even more significant, before men who had been fighting at the front; and his great sermon was printed in full the next morning by the English papers, and portions of it were cabled to distant parts of the world.

"Our war to-day," said Bishop Brent, "is that we may destroy war. There was a time when men called war a rough game, a game to be played by set rules. War is not a game. War is a wild beast that cannot be tamed by conferences and conventions, and the one thing to do with war is to hunt it to its death—and, please God, in this war we shall achieve our purpose. That is, I say, the duty of democracy."

Again he said, "Democracy stands for peace. Democracy places ballots before bullets. Lincoln once said, 'When ballots have fairly and constitutionally decided, there can be no successful appeal to bullets.' *Militarism* puts bullets before ballots."

Later he continued, "Just one word in connection with the relation of the democracy of a given country to the democracy of the world. We to-day, I say, are entering upon a new epoch. Democracy hitherto has been working out its problems, certainly its political problems, in isolation. The great democracies of the world now are so interlocked that they can never be separated when the days of reconstruction come. But democracy in a country must never lose sight of the fact that the supreme unit of the human race is mankind, and that patriotism, however splendid it may be, has

never any cause and never any right to depreciate another nation in order to exalt its own self."

And this brave Bishop is only one of many thinkers who have been considered more militarist than pacifist, and who now are saying the very thing that we have all along been saying; that the system of war must go, and that in the future men in nations must settle their differences as do men in states, and as do individuals.

So, dear friends, in spite of heaviness of heart and of trials to our patience, let us be buoyant and strong in our faith. In the midst of the night we see a great light shining! It is God's light, and it will dispel the blackness. Let us work with faith, hope and charity; and with such courage as we never possessed before; and it may be that we ourselves shall live to see the day of which Isaiah prophesied, "The mountain of the Lord's house shall be established." . . . "And he shall judge between the nations and shall reprove many peoples; and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

PRINTED AUGUST, 1917

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THE UNITED STATES

AND

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION

BY

PROF. JOHN BASSETT MOORE,

Columbia College, New York City.

From Report of the American Historical Association for 1891, pages 65–85.
Senate Miss. Doc. No. 173, 52d Congress, 1st Session.

WITH ADDITIONS.

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THE UNITED STATES AND INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION.

I.—ARBITRATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES.

In the conduct of its foreign relations, the Government of the United States has exerted a potent influence upon the development of international law. In the early dawn of its existence, when the rights of neutrals were little respected, Mr. Jefferson, as Secretary of State under Washington, announced for its guidance certain rules of neutral duty so broad and progressive that succeeding generations have not outgrown them. By persistent effort it has secured a wide recognition of the right of expatriation. It has also contributed to the establishment of the system of extradition. But it is not the least of its achievements that it has so constantly lent the weight of its influence and example to the substitution of reason for force in the adjustment of disputes among nations that international arbitration may be said to have been a prominent feature of its policy.

The main purpose of this paper is to present, as briefly as possible, a general view of the arbitrations of the United States, and of their subjects, forms of constitution, and results. This the writer has been enabled to do by a study of their history and proceedings, for the most part unpublished, which he hopes hereafter to make available.

The first trial by the United States of the method of arbitration was made under the treaty with Great Britain

of 1794, commonly called the Jay Treaty, which by its fifth, sixth, and seventh articles, respectively, provided for three mixed commissions. That under the fifth article was organized to settle a dispute as to what river was intended under the name of the River St. Croix, which was specified in the Treaty of Peace of 1783 as forming part of our northeastern boundary. This Commission was composed of three members, each Government appointing one, and these two choosing a third. The first meeting was held at Halifax, August 30, 1796, and in order to attend it the American commissioner was forced to hire a vessel specially to transport him from Boston to Halifax, since no commercial intercourse was at the time allowed between the United States and British North America in American bottoms, and there was risk of interruption by hostile cruisers if he sailed in a British vessel, Great Britain being then at war with France. The Commissioners rendered an award at Providence, R. I., October 25, 1798, holding that the Schoodiac was the river intended under the name of the St. Croix.

The commission under the sixth article of the Jay Treaty was organized to determine the compensation due to British subjects in consequence of impediments which certain of the United States had, in violation of the provisions of the Treaty of Peace, interposed to the collection of bona fide debts by British creditors. This commission, which was composed of five members, two appointed by each Government, and the fifth designated by lot, met in Philadelphia in May, 1797. The last meeting was held July 31, 1798, when the American commissioners withdrew. Besides diversities of opinion on questions of law, the discussions at the board developed personal feel-

ing, which was constantly inflamed by Mr. Macdonald, one of the British commissioners, who made it a point of duty freely to express all his opinions. The final rupture was caused by his submitting an unnecessary resolution which declared that from the beginning of the Revolution down to the Treaty of Peace the United States, whatever may have been their relations to other powers, stood to Great Britain in an attitude of rebellion. As it has always been held by the United States to be unquestionable that the Treaty of Peace did not grant their independence, but merely recognized it as a condition existing from the 4th of July, 1776, the date of its declaration, the American commissioners regarded the resolution as gratuitously offensive. Nevertheless, when, a few days after their withdrawal, they sent a statement of their motives to their former British colleagues, the latter began their reply by saying: "We had yesterday the honor of receiving your letter of fifty-five pages." And a further response, evidently designed to be still more sarcastic, began: "Your suspension of our official business having left us at leisure for inferior occupations, we have again perused your long letter of the 2d instant." Both these communications were doubtless drawn by Mr. Macdonald, since they bear the impress of his style and are chiefly devoted to a vindication of his conduct. The claims which the commission failed to adjust were settled by a treaty concluded January 8, 1802, under which the British Government accepted the sum of £600,000 in satisfaction of its demands.

But the most important as well as the most interesting of the commissions under the Jay Treaty was that which sat at London under the seventh article. The American

commissioners were Christopher Gore and William Pinkney; the British commissioners, John Nicholl, an eminent civilian, afterward succeeded by Maurice Swabey, and John Anstey; the fifth commissioner, chosen by lot, was Jonathan Trumbull, who had accompanied Mr. Jay to England when he negotiated the treaty. In order to avoid the misfortune of having a partisan as fifth commissioner, the four appointive members of the board adopted a happy expedient. In accordance with the requirements of the treaty, they first endeavored to select a fifth commissioner by agreement, and for that purpose each side presented a list of four persons; but as neither side would yield, it became necessary to resort to the alternative of casting lots. The next step, according to common practice, would have been for each side to place in the urn a name of its own independent selection, with the chances in favor of his being a partisan. But at London each side selected its name from the list of four made out by the other with a view to a mutual agreement, and the result was that a well-disposed man became the fifth commissioner.

One of the first questions raised before the commission was that of its power to determine its own jurisdiction in respect of the several claims presented for its decision. The British commissioners denied the existence of the power, and absented themselves from the board, till Lord Chancellor Loughborough, to whom the question was submitted, declared "that the doubt respecting the authority of the commissioners to settle their own jurisdiction was absurd, and that they must necessarily decide upon cases being within or without their competency."

Important questions of law arose before the board in

relation to contraband, the rights of neutrals, and the finality of the decisions of prize courts. These were all discussed with masterly ability, especially by Mr. Pinkney. His opinions as a member of the board Mr. Wheaton pronounced to be "finished models of judicial eloquence, uniting powerful and comprehensive argument with a copious, pure, and energetic diction." And they are almost all we possess, in a complete and authentic form, of the legal reasoning of the only advocate to whom, so far as we are informed, Chief Justice Marshall ever paid the tribute of an enthusiastic encomium in a formal opinion of the Supreme Court. The sessions of the board were brought to a close Feb. 24, 1804, all the business before it having been completed. It was, however, in actual session only part of the period its existence nominally covers. Besides other interruptions, there was an entire suspension of its proceedings from July 30, 1799, to Feb. 15, 1802, pending the diplomatic adjustment of the difficulty caused by the breaking up of the commission at Philadelphia.

Beginning with the arbitrations under the Jay treaty, every vexatious question between the United States and Great Britain that has since arisen, except the extraordinary complications growing out of the Napoleonic wars and leading up to the war of 1812, has yielded to methods of peace, arbitration being adopted where direct negotiation failed.

Like the Jay Treaty, the Treaty of Ghent, of Dec. 24, 1814, which restored amity between the two countries, provided for three arbitrations. The first, under article 4, related to certain islands in Passamaquoddy Bay, the title to which, it was stipulated, should be determined by

two persons, one appointed by each Government; and it was provided that, if they should disagree, the points of difference should be referred to a friendly sovereign or state. The commissioners held their first meeting at St. Andrews, New Brunswick, Sept. 23, 1816, and at their last, in the city of New York, Nov. 24, 1817, they rendered a final award.

By the fifth article of the Treaty of Ghent, an arbitration similar in constitution to that under article 4 was provided for the ascertainment of the northeastern boundary of the United States from the source of the river St. Croix, along a certain described course, to the river St. Lawrence. The commission under this article held its first meeting at St. Andrews Sept. 23, 1816, and its last in the city of New York April 13, 1822. Failing to agree, the commissioners made separate reports to their Governments, and, by a convention concluded Sept. 29, 1827, the points of difference were referred to the King of the Netherlands. His award, dated Jan. 10, 1831, the two Governments agreed to waive, since it assumed to make a new line in place of that described in the treaties.

The third commission under the Treaty of Ghent was organized under articles 6 and 7. Under the sixth article, its duty was to determine the northern boundary of the United States along the middle of the Great Lakes and of their communications by water to the water communication between Lakes Huron and Superior; and under the seventh article, to determine the line from that point to the most northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods. This commission was composed of two members, one appointed by each Government. On June 18, 1822, they reached an agreement under article 6; but on the line

described in article 7 they failed to concur, and it was finally determined, as was the unsettled boundary under article 5, by the treaty of Aug. 9, 1842, generally known as the Webster-Ashburton Treaty.

In this relation it may be stated that the boundary from the northwest angle of the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains, on the forty-ninth parallel of latitude, under the treaty of 1846, was determined by a joint commission, of which the American member was appointed under an act of Congress of March 19, 1872.

By the first article of the Treaty of Ghent it was agreed that all territory, places and possessions taken by either party from the other during the war, or after the signing of the peace, should, with the exception of the disputed islands in Passamaquoddy Bay, the title to which was to be determined by arbitration, be restored without delay, and without the destruction or carrying away of any public property, or of any slaves or other private property. Differences having arisen as to Great Britain's performance of the obligation touching slaves, it was agreed by the fifth article of the treaty of Oct. 20, 1818, to refer the dispute to the Emperor of Russia. On April 22, 1822, the Emperor decided that Great Britain had failed to keep her obligation and must make indemnity, and on the 12th of the ensuing July a convention was concluded under his mediation for the appointment of a commission to determine the amount to be paid. This commission was composed of a commissioner and an "arbitrator" appointed by each Government—four persons in all; but the two commissioners were first to examine the claims and endeavor to reach a decision, and, if they failed to agree, then to draw by lot, in each case of divergence, the name

of one of the "arbitrators" to decide between them. This repetitious choice of an umpire by lot was not likely to promote consistency of decision; but the two commissioners, having met on Aug. 25, 1823, succeeded by Sept. 11, 1824, in agreeing on an average value for slaves taken from each State or district, and they subsequently concurred on other points. They held their last session March 26, 1827, their functions having been terminated by the ratification of a convention concluded at London Nov. 13, 1826, under which Great Britain paid $1,204,960 in full settlement of all the claims.

As we have already mentioned the reference of the northeastern boundary dispute to the King of the Netherlands, under the convention of 1827, we come now to the convention concluded at London, February 8, 1853, for a general settlement of claims pending between the United States and Great Britain. Under this convention each Government appointed a commissioner, and the two commissioners chose an umpire. This responsible post was first offered to ex-President Van Buren, who declined it, and then to Joshua Bates, an American, but a member of the house of the Barings, who accepted the trust and faithfully discharged it. Many important decisions were pronounced by this commission, some of which touched our rights in the fisheries adjacent to the northeast coasts of British North America. It also rendered awards in the famous cases of McLeod and the brig *Creole*. Its first session was held in London, September 15, 1853; its last, January 15, 1855.

By the treaty between the United States and Great Britain of June 5, 1854, in relation to Canadian fisheries and commerce, provision was made for the adjustment

of any disputes as to the exclusive right of British fishermen under the treaty, by a commission to be composed of a person appointed by each government, and an umpire.

Ten years lacking a week after the adjournment of the commission under the convention of 1853, a British-American commission, similar in constitution, met in Washington, under a convention concluded July 1, 1863, to determine the compensation due to the Hudson's Bay Company and the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company, two British organizations, on certain claims for damages, as well as for the transfer to the United States of all their property and rights in territory acknowledged by the treaty of 1846, in regard to limits west of the Rocky Mountains, to be under the sovereignty of that government. The commissioners, who met January 7, 1865, chose as umpire one of America's greatest judges and jurists, Benjamin Robbins Curtis; but his services were not required, since the commissioners on September 10, 1869, concurred in an award.

While this commission was sitting, the relations between the United States and Great Britain were seriously disturbed by controversies growing out of the civil war, the northeastern fisheries, and the disputed San Juan water boundary. All these menacing differences were composed by the treaty of Washington, of May 8, 1871, signed on the part of the United States by Hamilton Fish, Robert C. Schenck, Samuel Nelson, Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, and George H. Williams; on the part of Great Britain, by the Earl de Grey and Ripon, Sir Stafford H. Northcote, Sir Edward Thornton, Sir John A. Macdonald, and Montague Bernard. The right of

this treaty to be regarded as the greatest treaty of arbitration the world had yet seen was only emphasized by the fact that it provided for four distinct arbitrations, the largest number ever established under a single convention. Of the four arbitrations under the treaty of Washington, first in order and importance was that at Geneva, the noblest spectacle of modern times, in which two great and powerful nations, gaining in wisdom and self-control, and losing nothing in patriotism or self-respect, taught the world that the magnitude of a controversy need not be a bar to its peaceful solution. On the part of the United States, the arbitrator was Charles Francis Adams; on the part of Great Britain, Sir Alexander Cockburn. There were three other arbitrators, Count Frederic Sclopis, Jacques Staempfli, afterward President of Switzerland, and the Viscount D'Itajuba, respectfully designated by the King of Italy, the President of the Swiss Confederation and the Emperor of Brazil. The American agent was J. C. Bancroft Davis, the British agent, Lord Tenterden. Caleb Cushing, William M. Evarts, and Morrison R. Waite appeared as counsel for the United States. Sir Roundell Palmer, afterward Lord Selborne, appeared for Great Britain, assisted by Mountague Bernard and Mr. Cohen. How celebrated the names both of those who negotiated and of those who executed the treaty! The demands presented by the United States to the tribunal, arising out of the acts of Confederate cruisers of British origin, and generically known as the Alabama claims, were as follows:

1. Direct losses growing out of the destruction of vessels and their cargoes.

2. The national expenditures in pursuit of those cruisers.

3. The loss for the transfer of the American commercial marine to the British flag.

4. The enhanced payments of insurance.

5. The prolongation of the war, and the addition of a large sum to the cost of the war and the suppression of the rebellion.

As to classes 3, 4, and 5, Great Britain denied the jurisdiction of the tribunal, and also its power to decide as to its own competency, a question, as we have seen, raised by the same Government and determined against it under article 7 of the Jay Treaty. Without deciding this question, the Geneva tribunal disposed of these three classes by expressing an opinion that they did not, upon the principles of international law, constitute a good foundation for an award of compensation, and that they should be excluded from consideration, even if there were no difference between the two Governments as to the board's competency. In regard to the second class of claims, the tribunal held that they were not properly distinguishable from the general expenses of the war carried on by the United States; and further, by a majority of three to two, that no compensation should be awarded to the United States on that head. On claims of the first class, the tribunal awarded the sum of $15,500,000. Its first session was held December 15, 1871; its last, September 14, 1872.

The dispute as to the San Juan water boundary was referred to the Emperor of Germany, who rendered, October 21, 1872, an award in favor of the United States. Claims of British subjects against the United States, and of citizens of the United States against Great Britain (excepting the Alabama claims), arising out of injuries to persons or property during the civil war in the United

States, from April 17, 1861, to April 9, 1865, were referred to a mixed commission, composed of three persons respectively appointed by the United States, Great Britain, and Spain, which sat in the United States. The fourth arbitration under the Treaty of Washington, to determine the compensation, if any, due to Great Britain for privileges accorded by that treaty to the United States in the northeastern fisheries, was conducted by a commission of three persons—a citizen of the United States, a British subject, and a Belgian—which met at Halifax, June 15, 1877, and on the 23d of the following November (the American commissioner dissenting) awarded Great Britain the sum of $5,500,000.

From France we have several times obtained gross sums in settlement of our claims by direct negotiation. The single exception to this practice is the commission, composed of an American, a Frenchman, and a citizen of a third power, which sat in Washington from November 5, 1880, to March 31, 1884, and determined the claims of citizens of France for injuries to their persons and property during our civil war, and claims of citizens of the United States against France for like injuries during the war between that country and Germany.

With Spain, our experience in respect to the settlement of claims has been similar to that with France; but in the case of Spain we have had two arbitrations. The first, under a diplomatic agreement of February 12, 1871, touching claims growing out of the insurrection in Cuba, was effected by means of a mixed commission, composed of two arbitrators, an American and a Spaniard, and an umpire, a citizen of a third power, which met in Washington, May 31, 1871. The arbitrators concluded their

labors December 27, 1882; the last decision of the umpire bears date February 22, 1883. The second arbitration was the reference on February 28, 1885, to Baron Blanc, Italian minister at Madrid, of the question of the amount of damages to be paid by Spain for the admittedly wrongful seizure and detention of the American bark *Masonic*.

With our neighbor Mexico we have had two arbitrations, by means of mixed commissions, for the adjustment of miscellaneous claims, some of which were of great magnitude and importance. The first commission, under the treaty of April 11, 1839, was composed of two American and two Mexican commissioners, and an umpire, a citizen of Prussia. One of the American commissioners was William L. Marcy, a remarkable man, in regard to whom the forgetfulness of the present generation is to be lamented. The second commission, under the treaty of July 4, 1868, consisted of a board of two commissioners and an umpire, and lasted from July 31, 1869, to November 20, 1876, but some of the umpire's decisions were rendered after the labors of the commissioners were completed. Francis Lieber at one time, and Sir Edward Thornton at another, served in the capacity of umpire. A thousand and seventeen claims were presented by the United States, and 998 by Mexico, and their aggregate amount exceeded half a billion dollars. The aggregate amount allowed was about four millions and a quarter; but it has been charged that two of the principal awards in favor of the United States were procured by fraudulent evidence, and, pending an investigation of this charge, the United States has suspended the distribution of the money paid by Mexico upon them.

Besides adjusting miscellaneous claims by arbitration, the United States and Mexico have adopted a notable arbitral measure in the convention of March 1, 1889, by which a permanent board, denominated an International Boundary Commission, is established for the determination of questions growing out of changes in the course of the Rio Grande and the Colorado rivers, where they form the boundary. This provision, however, is but the consummation of arbitral stipulations for determining the boundary which are found in the treaties between the two countries of January 12, 1828; February 2, 1848; December 30, 1853; and July 29, 1882.

The most remarkable, however, of all the arbitral agreements between the United States and Mexico is that found in the twenty-first article of the treaty of February 2, 1848, commonly called the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, to which, as a general obligation to arbitrate, all subsequent arbitral arrangements between the two countries may in a measure be referable. This article reads as follows:

If unhappily any disagreement should hereafter arise between the Governments of the two republics, whether with respect to the interpretation of any stipulation in this treaty, or with respect to any other particular concerning the political or commercial relations of the two nations, the said Governments, in the name of those nations, do promise to each other that they will endeavor, in the most sincere and earnest manner, to settle the differences so arising, and to preserve the state of peace and friendship in which the two countries are now placing themselves, using, for this end, mutual representations and pacific negotiations. And if, by these means, they should not be enabled to come to an agreement, a resort shall not, on this account, be had to reprisals, aggressions, or hostility of any kind, by the one republic against the

other, until the Government of that which deems itself aggrieved shall have maturely considered, in the spirit of peace and good neighborship, whether it would not be better that such difference should be settled by the arbitration of commissioners appointed on each side, or by that of a friendly nation. And should such course be proposed by either party, it shall be acceded to by the other, unless deemed by it altogether incompatible with the nature of the difference, or the circumstances of the case.

Let us hope that in committing themselves, as peculiarly befits neighboring and friendly states, to arbitration as a principle, the people of the United States and Mexico have adopted a policy which they will liberally extend to other nations.

The United States and Haiti have had three arbitrations. By a protocol signed May 24, 1884, they referred to the Hon. William Strong, formerly one of the justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, two claims against Haiti, known as those of Pelletier and Lazare, involving questions of administrative and judicial precedure. The awards, dated June 13, 1885, were adverse to Haiti. But the United States has thus far declined to enforce them on the ground that in the case of Lazare the award was shown by alleged after discovered evidence, which the arbitrator himself declared to be material, to have been unjust; and that, in the case of Pelletier, the arbitrator erroneously conceived and declared himself to be compelled by the terms of the protocol to award, on a single question of strict law, compensation upon a claim which he obviously regarded as immoral and unjust.

On March 7, 1885, the American minister at Port au Prince and the Haitien minister of foreign affairs agreed upon a mixed commission of two Americans and two

Haitiens to adjust the claims of citizens of the United States growing out of civil disturbances in the island. The labors of the commission were completed on the 24th of the following month.

While these claims were pending, the imprisonment of C. A. Van Bokkelen, a citizen of the United States, at Port au Prince for debt, and the decision by the Haitien courts that because he was an alien he could not obtain his liberty by an assignment for the benefit of his creditors, occasioned a dispute both as to the treaty guaranty of full legal rights to citizens of the one country in the jurisdiction of the other, and as to the finality of the denial by the Haitien tribunals of a claim of right made in virtue of an international obligation. Under a protocol signed May 22, 1888, Mr. Alexander Porter Morse, of the city of Washington, who was named as arbitrator, rendered December 4, 1888, an award adverse to Haiti and allowed the claimant suitable damages.

Only once have members of onr arbitral boards been charged with fraud. But the conduct of the claims commission at Caracas, under the convention of April 25, 1866, was so seriously impeached that the United States and Venezuela, by a treaty concluded December 5, 1885, agreed to have the claims reheard by a new commission. This commission, composed of an American, a Venezuelan, and a third commissioner chosen by the other two, who was also an American, sat at Washington from September 3, 1889, to September 2, 1890. Its proceedings were characterized by a conscientious and impartial discharge of duty.

With Colombia there have been three mixed commissions, each composed of two commissioners and an

umpire. The first and second were organized under conventions concluded September 10, 1857, and February 10, 1864, and before both of them came important cases touching our rights on the Isthmus of Panama under the treaty with New Granada of 1846. The third commission, appointed under a diplomatic agreement of August 17, 1874, awarded the sum of $33,401 for the capture of the American steamer *Montijo* by insurgents In the State of Panama. For the adjustment of miscellaneous claims, we have also had two similarly constituted commissions with Peru under conventions of January 12, 1863, and December 4, 1868; one with Costa Rica, under the treaty of July 2, 1860, and one with Ecuador, under the treaty of November 25, 1862. Besides joining with Peru in mixed commissions, the United States by a convention concluded December 20, 1862, agreed to refer two claims against that Government for the seizure ard confiscation of the vessels *Georgiana* and *Lizzie Thompson* to the King of the Belgians. His Majesty, however, declined the trust, and on July 9, 1864, Mr. Seward, then Secretary of State, informed the Peruvian minister in Washington that the United States would not pursue the subject further.

After first making a naval demonstration, the United States by a convention signed February 4, 1859, agreed to arbitrate the claim made against Paraguay by the United States and Paraguay Navigation Company. A commission composed of a representative of each Government decided August 13, 1860, that the claim was not well founded. On the ground that the convention admitted liability and that the commissioners, by going into the merits of the case, had exceeded their competency, the

United States repudiated the award, and has since endeavored to settle the claim by negotiation.

Another arbitration not permitted to end agitation was the submission to Louis Napoleon, under a treaty signed February 26, 1851, of the claim made by the United States against Portugal for the latter's nonfulfillment of neutral duty, in suffering the destruction on September 27, 1814, in the port of Fayal, in the Azores, of the American privateer General Armstrong by a British fleet. The arbitrator held that the privateer was the aggressor, and made an award adverse to the claim. On various grounds, among which was the charge that the case of the United States was incompletely submitted, the claimant sought to have the award set aside. This course the United States very properly declined to take, but it subsequently paid the claimants from its own treasury. Another arbitration between the United States and Portugal, under a protocol signed in 1891, to which Great Britain is also a party, respecting the seizure by the Portuguese Government of the Delagoa Bay Railway and the annulment of its charter, is now pending before three Swiss jurists at Berne.

Under a convention concluded November 10, 1858, the United States and Chile referred to the King of the Belgians a claim growing out of the seizure of the proceeds of the cargo of the American brig *Macedonian* by the famous Lord Cochrane, founder of the Chilean navy. An award was made May 15, 1863, in favor of the United States.

As submissions of claims to foreign ministers, we may class that of the claim against Brazil for the loss of the whale ship *Canada*, to Sir Edward Thornton, British

minister at Washington, under a protocol of March 14, 1870; and that of the claim of Carlos Butterfield against Denmark, for the firing on one vessel and the detaining of another in the Danish West Indies, to Sir Edmund Monson, British minister at Athens, under a treaty signed December 6, 1888. In the case of the *Canada*, the award was favorable to the United States; in the case of Butterfield adverse.

II.—THE UNITED STATES AS ARBITRATOR OR MEDIATOR.

Besides submitting its own controversies to arbitration, the United States or its representatives have not infrequently discharged an arbitral or mediatorial function. On three occasions the arbitrator has been the President: (1) Under a protocol between Great Britain and Portugal of January 7, 1869, touching claims to the island of Bulama; (2) under a treaty between the Argentine Republic and Paraguay of February 3, 1876, to settle a boundary dispute; (3) under a treaty between Costa Rica and Nicaragua of December 24, 1886, to settle boundary and other questions.

On four occasions a minister of the United States has acted as arbitrator: (1) In 1873 the envoys of the United States and Italy at Rio de Janeiro rendered a decision upon the claim of the Earl of Dundonald, a British subject, against Brazil; (2) in the same year the minister of the United States at Santiago was appointed as arbitrator between Chile and Bolivia in respect to some disputed accounts; (3) in 1874 the minister of the United States at Rome determined a boundary dispute between Italy and Switzerland; (4) in 1875 the minister of the United States at Bogota rendered an award

on certain claims of Great Britain against Colombia.

The mediatorial services of the United States have been numerous. One of the most important is that performed by the Secretary of State in effecting, on April 11, 1871, between Spain on the one hand, and Chile, Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia on the other, an armistice which can not according to its terms be broken by any of the belligerents except after notification through the Government of the United States of its intention to renew hostilities. Another important mediatorial service was that rendered in 1881 to Chile and the Argentine Republic by the ministers of the United States at Santiago and Buenos Ayres, in effecting by the exercise of their good offices an adjustment of a long-standing boundary dispute.

III.— DOMESTIC TRIBUNALS FOR THE DETERMINATION OF INTERNATIONAL CLAIMS.

Besides being concerned in arbitrations, either as a party or as referee, the Government of the United States has often created tribunals under its own statutes, to execute conventional obligations and determine questions of law mainly international. In many instances claims of considerable number and magnitude have been settled for a gross sum, which this Government has undertaken to distribute; or else for a particular consideration, such as the cession of territory, it has undertaken to pay to a certain amount claims of its citizens against the government making the concession. In either case claims against the fund are valid only so far as they formed just demands against the foreign government under the principles of international law.

Tribunals of the type in question, created pursuant to treaty stipulations, have been as follows: Two under the

treaty with Spain of February 22, 1819, ceding the Floridas and one under the Spanish indemnity convention of February 17, 1834. There have been two under treaties with France, the first under the treaty of April 30, 1803, to ascertain claims against that Government which the United States had undertaken to pay; the second, under the treaty of July 4, 1831, to distribute an indemnity paid by France for spoliations. There have also been two under treaties with Great Britain, the first under the treaty of November 13, 1826, to distribute an indemnity paid for slaves carried away in derogation of Article 1 of the treaty of Ghent; the second, under the treaty of May 8, 1871, to distribute the Alabama award. The rest have been created to ascertain the beneficiaries of indemnities paid under the following treaties: Brazil, January 27, 1849; China, November 8, 1858; Denmark, March 28, 1830; Mexico, February 2, 1848; Peru, March 17, 1841; Two Sicilies, October 14, 1832.

IV. — SUMMARY.

Summarizing the results of our investigations we find that the Government of the United States has entered into forty-eight agreements for internatoinal arbitration; that it, or one of its representatives, has seven times acted as arbitrator, and that it has erected thirteen tribunals under its own laws to determine the validity of international claims; the total, therefore, of the arbitrations or quasi-arbitrations to which it has been a party is sixty-eight, to say nothing of agreements now pending, but as yet incomplete. Only two cases have been adduced in which it has acted as mediator, for the reason that instances of that character are so numerous and so diverse

that it would be impossible within the limits of the present paper to describe them.

The arbitrations of the United States have embraced many types of international controversy, and many highly important questions of law, both public and private. Not infrequently the questions in whose solution they have resulted were hotly discussed as just and almost necessary causes of war, involving national rights and national honor. If the contracting parties had resorted to force, they would perhaps never have realized how easily and honorably their differences might have been adjusted by reasonable methods. If the United States and Great Britain, instead of making the Treaty of Washington, had gone to war about the Alabama claims, which involved the rights and honor of both countries, and even the public legislation and the conduct of the public authorities of one of them, it is probable that many patriotic writers in both countries would now be engaged in showing how impossible it was to submit such questions to arbitration.

V.—GROWTH OF SENTIMENT IN FAVOR OF ARBITRATION.

The frequent adoption by the United States of the method of arbitration is in itself conclusive evidence of a very general sentiment, both in this country and abroad, in favor of the amicable settlement of international disputes. But, besides finding practical acceptance, this sentiment has disclosed itself in various impressive forms. It is probable that the many petitions and memorials which have during the last half-century been presented to the executive and legislative branches of the Government by respectable and influential bodies have had great

weight in determining the course of negotiations. As early as February, 1832, the senate of Massachusetts adopted by a vote of 19 to 5 resolutions expressive of the opinion that "some mode should be established for the amicable and final adjustment of all international disputes, instead of resort to war." In 1837 a resolution of similar purport was passed by the house of representatives of Massachusetts unanimously, and by the senate by a vote of 35 to 5. In 1844 the legislature of the same State adopted a resolution urging that a congress of nations be convoked to devise measures for putting an end to war. In 1852 the legislature of Vermont placed itself in line with that of its neighbor, in the advocacy of reasonable practices. In February, 1851, Mr. Foot, from the Committee of Foreign Relations, reported to the Senate of the United States the following resolution:

Whereas appeals to the sword for the determination of national controversies are always productive of immense evils; and whereas the spirit and enterprises of the age, but more especially the genius of our own Government, the habits of our people, and the highest permanent prosperity of our Republic, as well as the claims of humanity, the dictates of enlightened reason, and the precepts of our holy religion, all require the adoption of every feasible measure consistent with the national honor and the security of our rights, to prevent, as far as possible, the recurrence of war hereafter: Therefore,

Resolved, That in the judgment of this body it would be proper and desirable for the Government of these United States, whenever practicable, to secure in its treaties with other nations a provision for referring to the decision of umpires all future misunderstandings that can not be satisfactorily adjusted by amicable negotiation, in the first instance, before a resort to hostilities shall be had.

Two years later Senator Underwood, from the same committee, reported a resolution of advice to the President—

To secure, whenever it may be practicable, a stipulation in all treaties hereafter entered into with other nations, providing for the adjustment of any misunderstanding or controversy which may arise between the contracting parties, by referring the same to the decision of disinterested and impartial arbitrators to be mutually chosen.

On June 13, 1888, Mr. Sherman, also from the Committee on Foreign Relations, reported to the Senate a concurrent resolution requesting the President—

To invite, from time to time, as fit occasions may arise, negotiations with any Government with which the United States has or may have diplomatic relations, to the end that any differences or disputes arising between the two Governments which can not be adjusted by diplomatic agency, may be referred to arbitration, and be peaceably adjusted by such means.

This resolution was adopted by the Senate February 14, 1890, and by the House of Representatives April 3, 1890. On June 16, 1893, the British House of Commons adopted a reciprocal resolution, expressing the hope that Her Majesty's Government would co-operate with the Government of the United States to the desired end.

In 1874 a resolution in favor of general arbitration was passed by the House of Representatives.

Of all the memorials and petitions presented to Congress on the subject of international arbitration, the most remarkable were those submitted in 1888, in connection with the communication made to the President and the Congress of the United States in that year by 233 members of the British Parliament urging the conclusion of a

treaty between the United States and Great Britain, which should stipulate "that any differences or disputes arising between the two Governments, which can not be adjusted by diplomatic agency, shall be referred to arbitration." This communication was re-enforced by petitions and memorials from a great number of associations and private individuals, from Maine to California. In the city of New York a public meeting was held to welcome a deputation of Englishmen who had come hither to present the communication; and a resolution was adopted, pursuant to which the mayor appointed a committee of five citizens, at the head of whom was the eminent publicist and law reformer, David Dudley Field, to urge upon the President and Congress the making of such a treaty as that described. This committee presented to Congress a memorial amply demonstrative of the beneficence of arbitration, both in theory and in practice.

In 1883 the Government of Switzerland proposed to the United States the conclusion of a convention for thirty years, binding the contracting parties to submit any differences between them to arbitration. Touching this proposal the President, in his message to Congress, said:

> The Helvetian Confederation has proposed the inauguration of a class of international treaties for the referment to arbitration of grave questions between nations. This government has assented to the proposed negotiation of such a treaty with Switzerland.

In 1890 an arbitration treaty was formulated by the International American Conference.

This treaty, both in its declaration of principles and in the precise and positive character of its stipulations, constitutes such a conspicuous and comprehensive acceptance

of arbitration, that its essential provisions should be quoted. They are as follows:

Believing that war is the most cruel, the most fruitless, and the most dangerous expedient for the settlement of international differences;

Recognizing that the growth of moral principles which govern political societies has created an earnest desire in favor of the amicable adjustment of such differences;

Animated by the conviction of the great moral and material benefits that peace offers mankind, and trusting that the existing conditions of the respective nations are especially propitious for the adoption of arbitration as a substitute for armed struggles;

Convinced by reason of their friendly and cordial meeting in the present conference, that the American Republics, controlled alike by the principles, duties, and responsibilities of popular government, and bound together by vast and increasing mutual interests, can, within the sphere of their own action, maintain the peace of the continent, and the good will of all its inhabitants;

And considering it their duty to lend their assent to the lofty principles of peace which the most enlightened public sentiment of the world approves.

ARTICLE I.

The Republics of North, Central, and South America hereby adopt arbitration as a principle of American international law for the settlement of the differences, disputes, or controversies that may arise between two or more of them.

ARTICLE II.

Arbitration shall be obligatory in all controversies concerning diplomatic and consular privileges, boundaries, indemnities, the right of navigation, and the validity, construction and enforcement of treaties.

ARTICLE III.

Arbitration shall be equally obligatory in all cases other than those mentioned in the foregoing article, whatever may be their origin, nature, or object, with the single exception mentioned in the next following article.

ARTICLE IV.

The sole questions excepted from the provisions of the preceding articles are those which, in the judgment of any one of the nations involved in the controversy, may imperil its independence. In which case, for such nation arbitration shall be optional; but it shall be obligatory upon the adversary power.

* * * * * *

Besides adopting this treaty, the conference made reports recommending arbitration to the nations of Europe and denouncing the principle of conquest. In transmitting these various documents to Congress the President very appropriately observed that the ratification of the measures proposed would "constitute one of the happiest and most hopeful incidents in the history of the Western Hemisphere." It is, therefore, to be regretted that this remarkable arbitration treaty, which admits the defense of national independence as the only justification of war, and in that case makes arbitration obligatory on the adversary power, has lapsed by reason of the failure of the contracting parties to exchange their ratifications within the period prescribed for that purpose.

Whatever the advocates of international arbitration may wish for, there are doubtless few, if any, even of the most ardent, who expect to bring about by that means the immediate and final abolition of war between independent peoples. Changes in the dispositions and conduct of men are wrought slowly and painfully, and

those who labor in the cause of progress and humanity must often suffer disappointment. Nevertheless, while it may at times be necessary to be superior to discouragement, it is gratifying to know that the principle we espouse is so beneficent and so efficacious that it commands the support of those who have been foremost as men of affairs.

It would be tedious to enumerate the statesmen of America who have expressed their faith by words or by acts in the principle of arbitration, and if we look abroad we find in the present generation such eminent names as those of John Bright, Mr. Gladstone, the Earl of Derby, Lord Lawrence, and the Marquis of Ripon. Nor should we forget that profound jurist and wise statesman of Italy, the late Mr. Mancini, who not only carried in the parliament of his country a resolution in favor of arbitration, but who also, as minister for foreign affairs, himself negotiated many treaties containing an arbitral stipulation.

It is the fashion of those who cavil at arbitration to argue that the variety of questions to which it may be applied is small. While we might refute this objection by recurring to the arbitrations of the United States, it is interesting to quote the words of President Grant, who said:

> Though I have been trained as a soldier, and have participated in many battles, there never was a time when, in my opinion, some way could not have been found of preventing the drawing of the sword. I look forward to an epoch when a court, recognized by all nations, will settle international differences, instead of keeping large standing armies as they do in Europe.

Testing these words of a great soldier by the history

of wars, we may appreciate the force of the following declaration of Lord Hobhouse:

> The more I have studied history, the stronger has my conviction become that many wars are caused by the stupidity or ambition of a few persons, many by a false sense of honor, many by misunderstanding of fact.

Is the method of arbitration efficacious? The best answer we can make to that inquiry is to ask the objector to point to a single instance in which two nations, after having agreed to arbitrate a difference, have gone to war about it. Arbitration has brought peace, and "peace with honor." It is a rude and savage notion that nations, when they feel themselves aggrieved, must, instead of discussing and reasoning about their differences in a spirit of patience and forbearance, seek to avenge their wrongs by summary and violent measures. Among an enlightened and Christian people the spirit of revenge, discarded, as it is, in laws for the government of men in their private relations, can still less be adopted as a principle of public conduct. For, just in proportion as the responsibilities of nations are greater and more solemn than those of private individuals, in that proportion are nations bound to exceed the measure of private virtue in their efforts to hasten the era of peace.

Since this pamphlet was written in December, 1891, there have been three arbitrations between the United States and other powers, and the President has acted as arbitrator in a boundary dispute between the Argentine Republic and Brazil.

Of the three arbitrations between the United States and other powers, there was one each with Chile, Great

Britain, and Venezuela. Those with Chile and Venezuela related to claims for injuries to person or property. The arbitration with Great Britain related to questions which had arisen as to jurisdictional rights and the protection of the fur-seal in Behring Sea. The tribunal of arbitration in this case sat in Paris and was composed of eminent persons some of whom were appointed by the parties to the controversy, and others by neutral powers.

There are also at the present time several arbitrations pending. There is one now pending between the United States and Ecuador, in relation to the alleged wrongful imprisonment of a citizen of the United States in the latter country. Colombia and Italy have agreed to submit to the decision of the President of the United States a question of a somewhat similar character.

In view of the demonstrated efficacy of arbitration as a means of settling international disputes, the nation that seeks or recklessly invites a resort to arms must bear in the eyes of the civilized world a heavy responsibility.

WAR ON WAR

PAPER

READ BY

MRS. J. MALCOLM FORBES

BEFORE THE

MASSACHUSETTS FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS

AT

SOMERVILLE

FEBRUARY 26, 1915

WAR ON WAR

MADAM PRESIDENT AND FELLOW-MEMBERS OF MASSACHUSETTS CLUBS:

I appreciate the privilege of saying a few words to you on this subject which must surely be constantly in the minds of everyone of us now, — the question of War and Peace.

May I begin by quoting from a letter which came to me after the war began, from one of America's most honored citizens? — Bishop Brent of the Philippine Islands — who has been called America's greatest statesman in the East. He writes:

"All of us who have steadily been learning the meaning and value of peace according to the ideal given us by the Prince of Peace cannot fail to be wrung by anguish by the tempest of hatred, selfishness and slaughter which is sweeping over Europe. . . . There is little that can be done by us to terminate this awful war, but we must be busy in our preparation to meet the situation when, as I hope, . . . sheer exhaustion will have compelled Europe to quiet. The days are evil: Buy up the opportunity — that must be our attitude. . . .

"But it seems to me our first duty is to examine ourselves and see how and where we as individuals are contributing to a social and national condition that makes war not only possible but easy.

"I have never actually joined a peace movement, because I felt that the Church was, ideally at any rate, the great Peace Society. Now I feel that everyone should publish his belief in the horrible wickedness of this war and his adherence to the principle of peace, so I want you to enroll me as a member of Massachusetts Peace Society. . . . There is no man who, however humbly, counts himself a follower of Jesus Christ, can fail to be roused to new earnestness by the war. Some of us may be called to do something extreme. But whether by much or by little we must stand boldly forth without counting cost. . . .

"(Signed) C. H. BRENT."

Indeed it is certainly the duty of each person to *do* something! Surely we stand at the parting of the ways. Either this war

will only lay up the seeds of future conflicts; or if every man and every woman works for Constructive Peace Ideals, this will be the last war which civilized nations will permit to be fought in their midst.

Everyone who has looked at this terrible war closely, has been brought to the realization of what all Peace workers — Internationalists — have been teaching for years: that while in past generations some wars had to be waged because there was no other acknowledged way of settling the disputes of nations, now in our day and generation there is no excuse for tolerating this outgrown method. War is now an unnecessary as well as a monstrous evil.

Most of the thinking people who stand for twentieth century ideals are passionately exclaiming that the world shall no longer allow this unjust and uncivilized method of settling the disputes of nations. If men in small groups (not dignified by the name of "nations"), attempt to decide their quarrels and misunderstandings by the methods of war, they are imprisoned and turned over to the jurisdiction of the law; and why should the larger groups be allowed to break all the ten commandments when they have misunderstandings to be settled?

The system of war is made by men, and can be overthrown by men; it is not like the forces of nature — earthquakes and tornadoes — which man has little or no power to resist.

The late Justice Brewer wrote: "There never was a time since the beginning of days, that woman longed for bloodshed and the carnage of war, and the more fully she realizes its waste and destruction the more earnest will become her opposition. Nowhere in the world is she so potent a force in public life as in this country, and you may be sure that that force will be ere long concentrated in steadfast opposition to war. She cannot be sneered or laughed out of her faith."

Miss Jane Addams felt that we American women must not stand by as onlookers merely at this tragedy across the seas. So she wrote to women representing many organizations in various parts of this country, and asked them to assemble in Washington to see what could be done. All who could, responded to the call, and after three days' conferences, a platform was agreed upon, and the Woman's Peace Party came into existence.

Mr. Hamilton Holt, Editor of the *Independent*, writes as follows in the January twenty-third number: "They (the Woman's Peace

Party) issued a manifesto, unsurpassed, we think, in power and moral fervor by anything that has been issued here or abroad since the great war began; and their Platform is radical, sound, statesmanlike and constructive."

Jane Addams is Chairman of the Party, with Chicago as the present headquarters. State branches are to be formed as soon as possible; and Massachusetts led as the first state to be organized.

The earnestness and enthusiasm have been overwhelming from the start, and it seems as if the Woman's Peace Party is going to prove the most aggressive of all the groups organized for the purpose of educating public opinion on this, the greatest question of our century.

Our Massachusetts Branch is not quite five weeks old, and we already count over six hundred members, with applications for membership every day. We have instituted public Conferences, led by experts, every Saturday morning,— from eleven to twelve o'clock, at Pilgrim Hall (14 Beacon Street, Boston). Meetings and Study Circles are being arranged for. There is work for everyone to do — and we *need* workers to help us in all sorts of ways.

There may be differences of opinion regarding some of the eleven planks of our Platform — but in the words of our Declaration of Principles, "we have given freedom of expression to a wide divergence of opinion in the details of our Platform . . . in a common desire to make our woman's protest against war and all that makes for war vocal, commanding and effective," and the whole object of the Woman's Peace Party is to push the Peace Work.

We want to have with us every woman who believes that the system of war must be abolished,— and we hope that this spreading of the Peace Movement will be undertaken by all women without any division of race, creed or partisanship.

I see the ideals and the demands of the Woman's Peace Party spreading into every city and village of this country,— and by the sanity and inspiration on which they are founded, compelling every woman to join this great woman's army for Peace.

Our work is not to stop in the United States; there must be and there will be a Woman's Peace Party in every corner of the civilized world.

When most of the individuals, who make up the nations, demand the abolition of the War System, the Cause will be won. Won't you join us and help in this compelling work?

WOMEN AND THE WAR SYSTEM

How the System Affects Women

It greatly increases the cost of living. (See 1 at end.)

Women are taxed directly or indirectly for the 70 per cent. of every dollar in Uncle Sam's income which is now spent for past and possible future wars. How far would a family's income go if it, like our government, had only thirty cents on a dollar to live on?

It lessens enormously the funds for protecting woman from her only real enemies, which are in our midst.

In our three foreign wars combined, which we ourselves began, we lost less than 15,000 men by foreign bullets. Our deadly enemies are disease, poverty, ignorance and crime. We lose by preventable tuberculosis every year 150,000 lives. By accident we lose in four years 60,000 more than were killed in our Civil War. Every ten years, 30,000 are killed in mines alone. We are the most lawless and homicidal of all the civilized nations. We burn up annually seven times as much property as does all Europe. We are destroying our forests and shall soon have a timber famine. We are exterminating birds and game, and are increasing noxious insects that destroy trees and plants. The typhoid germ and alcohol are more deadly than two invading armies could be. Yet all expended from national, state and city funds to fight tuberculosis alone is less than the cost of one equipped new battleship! Other expenditures are in proportion.

What women can do without the ballot.

Women can teach the world the difference between these real dangers and the bogeys which make the 727 active and retired army and navy officers in Washington and the paid lobbyists who want contracts hound Congress for more millions to prevent "invasion" and "attack." Women can cry aloud that this paradoxical expenditure for greatest defence where it is least needed and least defence where it is most needed must stop. They can ask all public libraries to keep a full set of peace publications.

Women can gain new respect by proving that they can defend the republic just as much as men from its real enemies; that mothers and teachers who prevent ignorance, disease and vice are accomplishing vastly more than battalions and short-lived battleships, ready to fight a supposititious foe. They can study and teach the new economics which busy bread-winners know little of, though it profoundly affects their prosperity. This proves the new interdependence of buying and selling nations and the futility of conquests, as, under modern conditions of banking and investments, any conquering nation is bound to lose more than it gains. (See 4.)

Teachers can join the American School Peace League.

This asks no fee, has thirty state branches, is endorsed by the National Education Association and all leading educators. It helps to teach history, economics, literature and patriotism from the Twentieth Century standpoint. (See 2, 3.)

Club women can put the Peace Movement on every year's program of study and lectures, and have it presented at conventions. (See 7.)

It is fresh and fascinating, and the most hopeful of all reforms. Fifty women fairly understand civil service, town improvement, history of art, and the usual subjects, to one who comprehends this. (See 5, 6.)

Mothers can give other toys than soldiers to their boys, can read them stories of every-day heroes and "little cousins" in every land and help them to "count nothing human foreign," as does the new order for boys — The World Scouts.

Women can secure signatures for the World Petition in behalf of International Arbitration, to be presented to the Third Hague Conference by Miss Anna B. Eckstein, who has already obtained some millions of signatures. Petition blanks may be obtained from the World Peace Foundation, Boston, which will also send pamphlets on the peace cause to all applicants.

WHAT BALLOTS CAN SECURE

Election of President and Senators who can make arbitration treaties. The President will appoint members of the Hague Court and the regular Hague Conferences. Through diplomacy he has vast power to prevent friction.

Election of Representatives who can vote against military extravagance. We are spending now annually as much as we were spending in our last war. Congress can forbid loans to warring nations. It can neutralize the Philippines and obtain for them by mutual consent of nations security from attack, as is done for Switzerland and Belgium. It can coerce any nation that imposed on us by stopping communications with it.

Voters can compel candidates to pledge themselves to peace policies and within a decade turn $150,000,000 annually from waste to use, leaving an adequate army as police and no war scares to bring panics on 'Change. Some women can vote and all can influence voters.

WHAT TO READ

(1) "The Waste of Militarism." Mass. Commission on Cost of Living. 5 cents.
(2) American School Peace League's Annual Report.
(3) "Teaching Patriotism and Peace." 5 cents.
(4) "The Great Illusion," by Norman Angell. $1.15.
(5) "Primer of the Peace Movement." 6 cents.
(6) "Organize the World." 10 cents.
(7) A list of lecturers at nominal price.

Apply for the above and other literature to the World Peace Foundation, 29a Beacon Street, Boston, Mass. Sample copies free. This leaflet furnished for 50 cents per 100 copies.

Written by LUCIA AMES MEAD,
Chairman of the Peace and Arbitration Department of the International Council of Women.

A CALL TO PATRIOTIC SERVICE

A CALL TO PATRIOTIC SERVICE

To the Teachers of the United States:

We find ourselves today in war, a war encircling the greater part of civilized mankind. Whatever may be our view of the processes which have brought the world to this point, we have now to face the fact that the action of the nations is focussed on this gigantic conflict and that our own country is now involved in it.

We recognize that our Government has been loath to join the struggle and has entered into it only after long and searching deliberation. The will of the majority of Congress has declared war and it is the duty of all Americans to accept this mandate. The voice of law commands loyal and earnest service, and American patriotism will respond to the call. Service is the privilege of each and every citizen, and the measure of service is always the nation's need.

We enter upon this war, as stated by President Wilson, with "a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step . . . . and of the grave responsibilities which it involves." We hope with him that we have made "clear to all the world what our motives and objects are," and we trust that during the war we shall remain faithful to the high traditions of America. To keep our minds and our hearts clear, let us refer often, as often as may be necessary, to the words of the President, who has struck the key-note of a new spirit, even in the tragedy of war. "Just because we fight without rancor and without selfish object, seeking nothing for ourselves but what we shall wish to share with all free peoples, we shall, I feel confident, conduct our operations as belligerents without passion and ourselves observe with proud punctilio the principles of right and of fair play we profess to be fighting for."

President Wilson challenges American patriotism in his plea "to conduct ourselves as belligerents in a high spirit of right and fairness because we act without animus." We shall have occasion, again and again, during the "fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us" to prove that our hearts are right and our traditions true. There will be none of the old passions of war. Our friendships need not be disturbed, and as the President says, we shall have an opportunity to prove this "in our daily attitude and actions toward the millions of men and women of German birth and native sympathy who live among us and share our life, ... who are in fact loyal to their neighbors and to the

Government in the hour of test." Consistent with all this, there will be an interchange of good-will, regardless of race or nationality. A cult of hatred has no place in free America, for tolerance is the first principle of democracy.

Let us scorn to hate. In the midst of the conflict, which is waged for international freedom, let us reassert our belief in law, the absolute prerequisite for a democratic world. While we fight, let us prepare for peace. President Wilson, in his great speech to the Senate on January 22, gave this note to the world. "The statesmen of the world," he said, "must plan for peace, and nations must adjust and accommodate their policy to it, as they have planned for war and made ready for pitiless contest and rivalry." During the last two and a half years, leaders of thought, wherever to be found, have pointed the way, and there exists today substantial agreement on many of the essentials necessary for the avoidance of war in the future. A judicial union of the nations and a permanent international conference have become familiar axioms in the plans for a durable peace.

Our entry into the war gives a new significance to this epoch-making speech of the President, when he stunned the world with his frank statement of the way and upon what terms the war should be ended. The principles enunciated he calls American principles, American policies, and yet he says, "They are the principles and policies of forward-looking men and women everywhere of every modern nation, of every enlightened community. They are the principles of mankind and must prevail."

With these high words before us, it becomes the patriotic duty of American citizens to study and to encourage the study of those plans put forward to achieve a definite concert of the Powers and a just war settlement. Let us keep this before our minds, for even though we achieve military success, we shall not be victorious unless our preparations for peace, backed by the voice of the people, come into full fruition at the close of the war.

What is the special service which teachers may render in this war? Anger, hate of other nations, should be kept from the school-room. The schools should maintain a civic and moral stability among the youth of the land. This is the opportunity to inspire anew a love for American institutions and American ideals. Civic service, appropriate to youth, imbued with devotion to the nation's need, would constitute a material support to the country in this time of national crisis. The school children of the United States could, for example, through home and school gardens, make a substantial offering to the problem of food production during the war. This and other forms of youthful service, consciously entered upon for the nation's good,

would develop a sane and logical patriotism among our young people—a mighty bulwark for the welfare of any nation.

We shall not be true to our young citizens, however, if we withhold from them the hope of a new world order. If we are sincere in our plans for peace, we shall impart to those who will determine the life of the future the knowledge of those processes which we, according to our judgment, deem wise and practical. Nay, more, we shall inspire the youth of today with a vision of a different world. Truly, the next great forward step of humanity must begin in the schools.

Our efforts in this direction should not be interrupted. The observance of the Eighteenth of May, Peace Day, or International Day, which has been the program of the schools of this country and of other countries for over a decade, is of peculiar importance this year when we, through the voice of our President, are professedly waging war for international freedom and justice. We should teach the young people the way to freedom and justice. It is most fitting that the anniversary of the opening of the First Hague Conference, the starting point and the center of international law and order, should be celebrated in the schools this year. The observance of Peace Day offers an opportunity to point out the value of arbitration, conciliation and judicial settlement. The exercises might well recite the successes of the Arbitration Court at The Hague, established by the First Hague Conference. It is timely to call attention to the fifteen cases of disputes settled effectively by this arbitration tribunal, which was indeed fully competent to have settled the initial dispute in the present world conflict. Our young people should know of the proposed World Court, accepted in principle at the Second Hague Conference, and which is, among all the factors entering into a permanent peace plan, the one universally accepted. A Peace Day exercise this year offers a great opportunity to take note of these solid foundations of law and order.

On those who administer education in this critical time rests the responsibility of preserving and advancing those ideals for which all nations should strive and of establishing an unbroken unity of youthful civic service and devotion to the nation's welfare. May we in our hour of test still be able to maintain the American ideal of democracy and may the teachers of America continue to be the consecrated servants of the democratic ideal. God grant that on the pages of the world's history, the United States will stand out as a nation which remained true to its purpose in the service of humanity.

Faithfully yours,

FANNIE FERN ANDREWS.

Boston, Mass., April 10, 1917.

"As He died to make men holy,
Let us kill to make men free."

"WAS JESUS A PACIFIST?"

A Hostile Criticism of Dr. Gordon's Sermon

BY

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PRICE, TEN CENTS
FIVE DOLLARS PER HUNDRED

Published by the Author, 68 Upham Street, Melrose, Mass.

FOREWORD

On Sunday, February 25, 1917, Rev. George A. Gordon, minister of the Old South Church, Boston, preached a sermon on the question, "Was Jesus a Pacifist?" The criticism of that sermon which follows is based on the Boston *Herald's* report of February 26.

My denunciation of Dr. Gordon's attempt to substitute a spiked helmet for the crown of thorns on Jesus' brow has not the slightest personal animus. Undoubtedly Bishop Lawrence, Dr. Lyman Abbott, Rev. William Harman van Allen, Rev. W. T. Manning, and many other eminent Christian leaders, agree fully with Dr. Gordon. Any Christian minister who thinks that Jesus would approve war is welcome to regard this pamphlet as aimed directly at him.

I do not question the sincerity of the many ministers who justify collective homicide in certain circumstances. I wot that through ignorance they do it. But God now calls them to repentance.

The intellectual weakness of Dr. Gordon's position implies no lack of ability on his part. No man living is clever enough to establish a rational ground for war. "War," said William James, "is the wholesale organization of irrationality and crime." Its crime, its waste, its anguish, its woe are manifest to all: its utter idiocy few as yet seem to perceive. Mr. Roosevelt's question, "What would you do if a ruffian slapped your wife's face?" appears to have paralyzed the reasoning powers of well-nigh our entire population. It corresponds to the old taunt, flung at Abolitionists, "Do you want your sister to marry a nigger?" and it has even less bearing on the war problem than that had on the slavery issue.

Almost any man would rather be called a knave than a fool. Some of the apologists for war are knaves.

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"WAS JESUS A PACIFIST?"

The Boston press recently (February 26) reported two notable utterances of distinguished Christian leaders, Cardinal O'Connell and Rev. George A. Gordon. The Cardinal pleaded for a return to the God of all-embracing love whom Christendom seems to have forgotten, for clear thinking, for calmness and self-restraint, for the faith and love and trust which, he said, "must be the foundation of human order and human government."

Dr. Gordon's sermon, on the other hand, was an adroit attempt to enroll Jesus Christ among the followers of Mars. I am ultra-Protestant, but I thanked God for the Cardinal's address and hung my head with shame for the Protestant minister's recreancy to Christian principle.

Because of his great reputation as a preacher, profound religious philosopher, master in the exposition of the deep things of God and the soul, Dr. Gordon's discussion of the question, "Was Jesus a pacifist?" commands attention. The Christian Church can hardly speak to our distracted nation in these critical times by a more authoritative voice than his.

Pacifist is a new word, linguistically the equivalent of peace-maker, but coined and circulated in these war-times to meet a definite need. It designates the anti-war people. It is applied somewhat loosely to those who believe that war is futile and needless, and who therefore want the present war to stop at once and who want to keep our country out of war. Mr. Bryan is called a pacifist, and Senator La Follette, and David Starr Jordan. When war-mania prevails, naturally pacifist is an oppro-

brious epithet. As such it is used by Mr. Roosevelt, the Boston *Transcript*, and jingoes in general.

Accordingly, when Dr. Gordon asserts that Jesus was not a pacifist, he gives the impression that, in his opinion, Jesus would not belong to the anti-war group, if he were living to-day. In effect he claims Jesus for Mr. Roosevelt's war party as against Mr. Bryan's peace party. As the balances hover between peace and war for our beloved country, Dr. Gordon attempts to cast the mighty name of Jesus on the side of war.

For the word "pacifist" does not suggest to the public mind preposterous theories, such as are sometimes associated with the name of Tolstoi. It would not be a bit more prudent to land a heavy blow on Mr. Bryan's active jaw than to hit Mr. Roosevelt's ample cheek. Pacifists are no more disposed to stand aside while ruffians slap their wives' faces than are jingoes. Pacifists believe in police, believe that criminals should be controlled by physical force, but they do not think it necessary for civilized Christian nations to devote their energies to the killing of human kind. They hold that there is always a better method of settling international disputes than the method of collective homicide. Opposed to the pacifists are those who, like Dr. Gordon, think that in certain circumstances collective homicide—Dr. Gordon prefers the euphemism, "the appeal to arms"—is demanded by loyalty to the precious interests of humanity.

There are various recorded utterances of Jesus which are used by apologists for collective homicide in their effort to claim the gentle Prophet of Nazareth as on their side. Dr. Gordon quotes some of these. He must know, how-

ever, that, fairly interpreted, they give no aid or comfort whatever to the militarist. Jesus is reported to have said, "I came not to send peace, but a sword." The infinitive clearly indicates not the purpose, but the result, of his coming. There is no hint that the disciples are to wield the sword. On the contrary, they are to be its victims. Thus Jesus predicted, and his words proved true. In the same passage he compares his disciples to sheep in the midst of wolves. In a society composed of sheep and wolves, it is not the sheep that do the killing.

Dr. Gordon pays his pacifist brethren in the ministry a handsome compliment for their sincerity and elevation of spirit, but he gently rebukes them because "they do not see the teaching of Jesus steadily, they do not see it whole." Alas, Dr. Gordon does not see it at all! He appears in the sermon under review to belong to Old Testament times when Israel's tribal god, Jehovah of Hosts, led his people to battle. He recalls with gusto that Cromwell's Ironsides before going into battle sang, "Let God arise, let his enemies be scattered." Does he happen to remember a case in which soldiers sang or said or inscribed on their banners, before a battle, the precept of Jesus, the culmination and crown of his ethical teaching: "Love your enemies"?

Dr. Gordon thinks that Jesus would approve of collective homicide as a "last woful resort." By way of illustration he mentions the Revolution of 1776. "War," he affirms, "was essential to the life of American freedom. To make the great Master dissent from this clear necessity of the society of freemen is to reduce his divine teaching to foolishness."

Now our fathers of '76 were rebels and secessionists. They were not willing to pay taxes when they had no voice in the government that imposed them. British soldiers came and fought to preserve the union of the colonies and the mother-land. Dr. Gordon claims the support of Jesus for the American rebels, and by a process of subtle reasoning he bases this claim on the recorded words of Jesus in reply to the question whether his countrymen ought to pay the taxes laid upon them by the Roman government, which oppressed them many times more grievously than King George oppressed the American colonists. Jesus answered that question, in effect, "Yes, pay your taxes to Rome." Dr. Gordon deduces the conclusion that, inasmuch as Jesus counselled his countrymen to pay taxes to an oppressive government, therefore he would have approved the Revolutionary fathers in refusing to pay taxes to an oppressive government and undertaking to rebel and secede. Such logic is too wonderful for me.

Dr. Gordon also claims the support of Jesus for the Northern side in our Civil War. It appears, then, that the rebels and secessionists of 1861, unlike the rebels and secessionists of 1776, were quite wrong, and those who killed in order to save the union of States had Jesus with them! Has the eloquent preacher considered that south of Mason and Dixon's line it would be prudent for him to modify such a declaration? Christian people of the South would say to him: "Was not Jesus the inspirer and helper of the noble Robert E. Lee and the prayerful Stonewall Jackson, as much as he was of Grant, or Ben Butler, or Joe Hooker?"

Can Jesus be on both sides at once? Is Christ divided?

Astounding lapses of logic, extraordinary confusions of thought, abound in Dr. Gordon's sermon. I cannot here point out all of them. One of his most fundamental errors is his evident failure to distinguish between the police function of society and war-making. He pictures a beautiful home attacked by a "band of brutes," meaning by "brutes" fellow human beings very like himself and all the rest of us. The manly head of the home happens to have a machine-gun handy and he knows how to use it, having attended, I suppose, the Plattsburg school of instruction in the art of collective homicide. Shall he kill the "brutes" with the machine-gun, and thus show himself a hero, or shall he "disarm" and meet his fellow human beings with a bearing that indicates confidence that they will behave themselves like gentlemen, and thus show himself "a coward and a sneak," according to "voices fresh from the infinite" which Dr. Gordon hears in his prophetic soul?

Now that is an interesting question, though it seems to be rather academic than practical. Few advocates of "preparedness" have gone so far as to recommend a machine-gun for every home.

Does Dr. Gordon think that the exclusive, or even chief, aim of warring nations is to enable men to do violence to women and children? Such outrages occur both in war and peace, and they are equally illegal both in war and peace. They call for the police court in peace and the court-martial in war. But the issue that is now before our country—which makes it pertinent for Christians to consider the question "Was Jesus a pacifist?"—is simply whether or not we shall devote our energies to the killing

of Germans for interfering with our profitable trade in munitions of war by which Germans are being killed, and in food and other supplies which are much needed in our own country, on the ground that this interference with our trade involves incidentally the killing of a few American citizens, unless they have sense enough and patriotism enough to keep out of the way. Horrifying pictures of happy homes invaded by "bands of brutes" do not help us to reach a wise judgment on that issue.

The essential difference between the police function and war-making is suggested in Burke's famous "You cannot indict a whole nation." Vast collectivities of millions of men, women, and children cannot be treated as individuals are treated. You can no more "police" a nation than you can indict a nation. You cannot handcuff a country of fifty millions. You cannot put it in the "cooler," or in a padded cell. You cannot hang it by the neck till it is dead. In police functioning proper, society does such things, and more or less justifiably, to evil or dangerous individuals; but in war there is no discrimination between good men and bad. War is the massing of men to kill by wholesale, without the slightest attention to the moral dispositions of the individuals involved. Christians kill Christians, patriots kill patriots, choice youth kill choice youth, both sides being equally sincere, noble, heroic.

It is this fact that makes war the quintessence and climax of irrationality. It is not the wickedness of war that is most impressive, but its immeasurable foolishness. As a distinguished Englishman, Dr. L. P. Jacks, has expressed it in the January *Atlantic Monthly*, one could not account for the present war merely by assuming that the devil is

managing this world: it would be necessary also to assume that the devil is an unspeakable idiot.

Because war is inherently irrational, idiotic, asinine, I cannot agree with Dr. Gordon that "to make the great Master dissent" from any and every plea for war would be to "reduce his divine teaching to foolishness." On the contrary that reduction to foolishness is precisely what Dr. Gordon does, or attempts, when he tries to wrest from the words of Jesus a justification for war under certain circumstances.

Dr. Gordon vividly narrates how a majestic lion in the London Zoo "with a fierce roar and an instantaneous leap, threw himself as a terrible shield against the keeper," who had made a thrust at the lioness. "I felt," he says, "that God's moral being spoke in the self-oblivious valor of the great beast."

There is eminent theological authority for the doctrine that the will of God is revealed in the actions of the lower animals, no less than that of the justly distinguished Isaac Watts who wrote, now many years ago, words that have had wide currency:—

"Let dogs delight to bark and bite,
For 'tis their nature to:
Let lions and tigers growl and fight,
For God hath made them so."

Dr. Gordon is himself a theologian of great repute whose books I have read with enthusiastic admiration. I venture, however, with due humility, to suggest to him that if he is going to the beasts to obtain light on the question of America's duty in the present crisis,

he should take pains to learn the whole of the lesson they teach, and not a mere part of it. Lions do well—from the leonine point of view—to kill men, who have shown themselves their deadly enemies. But lions do not kill lions. They seem to have too much sense. To call war brutal is a gratuitous insult to the brutes. Animals below man do not kill their own species. Men are able to kill fellow-men by wholesale, not because of any "instinct in man that comes straight and swift from man's Maker," as Dr. Gordon implies, but rather because the human intellect can override even the most fundamental elements of human nature. That very intelligence, which exalts man so high above the brutes, is able, when obsessed by false ideas, to sink man far below the brutes. Well may Dr. Jacks say, "There is nothing in the life of the lowest of the beasts which can be compared for utter senselessness with the mutual rending to pieces of the nations."

The all-too-common notion that men naturally incline to suspect and fear, and hate and kill their fellow-men is as absurd as would be the assertion that it is the maternal nature that leads the heathen woman to cast her child, as thousands have done, into the Ganges, to be devoured by the sacred crocodiles. To the question how men naturally incline to act toward their fellow-beings, Dr. Charles W. Eliot replies: "There is but one common-sense, matter-of-fact answer, namely, they incline to serve and co-operate with them." When men engage in collective homicide, under mistaken ideas of duty, swayed by false theories of human progress, they do that which is violently opposed to their own real nature. On

this undeniable fact is based securely the pacifist's faith that war can be abolished. False beliefs can be corrected, truth can drive out error from men's minds. To banish war there is no need to transform human nature. There is need only of clear thinking and a modicum of common sense.

Dr. Gordon's final conclusion is stated with carefully chosen words: "Jesus recognized the necessity of government; he recognized, therefore, the further necessity of physical force to protect society against the enemies within its bounds; he recognized, therefore, the ultimate necessity, when all other ways and means had failed, as a last woful resort, of the appeal to arms in a purely defensive warfare against the enemies of society, and for maintaining in being the sovereign achievements of civilized and Christianized men."

It is very significant that in this guarded language Dr. Gordon has stated with remarkable accuracy the very reasons which to-day animate the Germans in killing their fellow-men. Learned and godly German theologians, Dr. Gordon's equals—or almost his equals—in spiritual insight and profound religious experience, would assure him emphatically that he could not have stated their country's case better if he had tried. Singularly enough also, his words perfectly describe the cause for which the British are killing their fellow-men, as many an English preacher of the Gospel of Christ would positively assert! The fact is that our noble Christian civilization is now so far advanced that it has become impossible for a war to be waged between Christian nations unless it is purely defensive on both sides, and unless both sides are striving to save civilization.

The pathetic futility with which noble lives are vainly sacrificed through the delusion that men can, by mutual slaughter, safeguard or promote the precious values of humanity, a delusion which muddle-headed ministers of the Gospel continue to foster, is beautifully expressed in W. N. Ewer's touching poem entitled, "Five Souls." In the spirit world they meet, with the memory of the battle-field still vivid, and greet one another.

FIRST SOUL.

I was a peasant of the Polish plain:
I left my plough because the message ran,—
Russia, in danger, needed every man
To save her from the Teuton; and was slain.
I gave my life for freedom—this I know:
For those who bade me fight had told me so.

SECOND SOUL.

I was a Tyrolese, a mountaineer:
I gladly left my mountain home to fight
Against the brutal, treacherous Muscovite;
And died in Poland on a Cossack spear.
I gave my life for freedom—this I know:
For those who bade me fight had told me so.

THIRD SOUL.

I worked in Lyons at my weaver's loom,
When suddenly the Prussian despot hurled
His felon blow at France and at the world;
Then I went forth to Belgium and my doom.
I gave my life for freedom—this I know:
For those who bade me fight had told me so.

FOURTH SOUL.

I owned a vineyard by the wooded Main,
Until the Fatherland, begirt by foes
Lusting her downfall, called me, and I rose
Swift to the call—and died in fair Lorraine.
I gave my life for freedom—this I know:
For those who bade me fight had told me so.

FIFTH SOUL.

I worked in a great shipyard by the Clyde:
There came a sudden word of wars declared,
Of Belgium peaceful, helpless, unprepared,
Asking our aid: I joined the ranks and died.
I gave my life for freedom—this I know:
For those who bade me fight had told me so.

There should be an additional stanza, and it might be as follows:—

I was a servant of the Prince of Peace;
"Forgive your foes" is writ among his laws;
So I refused to kill, and for this cause
Myself was slain. 'Twas thus I found release.
I gave my life for freedom—this I know:
For He whose cross I shared has told me so.

There is a vast difference between dying for a noble cause and killing for it. Dr. Gordon does not seem to have thought of this difference. In his sermon he gives a list of the things worth dying for. That list is not relevant. Let him list the things worth killing for. He assumes, as do all who glorify the soldier, that the soldier's business is to die. It is not that at all. He runs some risk of dying, but his earnest desire and desperate effort

is to keep from dying by killing his enemy before his enemy can kill him. Only as we bear this in mind can we do the soldier justice. Our language should correspond to the exact reality. Thus if we are to have a battle-hymn for our Republic, let us sing: "As He died to make men holy, let us kill to make men free."

Dr. Gordon in conclusion eulogized America's dead soldiers,—presumably excluding those who fought on the wicked side in our Civil War,—and as he praised them he felt the "assurance of His presence and approval, who gave His life a ransom for the world." I ask him this question: Did Jesus kill anybody in order to redeem the world? Somehow it does not seem easy to conceive of the Saviour as the invisible but powerful companion, inspirer, helper and friend of the soldier as he rushes to stick his bayonet into the guts of a brother man, or hurls the grenade that will blow into fragments his brother man. Somehow the Christian heart shudders—mine does at any rate, if not Dr. Gordon's—at the thought of Jesus clad in khaki, with a bomb in his hand, or turning the crank of a machine-gun to spatter wounds and death among his fellow-men.

I am well aware that the language I have just used is shocking, and may even be denounced as blasphemous. It will be especially repugnant to those refined Christian women, for the most part of the well-to-do, leisure class, who are to-day making strenuous efforts to fit themselves to be more useful in the expected time of war than they have ever shown themselves in time of peace, and whose amusing antics afford unsurpassed opportunity for a humorist of the first order to exercise his gifts. I feel

myself compelled, however, to insist that it is necessary, in order to deal thoroughly with our subject, to picture Jesus as doing the things that soldiers to-day must do or be shot by their own officers.

For if Jesus would approve of war,—call it "purely defensive," or what you please,—it must follow that Jesus, were he living, would himself go to war. Surely Dr. Gordon does not think that his adored Master would be a slacker, that he would keep in a safe place while others bravely killed their fellow-men in the defence "of the humanity of the nation and the humanity of the world!"

Maybe Dr. Gordon thinks that Jesus would be a chaplain.

With all his intellectual adroitness Dr. Gordon has not succeeded in drafting Jesus into the service of Mars. The task is really too difficult for any one. Dr. Gordon's abominable attempt, resulting in that wretched sermon, only affords fresh demonstration of the fact that war is as contemptible intellectually as it is atrocious morally.

I have more respect for those who frankly repudiate the unmistakable teaching of Jesus on the ground that he was but a beautiful dreamer, an unpractical idealist. An effort to cast the influence of Jesus on the side of that against which his words, his life, his death, his character, his eternal spirit, fairly cry aloud calls for stern rebuke from every Christian disciple.

To Dr. Gordon it seems nothing short of "cruel" to "deny to Jesus any part in the lives" of the soldiers of our Revolution and of our Civil War (on the Union side) —something that nobody has thought of doing. But how shall one characterize the attempt, at an unspeakably critical moment in our country's history, when even a

trifle may incline toward war the balances, trembling between peace and war, to cast the blessed name of Jesus on the side of war? One must go to some of the most terrible words of Scripture for appropriate language. It is to betray the Son of Man with a kiss. It is to crucify the Son of God afresh.

Many who read Dr. Gordon's sermon and did not see through its sophistries and confusions of thought, some of which I have indicated, shuddered in their hearts, feeling vaguely that a great Christian leader had hauled down the Christian flag, and questioning if, indeed, the Christian era were near its end and an era of Nietzsche at hand.

But let no Christian heart fail. The present disgraceful war-mania in our country will not last long. Thanks to the steadfastness of President Wilson, that wise and strong and noble peace-maker, who desires in Europe a "peace without victory" for either side, that it may be a lasting peace, and who is determined that our country shall maintain its neutrality, there is abundant reason for the confident hope that we shall not enter the European mad-house. And ere long the European slaughter will cease, and after so overwhelming a demonstration of war's utter futility and unspeakable foolishness, as the present war is affording to all who have minds to think or hearts to feel, the leadership of the Prince of Peace will be recognized as never before.

Reader, if you think this pamphlet may contribute a little to the abolition of what John Hay called "the most ferocious and futile of human follies," then help to circulate it far and wide.

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UNIVERSAL MILITARY SERVICE AND DEMOCRACY

BY

GEORGE NASMYTH, Ph.D.

AUTHOR OF

"SOCIAL PROGRESS AND THE DARWINIAN THEORY:

A Study of Force as a Factor in Human Relations"

Reprinted from the Journal of Race Development
October, 1916

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Copies of this pamphlet can be obtained from the Massachusetts Branch of the Woman's Peace Party, 421 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.

UNIVERSAL MILITARY SERVICE AND DEMOCRACY

By George Nasmyth, Ph.D., author of "Social Progress and the Darwinian Theory: A Study of Force as a Factor in Human Relations"

If any person had predicted two years ago that the people of America would be seriously discussing the adoption of universal military service in 1917, he would have been looked upon as a visionary. But since the outbreak of the war in Europe, the rising tide of reaction which resulted from the international reign of terror; the increasing power of militarism in the world; and the great preparedness campaign which was carried to a successful conclusion in 1915 and 1916, have led, step by step, to an increasing agitation for universal military service, as an essential part of the system of national defense.

The advocates of universal military service are not limited to military officers like General Leonard A. Wood[1] or to partisans of a "big stick" policy in dealing with other nations, like Colonel Roosevelt. The growing importance of the subject is witnessed by the recent accession to their ranks of President Emeritus Charles W. Eliot,[2] widely known as a protagonist of democracy, and of Prof. Ralph Barton Perry, who has attempted to show that democracy has nothing to fear from universal military service.

Moreover, laws have actually been passed in the closing hours of the session of the legislature in New York State providing for military training in the high school

[1] *The Military Obligations of Citizenship.* Princeton University Press, 1915.

[2] "Universal Military Service" by Charles W. Eliot in *World's Work*, Nov., 1916. See also *The Free Man and the Soldier*, by Prof. Ralph Barton Perry, *Scribner's*, 1916.

and universal military service for all young men between the ages of 18 and 21.[3] Finally the national defense act passed by the United States Congress in July, 1916[4] gives to the military authorities the power to "draft" men into the army whenever voluntary enlistments shall be insufficient, so that universal military service or conscription, to use a more convenient term for the same idea, has been established as a legal principle in the Empire State and in the nation.

The fact that these laws were passed in the closing hours of legislative sessions, without adequate discussion and without complete understanding on the part of the people on the issues involved, makes it inevitable that the debate shall be re-opened in the near future. The principle at issue is fundamental, in a democracy, and the most widespread discussion of the subject should be welcomed by all who believe in the power of an enlightened public opinion to decide rightly on fundamental principles.

Universal Military Service and Preparedness

The case for universal military service rests on entirely different grounds than does the general case for preparedness. If we did not have our other five lines of national defense which protect us from any attack from European or Asiatic powers, there might be some justification in this universal military service in America. But with two oceans, one 3000 and the other 5000 miles in width; the navy, the second largest in the world; sub-marines, which make the transport of large bodies of troops across great distances a most hazardous undertaking; automatic and electric contact mines and coast fortifications, such as have made it impossible for the Allies successfully to land

[3] For the provisions of the Slater Bill and other bills for compulsory military training in New York, see *The Bloody Five*, published by the *New York Call*, 444 Pearl Street, New York City.

[4] For the details of the method by which the "draft" provision was inserted in the National Defense Act, see Representative J. M. Huddleston's speech in the *Congressional Record* reprinted by the American Union Against Militarism, Munsey Building, Washington, D. C.

troops on the shores of Germany or even Turkey, even when the Allies were backed by a naval force three or four times greater than that of the Central European Powers—with all these first lines of defense, not even the most fearful and extreme of our militarists pretend that an army of seven to ten million men, which the system of universal military service would give us after a few years of building up reserves who had passed through the military machine, would be necessary to repel an actual invasion on American soil. Even Colonel Roosevelt does not demand a standing army of more than 250,000 men and a reserve army of 400,000 men to meet his requirements for an "adequate" national defense, and no one has seriously urged that our preparedness needs require an army of universal service proportions.

But the volunteer system will fail, it is argued. Even the standing army of 250,000 men and the militia of 400,000 provided for in the national defense act cannot be raised by the voluntary method.

An Army of Social Service

If this force is needed, it can be raised by the right kind of an appeal to the American people. This involves a fundamental transformation of an army from its old-world character of a machine trained solely for wholesale murder, to a new world army of social service.[5] An army of labor trained in the work of reforestation, of irrigation, of building great highways, instructed in methods of camp sanitation and effective coöperation; from which every man would come out a more useful member of society and a more productive economic unit, would make a far different appeal to American young men than the standing army on the present system, or even a National Guard of the socially elite. With this employment in useful production should go adequate compensation, just as

[5] See *Invincible America* by Harry G. Traver, published by the Society of Constructive Defense, 50 Church St., New York City, and see also William James' *The Moral Equivalent of War*, published by the American Association for International Conciliation, Sub Station 84, New York City.

there goes adequate compensation for police work, for the work of firemen and life-savers. Under a really democratic system of social service such as this, there will be no difficulty in finding all the men that are needed, without resort to conscription.

But since the case which can be made out for compulsory service is so weak from the point of view of military necessity, its advocates fall back on other arguments. Universal military service, they claim, will promote democracy; it will unify the nation; it will increase patriotism; it will form greatly needed habits of obedience and discipline. These arguments constitute, in brief, the case for conscription, around which the great debate will rage, and they are so important that they should be subjected to the most searching analysis.

Democracy

Does universal military service involve equal sacrifice on the part of rich and poor alike? If both are killed, of course, both have made the last great sacrifice, and so far as their individual lives are concerned, it is equal. But for the families of the two men the difference is very great. For the family of the poor man, the loss of the bread-winner means that the widow must go out to work, that the children must be deprived of an opportunity for education, that their whole lives must be limited because they did not have the opportunities they would have had if their father had lived. For the rich man, on the contrary, no such sacrifice on the part of his family is involved. His wife is not compelled to go out and work, his children are not deprived of the opportunity of receiving a liberal education. If a conscription of wealth were advocated as a companion measure to a conscription of lives, there might be some justification for the argument on a basis of democracy. But a conscription of lives alone, such as is advocated by the believers in universal military service, is fundamentally unjust, if the family, instead of the individual, is considered as the real unit and the foundation of the nation's life.

Even if sacrifice of life is not involved, the sacrifice of time required for universal military service imposes an unequal burden upon the rich and the poor. For the rich man, Plattsburg is an enjoyable vacation, and a longer period of military service would not be any great hardship, but for the poor man it means a definite interruption of his economic life, the stopping of his earnings, a postponement of the time when he can afford to marry, an interruption of his difficult task of getting a foothold in his trade or small business. In Germany, it is estimated that the economic loss involved by taking a young man from the farm, for example, is equivalent to about $500 a year, and the father has to hire Polish or Italian laborers to take the place of the son who goes to serve for two years in the Kaiser's army, but for the rich man, military service offers a career, an entrance to the ranks of society, the opening of positions in the government service and educational advantages of technical training in the officers' colleges. No element of equality of sacrifice can be discovered in the two cases.

Those who believe that class distinctions can be broken down and democracy created by regimenting men into masses and forcing them to drill together, have missed the central idea of democracy which is based on the principle of voluntary coöperation, of equality of opportunity, and the abolition of caste privileges. Those who believe that democracy can be imposed from without by force and point to the examples of France and Switzerland, should analyze the conditions in those countries more deeply. As soon as we penetrate below the surface, we find in each of them a great conflict between the forces of militarism and democracy. This conflict rages in all countries where universal military service is established, and it has been revealed in all its bitterness by the vivid, lightning flashes of the Dreyfus affair in France, the Zabern incident in Germany, and the Ulster crisis in the British Army—all parallel instances of successful struggles for the supremacy of the military over the civil powers of government. In France the *revanche* movement which brought about

the Russo-French Alliance, the three year conscription law of 1912, and the outcome of the Morocco crisis of 1911, all represented victories of the military caste over the forces of democracy and the popular government.

Switzerland has not had an aggressive militarism of the Pan-German type, it is true, but this is not due to any lack of desire on the part of the Swiss military officers who are like military officers the world over. It has been due to the fact that Switzerland is a small country and any propaganda for a career of "national destiny," or the conquest of the world would render its advocates ludicrous. The military spirit, however, and its fundamental opposition to democracy is essentially the same in Switzerland as in Germany or France, as is witnessed, for example, by the testimony of Swiss Social Democrats at the International Socialist Congresses[6] in Stuttgart and other centers.

Everywhere militarism has been the most formidable enemy of democracy. For every million soldiers you must have at least 30,000 officers, and these 30,000 officers must make the military profession their life work. They must cultivate an iron will and a spirit of domination as essential elements of success, and necessarily they chafe with impatience at the discussions and restraints of democracy and the civil powers of government. Altogether they constitute a source of ever present danger to the peace of a nation which is powerful enough to be a menace to the world.

The testimony of representative British and German statesmen—Viscount Bryce, former Ambassador to America, and of Bismarck himself, is illuminating in this connection.

The reason why we have had one hundred years of peace in the English speaking world, according to Viscount Bryce, is because we have had so little militarism in America in the past. In the introduction to Prof. Dunning's book on *The British Empire and the United States* Bryce says

[6] See *The Socialism of Today*, 1916 (Henry Holt and Company), pp. 614. "The Swiss comrades pointed out that their militia was commanded by officers of the ruling class and was used by the bourgeoisie against the working people." Report of the International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart in 1907.

that during a number of years the American masses would not have opposed war with England but "fortunately . . . . the country was free from a pernicious military caste which worked such frightful evil in Europe, being indeed driven to desire opportunities for practising the work for which the profession exists."

This is the testimony of a British statesman. On the other hand Bismarck in his *Reflections and Reminiscences*, Chapter XXII, tells us definitely how the Prussian militarists tried to push him into war, how he used this militarist pressure to throw the country into war with Austria in 1866 and with France in 1870, and how he had to resist the powerful militarist pressure towards war in 1867, in 1875 and on other occasions. Bismarck says on page 102, volume II:

> It is natural that in the staff of the army not only younger active officers, but likewise experienced strategists, should feel the need of turning to account the efficiency of the troops led by them, and their own capacity to lead, and of making them prominent in history. It would be a matter of regret if this effect of the military spirit did not exist in the army; the task of keeping its results within such limits at the nations' need of peace can justly claim, is the duty of the political, not the military, heads of the state.
>
> That at the time of the Luxemburg question, during the crisis of 1875, invented by Gortchakoff and France, and even down to the most recent times, the staff and its leaders have allowed themselves to be led astray and to endanger peace, lies in the very spirit of the institution.

If the breakdown of civilization in Europe has anything to teach America, surely it is the danger of any increase in the forces or the philosophy of militarism.

Discipline

The second argument for universal military service is that it will promote discipline. It will teach obedience and respect for authority, it is urged, and these elements are greatly needed in American life. The trouble here is the kind of discipline which military service provides. It is a discipline enforced from without and breaks down as

soon as the restraining force is removed. The whole object of military training is to secure instantaneous obedience without thought, to make a man a part of an automatic military machine so that if he is ordered to sink the *Lusitania* or destroy the city of Louvain, he will obey instantly and unquestioningly. Such unthinking obedience is far removed from that self-imposed discipline, that respect for laws because they have been enacted by common consent and for the welfare of the people; of freedom of discussion, of speech, of press, of assembly, and of conscience, which are the foundation stones of a self-governing democracy.[7] The history of Prussia illustrates clearly the inevitable results of military discipline. At first, the German people opposed conscription bitterly, but after a few generations of men had been put through the military machine and taught the right kind of obedience, all opposition ceased. Germany became a servile state. More and more power was given into the hands of the military caste, and the events which have occurred since August 1, 1914 have well been called "The Nemesis of docility."

National Unity

The third argument is that it will promote Americanism, it will heal all our divisions of race and nationality, eliminate the hyphen, and unify the American people.

The experience of European nations which have tried to meet similar problems by this method is in flat contradiction to such an assumption. In Austria militarism has reigned with undisputed sway, but universal military service for generations has failed to unite Germans and

[7] See an excellent article on educational aspects of the subject by Prof. John Dewey in *The New Republic*, April 15, 1916. For the objections to military drill as a physical exercise see the testimony of Dudley A. Sargent, M.D., Director of the Hemenway Gymnasium, Harvard University, reprinted in *A Protest against Military Training in Public Schools*, published by the Woman's Peace Party, 116 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago.

See also *Military Training for School Boys*, a symposium by eighty recognized leaders in Education, Physical Training, etc., published at Room 25, 304 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Bohemians, Poles and Czechs and Slavs in the ideal unity which our militarists picture for us as the inevitable result of conscription. In fact, it was a matter of common knowledge that the death of Emperor Franz Joseph was to be the signal for a simultaneous revolution in which all the races of Austria should seek freedom from the unity thus imposed upon them by conscription and force, and only the outbreak of the great war has prevented the disintegration of the Austrian Empire. It may be that war has a unifying influence and that the Austrian Empire will be solidified by the terrible ordeal through which it is passing. That remains to be seen. But in any case, I do not understand the advocates of universal military service to be urging war as a remedy for the lack of unity in our national life. The history of Poland, of the subject races and nationalities of Russia, and of Turkey is a refutation of the claim that national unity can be secured by universal military service.

America needs unity, a national consciousness, and a national will, but no reactionary, militaristic, obsolete, old world instrument, such as conscription, can unify the American people.

Patriotism

A fourth argument for universal military service is that it will promote patriotism, it will teach a man to be ready to sacrifice himself for others and to lay down his life for his country in the service of a great idea. The difficulty with this plan is that there are various kinds of patriotism and the tendency of militarism is to emphasize the wrong kind—the patriotism which corresponds to a narrow nationalism and to Jingoism and the patriotism which is based upon the hatred of other parts of the human race who happen to live the other side of a boundary line. Patriotism and nationalism of the wrong kind are defeating their own ends in Europe. For the sake of our country, as well as for humanity, we must develop another type of patriotism than universal military service has given us in Germany or any of the European countries, a patriotism which will

look upon America as a part of the world and will take pride in the contributions which America can make to the family of nations. Independence for the sake of independence, a new nation merely that there might be one more army and navy in the world, was no part of the purpose of the founders of the Republic. As Henry Adams said of the great author of the Declaration of Independence:

> Jefferson aspired beyond the ambition of a nationality, and embraced in his view the whole future of man. That the United States should become a nation like France, England or Russia, or should conquer the world like Rome, was no part of his scheme. He wished to begin a new era. Hoping for a time when the world's ruling interests should cease to be local and should become universal; when questions of boundary and nationality should become insignificant; when armies and navies should be reduced to the work of police,—he set himself to the task of governing with this golden age in view. . . . He would not consent to build up a new nationality merely to create more navies and armies, to perpetuate the crimes and follies of Europe; the central government at Washington should not be permitted to indulge in the miserable ambitions that had made the Old World a hell and frustrated the hopes of humanity.

We need greatly a rebirth of true patriotism, just as we need a more fundamental democracy, deeper national unity, more self-discipline, but universal military service is not the panacea for these ills. A true American patriotism can be created only by a return to the great principles of the founders of the Republic, a new vision of the mission of America in the world, a great world task such as the establishment of a League to Enforce Peace, calling for the sacrifice of old provincialisms and outworn traditions in the service of humanity, as a whole. In this way, under the great constructive leadership of a world statesman, America can be unified. In this way we may recover our vision of democracy and we may lead the world into a higher patriotism, purified in the fiery furnace of this world crisis. By these new paths which lead out into a future full of hope and service, it may be that in the coming years the soul of America will be born again into a new and larger life, but never by the path of conscription, of fear and servile obedience, and the mechanical methods of militarism.

A much deeper principle is involved than is usually discussed in connection with universal military service: What kind of a society do we wish to live in? For, if the principle of compulsion is accepted in the case of military service, it must logically be accepted for service in munition factories, on the railroads, in coal mines and in all the industrial and economic life upon which modern wars depend. In other words, once having granted the principle of compulsion on the ground of military necessity, all the fundamental principles of democracy must be sacrificed and our country must be "Prussianized" from within. Freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and freedom of the press[8] are all opposed to military effectiveness and must disappear step by step if freedom of conscience, the advance trench of democracy, is carried by the militarists; for in the last analysis, universal military service means conscription of conscience.[9]

The new political persecution represented by the adoption of conscription differs from the old religious persecution in this: whereas, in the Middle Ages the heretic could save his life by keeping his mouth closed and his opinions to himself, in the modern political persecution of Twentieth Century militarism, the heretic who may believe that an aggressive foreign policy is unjust, or a war which his country has declared is unprovoked, is compelled not only to keep his opinions to himself, but is forced to go out and kill his fellowmen against whom he may have no cause for enmity whatever.

America is the only great nation left in the world in which militarism is not enthroned and the principle of conscription established. In order to defend our institutions and our democracy from imaginary dangers from without, we are urged to surrender to this much more real and formidable enemy of militarism and conscription

[8] The War Department is now advocating legislation giving the military authorities power to establish a censorship over the press in time of war.

[9] See Norman Angell's admirable article on the psychological aspect of universal military service as a conscription of conscience in *The New Republic*, April 8, 1916.

from within. Upon the outcome of the great debate on "Conscription vs. Democracy" depends the question of whether the last fortress of democracy in the world and the greatest adventure in human history shall go down in failure. All patriotic Americans, all who believe that America has a mission and a great message of democracy to give to the world should enroll themselves in defence of America's freedom and democratic institutions presenting a united front against this attempt to militarize the whole American people.

Sometime in the future, if Europe remains an armed camp after this war, and if militarism is enthroned in the world, it may become inevitable for America to adopt conscription, and, in Jefferson's words "to perpetuate the crimes and follies of Europe," "to indulge in the miserable ambitions that had made the Old World a hell and frustrated the hopes of humanity." But if conscription ever does become inevitable let us not add blasphemy to our other crimes by adopting militarism in the name of democracy. No, let us do it with the clear knowledge that we are dealing a death blow to the greatest experiment in democracy the human race has ever tried. Let us do it with the consciousness that we have participated in a great world tragedy, and that, with the triumph of militarism in the New World as well as the Old, we shall have seen government of the people, by the people and for the people, perish from the earth.

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OUR PRESENT OUTLOOK

ADDRESS BY

ROSE DABNEY MALCOLM FORBES

(MRS. J. MALCOLM FORBES)

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ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BRANCH OF THE WOMAN'S PEACE PARTY

BOSTON, MAY 23, 1917

"If by a pacifist is meant a man who demands an instant peace, regardless of its terms, without thought for the present and without hope for the future, then no one is a pacifist who is not a lunatic. But if by a pacifist is meant a man who desires a speedy and just and a permanent peace, then everyone is a pacifist who is not a criminal."

LORD BUCKMASTER.

Quoted in "The New Republic," August 18, 1917.

OUR PRESENT OUTLOOK

Members of the Massachusetts Branch
of the Woman's Peace Party:

The First Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Branch of the Woman's Peace Party, held March 3, 1916, at Ford Hall, was full of significance. Our morning session and luncheon, followed by several addresses at the Twentieth Century Club, left us all with a new hope and a fresh consecration. Our faith was that no matter what storms might surge over us, we should not only hold together, but work unceasingly for the lightening of the skies which must follow. In this past year our hopes of working together and strengthening each other have been realized; we are a more vigorous body than ever before; and we gain every month greater assurance from the coming into our active ranks of steadfast hearts and thinking minds.

To-day the clouds hang thickly above and the fog often sweeps around us, but a beacon light burns with more intensity within each one of us as the weeks go on. Everywhere men and women are grappling with vaster questions than they have ever before faced in their lives. We workers in the International Relations Movement are no exception; for the daily battle we must wage, our weapon is the "sword of the spirit, which is the word of God."

The word of God sometimes may be best spread by living it in activity of hand and quietness of spirit, while at other times we may convert our brother through the spoken word; but we must realize that there *are* times and seasons even for good works, and that it may be

under some conditions only self-indulgence, or the venting of spleen, to kick against the pricks. New problems will continually come to us; we must pray that we may meet them with grasp and with poise, and that our sight may constantly be clarified.

We have heard from a number of our chairmen something about the work which has been accomplished through their committees in this last year. Nearly two hundred of our members have been working on committees, and many others have done general volunteer service here at headquarters. But this tells only part of the story, for inspiration and help have come to the active workers from other members, who though unable to give strength and time for actual assistance on committees, yet by letter or message have cheered us on our way.

Encouragement comes from the sight at our public meetings of earnest and alert faces. The attendance has been good, but next year I hope it will be doubled, both at the Conferences and Study Classes.

Our progress and accomplishment can come only from the unity of purpose and co-operative action of many persons, and each day to find loyal friends at work at headquarters strengthens us all.

Some mornings the mail brings letters from members in far away places, saying for instance, "I wish I could help more, but I am with you heart and soul. I am doing what little I can in my own community." This starts a day of work with a note of cheer and there have been times, especially in this last year, when all of us needed such encouragement. One cannot deny that it has been hard to bear the misunderstandings, with the consequent hampering of work, which, due to national excitement, have more than ever beset the path of all workers in the peace movement.

We must needs be patient under misconceptions and we should work unceasingly to bring about the com-

prehension of our great cause; and let us see to it that we ourselves try to fathom the troubles in the minds of our critics and doubters, for most of these doubters are sincere, even if not always open-minded.

I wish there were time to say the many things which are in my mind in regard to our loyal official upholders; first to speak individually of the devoted vice-presidents and other members of the executive board, who throughout the year have given time and strength to their duties as directors; then to give a glowing tribute to our secretary, Mrs. Gorham, whose untiring devotion combined with wisdom and tact, have made for her a big place in our hearts.

I should like (for the directors as well as for myself) to express gratitude to those chairmen, who have, as you already realize, done such fine work for our Branch, and to each member of their committees who has earned our appreciation.

In these months of peculiarly hostile misunderstanding it has taken courage to stand by peace societies, and we deeply appreciate the loyalty not only of our vice-presidents, directors and chairmen of committees, but of our honorary vice-presidents who have stood up to be counted with us in this fight that we are making for the establishment of international democracy, justice and peace.

In February sorrow came to our board in the passing on of our beloved vice-president and ardent co-worker, Pauline Agassiz Shaw. The loss is irreparable, but her example will never cease to strengthen us, or the memory of her to refresh our spirits.

I cannot speak of great souls in the peace movement without referring to our dear president, Jane Addams. In spite of the doctor's orders to spare her health at present in every possible way, Miss Addams has done invaluable work this past winter and spring for the Woman's Peace Party. She has appeared in Congress

before a number of committees, and she presided at the annual meeting of the National Woman's Peace Party, in Washington, early in December, and has attended many sessions of the national executive board.

As individuals, the thousand or more members of our Massachusetts Branch probably differ as to what service, national and international, each wishes to give during the war, but there are certain lines upon which we can all work together.

There are many methods of furthering our ideals to-day. Some of the groups are working for the more immediate reforms, while others are keeping ever in mind the constructive and fundamental objects of all peace societies. To these fundamentals every week brings more adherents, and it seems to me that it is this part of the international relations work—the constructive plans—to which the Woman's Peace Party should chiefly aim to devote itself and use its instrumentalities for education at the present time.

More than ever before it is surely now our duty to our cause, as well as to our nation, to spend ourselves where we can be of real service, and not consume our days crying out against the inevitable. Since our country has entered this terrible war, we must face the fact, and be ready to serve, not only where our help is needed at once, but where it will also count for the future. It must needs be that all the people of our nation will see certain transient measures put into effect which are not the accepted ideals of a free republic; and it was inevitable that in these last months earnest and courageous peace workers should not always agree as to where duty lay: should differ as to where service to the larger aims compels the temporary submission to methods and conditions which are far removed from our democratic standards.

Examples of workers uniting consecration with quiet wisdom are before us in the persons of many supporters

of the peace movement. I beg everyone to read Mrs. Mead's letter to the state chairmen, dated April 6, 1917; and Mrs. Andrews' "A Call to Patriotic Service," in both of which are typified the attributes of patience and far-sightedness.

I quote from an article in the *Worcester Gazette* written by Professor Jay William Hudson, one of America's peace believers in the middle west. He writes:

. . . . . .

"The right kind of peace advocate will carefully point out that he is not any one of the wrong kinds that I have named. He has to do this or no one will listen to him further. . . .

I am convinced that there never was a better time for the right sort of peace talk, and I think that it is the duty of every thinking man to help spread the talk.

Now is an unparalleled chance to show how the great fundamental interests of men suffer through war, because civilization is to-day so much of a co-operative, international matter. . . . War destroys this co-operation and even destroys its products, ruthlessly and certainly. The European war is proving this every day.

If international co-operation is necessary for the fundamental interests and rights of the twentieth century man, then international law at once becomes a sacred thing, since it is the true safeguard of those interests and rights. So, at this moment, the business of the right kind of statesman—and every citizen in a democracy ought to try to be that—is to devise means for the creation of an adequate international law, as well as means for its administration and sure enforcement. . . .

Two other things the right sort of pacifist can do. With our country in a state of war, he can counteract as best he may, that blatant and dangerous jingoism which is only a hollow mockery of true patriotism. He can also aim, with all the resources of his thought, to create a public opinion for such terms of peace at the

close of the war as will mean a lasting peace—a peace that is worth while.

In the sense in which I have defined it, the peace movement was never stronger than it is to-day. People are at last realizing that peace is not an empty and colorless word, but that it is the positive condition of all virile, lasting progress—that upon the peaceful co-operation of the nations the future of the race absolutely depends." . . .

From England I lately received a letter from Norman Angell which I think you will like to hear.

He writes:

London, April 25, 1917.

My dear Mrs. Forbes: . . .

I have often thought of my friends in America at this juncture and know too well the dreadful time the last month or two must have been to them. I would just like to say this at this time—that the really useful and constructive work of the peace movement can now be done, and that the entrance of America into the war can be made the occasion for giving an immense impetus to the international movement (and of course the peace movement is on its constructive side internationalist). For what is America fighting? Certainly not for colonies, unredeemed territory, trade or any of the other things which may be mixed up with the motives of the other belligerents. America is fighting for a better internationalist order *which will be extremely difficult to organize,* and that is why the peace movement and the educational work which it will carry on is so important. How is the President's programme to be realized? It will not realize itself by the mere fact of victory. If the militarists tell you that it is not realizable at all, then their fighting is sheer murder. Their only excuse for fighting is that they are fighting for some worthy ideal, some better condition. If they declare that better con-

dition is impossible, they condemn themselves. What are they doing to organize that better condition? How do they propose to assure it when victory is won?

I think along these lines you can, by a slight re-direction of pacifist effort, do the one thing needful. Militarists of course will neglect this side of the preparation for peace, and if it were left to them, America would come to the peace so utterly unprepared that all her sacrifices would go for nothing. It is the work of pacifists to see that the sacrifices she does make in this war are rendered effective.

I venture to write at some length because I think it is along these lines that the pacifist movement in America, far from being put out of business by the war, will find in the war its real opportunity if it knows how to use it. . . .

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) NORMAN ANGELL.

Now a few words about some practical ways of carrying forward our message.

I believe that we can do an immense deal of steady and effective work this summer through our War Relief Reading Circles. I have always been a believer in the possibilities of this method; and my faith is not just theoretical but founded on the successful courses which we had in my home town three years ago, when our Milton Committee on the New Internationalism first arranged such reading circles.

Practically every woman now from the most conscientious pacifist to the ardent militarist, is doing some kind of practical relief work; knitting, sewing or folding bandages for at least part of every day, to meet either civilian or military needs. Why cannot each one of our members try to convince groups in her native town how interesting it will be to have reading aloud

going on with the knitting and sewing? The next step will be to demonstrate that at least part of the reading should relate to international problems, so that as every woman does her "bit" with her hands, she may do a more far-reaching "bit" with her head, for her own country and for the world.

If each woman studies international relations she will be the means of helping to bring into existence an enlightened public opinion on the international situation; and there cannot be an enlightened public opinion that does not make itself felt, especially in a democracy, by those men whom we have all asked to be our public servants. Our officials in Washington want to know what we are all thinking and wishing, and it is our business to think and to wish straight.

There is every kind of book and pamphlet, from the most popular to the deeply philosophical and historical, from which these groups who are to unite reading and knitting can select:—books of proved worth, and books scarcely out of the printer's presses.

If every one of our thousand members will form at least one reading circle this summer, think what this will mean in the way of spreading knowledge of the international relations movement through our state! Think what it would mean if she could start *ten!* These circles can be formed at times and places where it would be impossible or impracticable to get up public hall meetings or stereopticon lectures.

I hope you will all take with you to your summer homes the lists of books which we are compiling. Will you not suggest to friends to read such magazines as "The New Republic,"* which is full of strong articles

*I regret that in a recent number of "The New Republic" there was a most unfair contributor's letter on "Conscientious Objectors."

Whether one agrees or not with the stand they take, it seems incredible that any fair-minded man or woman can fail to recognize the staunch adherence to principle, and the supreme courage of standing nearly alone (to be misunderstood and often railed at by even their friends) which we see demonstrated in the characters and actions of the conscientious

on the international situation; "War and Peace," that intrepid English publication, which has had unnumbered difficulties to meet in the last two years, but comes across to us from London every few weeks; and "The World's Court," a new weekly published in New York. I call your especial attention to the Bulletins of the League to Enforce Peace. "The Advocate of Peace" has interesting and important contributions, and I ask you to be on the watch for letters in our daily papers, signed by "Magnus Mitchell," "Albert E. Congreve," "Lothrop Loring," "Lucia Ames Mead," "Gertrude Winslow," and "John F. Moors."

Mrs. Flebbe (Beulah Marie Dix) has written, besides her striking war plays, a war novel, "The Battle Days of George Daurella," which would lend itself to War Relief Reading Circles. Mrs. Flebbe's work for international peace makes us rejoice.

You have heard already from the chairman of the Civilian Relief of some of the achievements of her energetic committee, and of further work which has been planned. As far as possible I hope you will all give money and part of your time to this committee, for volunteer work will be needed more and more, if we are to enlarge our usefulness along a number of lines.

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objectors. I hope some one will write an historical and convincing reply to Mr. Lovejoy of Maryland. It should not be a difficult thing to do, since his argument is based on misapprehension, in that he intimates that the progress of the race has been achieved through war (Christianity to the contrary, notwithstanding), and he appears to think the only way to serve or die for one's country is by battling on the battlefields; whereas we know that even in war time, there is an infinitude of other ways, at least equally brave and full of sacrifice.

President Wilson, Secretary Baker and others in high places evidently comprehend and respect the conscientious objector; and I feel certain that, so far as is in their power, they will give him full justice whenever and wherever he is to be tested and judged.

Surely we must all be quiet but untiring guardians over the lives and reputations of these courageous young men, who, like the early Christian martyrs, are ready to die to uphold their principles; but I think we shall be making a mistake if we take the attitude beforehand that justice is not to be done them. On the contrary, we must assume that our officials and judges, whether in large or small places, will scorn to be unjust.

—*R. D. M. F.*

These headquarters will be open all summer; and we hope that visitors to Boston and our friends will come here and read our books and pamphlets, and will help us to obtain and to spread that educated public sentiment which in the end will have more effect for the establishment of *permanent* international peace than guns and airships.

Essential articles to be studied, and passed on, are those which deal with constructive peace programs. Many of these programs are being thought out both in Europe and in America, and we should make ourselves familiar with them, and be able to help persons around us to a knowledge of the general principles and plans of the various groups.

A pressing demand on us all, and we must make it everyone's business, is to *exert influence in the direction of a righteous peace-pact as the result or end of this war.* When the day arrives for the nations to confer together on peace, we—each one of us—must have helped to make it a durable peace, by having promoted a league of nations founded on justice and democracy, with the annihilation, the world over, of militarism and its attendant evils.

President Wilson said in his wonderful address: "We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of the nations can make them." . . .

And he says earlier in this message:

"We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized states."

Fellow Members, I hope you feel with me that in spite of this horrible war our cause has progressed further now than it has ever done before in the history of mankind! I believe, and say without reserve, that *our cause is nearly won!* The war now being waged by fifteen or more countries, is the most frightful in the history of the world, but nevertheless, we peace workers have reason for comfort and exaltation, since the principles, for which we have for years fought with all our strength, are being accepted more fully every day by men and women of every civilized country.

A World Court, A Council of Conciliation, and A League of all Nations—are current phrases; we hear of these mighty ideals of ours from nearly everyone we meet.

Already misunderstanding and prejudice are beginning to clear away! I believe that the day is fast approaching when, if we have kept ourselves sane and far-seeing, we shall not be battling against odds; when the word "militarism" will be anathema, and the words "pacifist" and "peace worker" will come to their own places of honor.

A few weeks ago there was delivered before a large New England school, one of the most impressive addresses which it has been my good fortune to hear. It was frankly called an address on Peace, and was given by a master who has gone to Plattsburg to complete his training as an officer,—in order, as he says, "to assist in this war to end war." Whether or not all who listened to him agreed with him as to the best method of abolishing war, every soul was thrilled to hear his exhortation to those boys, lads ranging all the way from ten to eighteen years of age. He pictured war in its desolateness and horror, and stripped it of romance and glamor; then he called upon the boys to give themselves soul and body to the service of the nation, *in order to annihilate the war system.* "Boys," he exclaimed, "the

future is in your hands! Yours is the responsibility to bring about the new order, to insist that this war shall be the last war between civilized nations!"

When we hear such denunciations of the war system as were uttered four weeks ago by Bishop Brent at St. Paul's Cathedral, London, we realize the utterly different point of view held to-day by the average man and woman from that of three years ago. Bishop Brent spoke before statesmen, prelates and royalty; and, even more significant, before men who had been fighting at the front; and his great sermon was printed in full the next morning by the English papers, and portions of it were cabled to distant parts of the world.

"Our war to-day," said Bishop Brent, "is that we may destroy war. There was a time when men called war a rough game, a game to be played by set rules. War is not a game. War is a wild beast that cannot be tamed by conferences and conventions, and the one thing to do with war is to hunt it to its death—and, please God, in this war we shall achieve our purpose. That is, I say, the duty of democracy."

Again he said, "Democracy stands for peace. Democracy places ballots before bullets. Lincoln once said, 'When ballots have fairly and constitutionally decided, there can be no successful appeal to bullets.' *Militarism* puts bullets before ballots."

Later he continued, "Just one word in connection with the relation of the democracy of a given country to the democracy of the world. We to-day, I say, are entering upon a new epoch. Democracy hitherto has been working out its problems, certainly its political problems, in isolation. The great democracies of the world now are so interlocked that they can never be separated when the days of reconstruction come. But democracy in a country must never lose sight of the fact that the supreme unit of the human race is mankind, and that patriotism, however splendid it may be, has

never any cause and never any right to depreciate another nation in order to exalt its own self."

And this brave Bishop is only one of many thinkers who have been considered more militarist than pacifist, and who now are saying the very thing that we have all along been saying; that the system of war must go, and that in the future men in nations must settle their differences as do men in states, and as do individuals.

So, dear friends, in spite of heaviness of heart and of trials to our patience, let us be buoyant and strong in our faith. In the midst of the night we see a great light shining! It is God's light, and it will dispel the blackness. Let us work with faith, hope and charity; and with such courage as we never possessed before; and it may be that we ourselves shall live to see the day of which Isaiah prophesied, "The mountain of the Lord's house shall be established." . . . "And he shall judge between the nations and shall reprove many peoples; and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

PRINTED AUGUST, 1917

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THE NEW HOLY OFFICE

Or, Why I Oppose Conscription

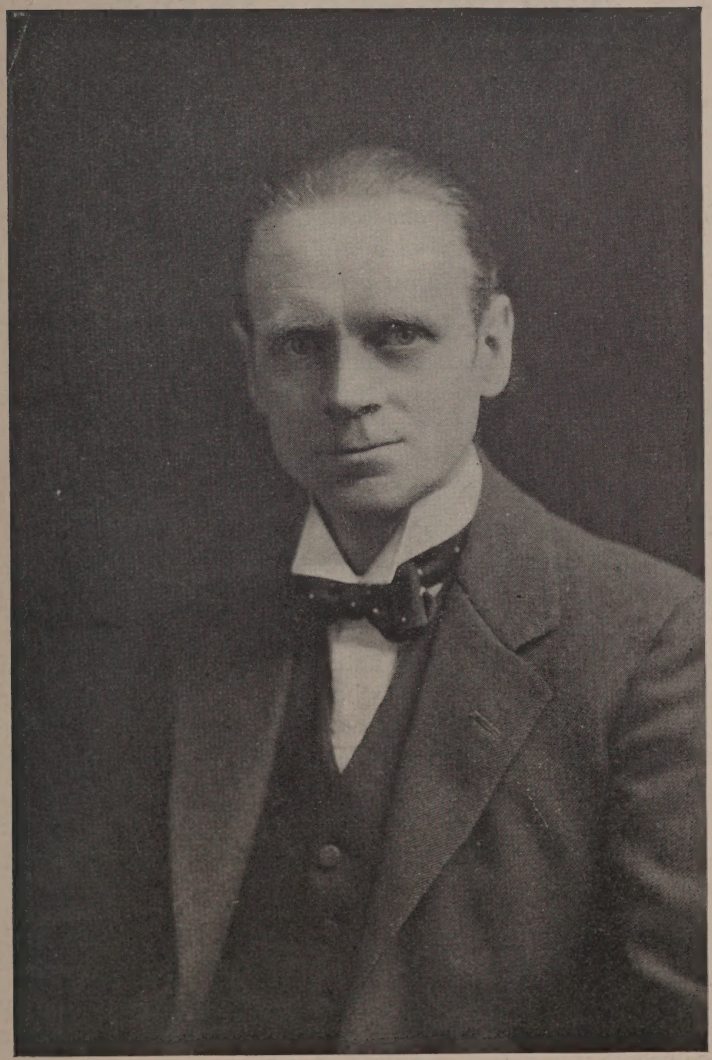

Photo. by Paul Thompson

By NORMAN ANGELL

Reprinted from *The Evening Post*, New York, October 7, 1916, by the

Massachusetts Branch of the Woman's Peace Party

THE NEW HOLY OFFICE

Or, Why I Oppose Conscription

By NORMAN ANGELL

Author of "Europe's Optical Illusion," "The Foundation of National Polity," "The World's Highway," etc.

The following article is one which, when published in England, attracted to the author marked official disfavor. According to some reports, it has actually led to his arrest.

IF the news in our newspapers were displayed in the order of its vital importance, there are one or two items which, instead of appearing in obscure and tiny paragraphs during the last month, would have ranked with the important war news of the day. For they concern the war; they bore very importantly upon the subject for which it is being fought—freedom in Europe.

Of the items in question, one, for instance, was a notification to the effect that no man who had made a plea of conscientious objections to war could obtain employment in the Indian Civil Service; another, from a local educational authority, had the effect of depriving school teachers of military age, who had conscientious objections to military service, of their positions, and another was that Mr. Bertrand Russell had been deprived of his lectureship at Trinity, Cambridge, because he had written a leaflet in defence of a conscientious objector and had so brought upon himself a prosecution under the Defence of the Realm act, and had been refused a passport necessary to enable him to lecture in a foreign university.

This means that the state on the one hand and our great academic institutions on the other are beginning to exercise exactly the kind of pressure that is exercised in Germany to compel conformity to the State political religion, to the beliefs of the majority, that is, in so far as those beliefs touch deep and fundamental convictions.

The defence made by the state is, granted the institution of conscription, a perfectly sound one. Freedom to discuss the most difficult problems which now confront mankind—which have, in fact, always been man's most difficult problem, and which, without discussion,

we can never solve or even form a temper of mind which alone can make solution possible—must not be allowed if conscription is to work. If that institution is to be maintained, the state cannot permit any real exchange of ideas among the mass of the people on such subjects as the right relationship of the individual to the community, the limits of the power of the community over the individual, the right of the individual to refuse to kill and torture other men for causes which he cannot understand or feels are insufficient. A right sense of the essentials of human intercourse is the foundation of all hope of an improving world; but if the state is to maintain conscription, it must not encourage thought about these things or allow us to exchange our thoughts about them, unless those thoughts conform to the state creed.

The generation that is now growing up is confronted by the problem of a new order, of maintaining, internationally and otherwise, relations which must differ from those of the past. This will demand a capacity larger than men have heretofore shown for other-mindedness, for seeing the point of view of the other fellow, for a sane judgment of the facts between them, and for a more rational control of certain primitive impulses and passions in one particular sphere; in short, a certain moral and intellectual evolution therein. Without that we shall obviously get no real improvement. And yet it would seem that conscription, to be thoroughgoing in its mechanism, must and does deliberately oppose that particular and intellectual evolution, and is obliged to try and prevent the only process which would make it possible.

Let us just see how the thing works in the concrete fashion of Carlyle's two Dumdrudges. The young man of France, or Austria, or Prussia, or Bavaria, having been in no way consulted as to his opinion concerning the matter, and with no option of refusal, finds himself one day confronted with the order to enter the trenches and kill the man opposite. Now suppose, being a Prussian, he should say: "I don't feel justified in killing the man opposite. I have followed this particular dispute between his Government and mine, and upon my conscience I am not at all sure that he is wrong. I think there is a good deal to be said for his case. Particularly, I am a little doubtful of my case when it is marked by the daily slaughter of children on land and sea. I cannot see that I do the best service to my country in killing the man opposite. He may not be altogether right, but I am at least sure that he is not so wrong as to justify me in putting him to death or torture."

Now, if what the Allies and their supporters have so often told us is at all true, western Europe has taken up arms on behalf of that young heretic—to bring about, that is, just the moral revolution on the part of his people represented in his attitude. Mr. Asquith has told us that the war is a spiritual conflict fought to defeat "a monstrous code of international morality" into which the German people have been entrapped "to the horror of mankind." The war was undertaken to liberate them and Europe from the menace of certain political doctrines and moralities (such as whatever the state does is right, and that obligations to it overrule all others, and that the citizens must be, as certain members of the Government have so often proudly proclaimed themselves, "for their country, right or wrong"), and to replace these dangerous doctrines by—again to quote Mr. Asquith—"the enthronement of the idea of right as the governing idea" in international politics.

But if a nation is to know what *is* right in its relation with others it must in that matter allow freedom of conscience and discussion, particularly freedom to state the view of the other side. It is not an easy thing for even a third party to determine the rights and wrongs of a quarrel. As for the interested parties, it is humanly certain that each will be convinced he is absolutely right, and the other absolutely wrong unless there is a deliberately cultivated capacity to "hear the other side." And, as Governments are made up of human beings, they, too, are just as likely to be incapable of fair and reasonable judgment in a case in which they are interested parties, unless drawn from a population that has cultivated the capacity for such judgment in the only way in which it can be cultivated—by the habit of forming individual decisions, based on the weighing of both sides; unless, in other words, they have learned to "tolerate the heretic," and are dominated by the tradition of the need for heresy in forming opinion.

Now, the simple truth is that conscription cannot allow political heresy—opposition to the political religion of the State—in international affairs. And the penalty for it in all conscriptionist states—states that have really assimilated conscription—is death. It sounds fantastic, but it is a mere statement of fact. Let us go back to the young conscript I have imagined refusing to kill the man opposite. Whether he be German, French, Italian, Russian, or Turkish, and whether his situation be that of a submarine commander refusing to sink Atlantic liners or an Allied aviator refusing to throw bombs at Baden health resorts, if he really persists, there is only one result for him. He is shot.

But conscription cannot in its authority stop short merely at the man in the trenches or under direct military command. Assume that the disposition on the part of conscripts to question the morality of their orders is due to a civilian movement of opinion, a religious or political agitation, to anti-war newspapers or writers. (At the time of the English war against the Boer republics, and to a lesser degree when England, in her last continental war, was fighting on behalf of Turkish policy in the Balkans against Russia, you had such a movement of opinion, which, if England had had conscription then, would probably have produced just the results indicated.) One of two things in that case must happen: either conscription, the element of compulsion, that is, disappears, or its authority is extended to cover the writers and newspapers, to cover opinion as well as acts.

Conscription, to be effective, must be a conscription to minds as well as bodies. To allow real cleavage of opinion concerning the justice of a state's cause to grow up by allowing the advocacy of a rival cause would be to break down national solidarity, to affect gravely the efficiency of the military instrument by tainting its morale at the source. Moreover, the state must take charge not only of the expression of opinion, but of the dissemination of facts which lead to the formation of opinion. And if the incident of the trenches I have described is not commoner than it is (though it is commoner than we suppose it to be), it is largely because states which, like Germany, knowing their military business, have carried out the intellectual conscription, the "mobilization of the mental and moral forces of the nation," so thoroughly before the beginning of the war that the mind as well as the body of the conscript has been suitably drilled.

The control of the press and of education, of the careers of all who teach or have influence, has been as much part of the organization of the nation for military purposes as the physical drill and regimentation. And if we wonder how it is that not only sixty or seventy millions of people in the mass, but great scientists, teachers, and theologians, as individuals, can subscribe to doctrines and support conduct which appear to the outside world as monstrous, it is merely because we have forgotten that any case, however monstrous, can be made to appear reasonable and acceptable if we never hear anything that can be said against it.

If we think that a people like the French could not possibly, when a like efficiency of organization has had time to do its work, show a like moral result, then we have probably forgotten certain incidents of their history, even quite recent incidents like the Dreyfus affair,

and what we said about it and all that it meant at the time. But the French, as a matter of fact, have escaped the full flower of the Prussian result, because the circumstances of their history during the nineteenth century—the fact that not once during the whole of that century did they have a Government sufficiently national to set up a national orthodoxy—made it impossible to organize the system on its intellectual side.

Since the Revolution there have always been in France, until this war, large groups ready to put certain social and moral principles above national defence, above the state. The revolutionary wars of France were fought with a whole class of Frenchmen opposed to them, many members of that class actually fighting with the enemies of France. It is but a symbol of what has always been in post-revolutionary France that on the news of the fall of Sedan, because it meant the end of the Empire, Paris was illuminated; and that in Paris, in the struggle of the Commune, more Frenchmen were killed by Frenchmen than had been killed there in the war by Germans. You had here such ingrained habit of political heresy that no machine could readily cope with it. No wonder France has been intellectually free.

Sufficient numbers of Frenchmen have always been ready to make national defence, the efficiency of the military machine, subservient to the retention of certain freedoms, as the Dreyfus case showed. But conscription—the military organization—has steadily fought these freedoms, and the tendency for the needs of the machine to override all other considerations has at times been so strong that, again as in the Dreyfus affair, the control of such tendency demanded for years at a time all the energies which the heirs of the liberal tradition could summon to the task. If, as a result of this war, France is "nationalized" in the sense of making all political differences really subservient to the needs of national power, the increasing efficiency of the military machine will make the next Dreyfus affair in its outcome a Zabern affair.

The question surely is this: If the democracies like England and France are to put first the efficient working of the national military machine over a period of years, will it not be at the price of a control of opinion by the state, as complete as in Germany? And, if so, why should we expect sensibly different moral results?

I am not urging that the difficulties here indicated necessarily condemn resort to conscription in any circumstance whatever—that is quite a distinct problem—but that we must face squarely what perma-

nent conscription involves. And it involves undoubtedly the suppression of freedom of conscience in the larger and deeper political problems. Indeed, the position of the modern political heretic is in one respect a good deal worse than was that of the old religious heretic. The latter, in order to be secure from the attentions of the Holy Office, had only to remain silent. That does not protect the modern heretic. He is taken out and compelled to kill with his own hand those whose political faith perhaps he shares, or himself be executed.

If any one is disposed to think that the cultivation of rival group orthodoxies, the loss of toleration for heresies, and of the capacity to discuss them, is a small danger, let him look back on the Europe of religious wars—which was not the Europe of a savage age, but of the age of Shakespeare and Montaigne. Lecky, among others, has shown that the rivlary of the modern political groups reveals in large part the psychology which marked the rivalry of the religious groups. Patriotism is the religion of politics. It is worth while considering whether we do not stand in danger of doing in the field of political religion or dogma just about what Europe did in the field of ecclesiastical religion or dogma when it became divided into two main religious groups.

She entangled herself then in a net of her own weaving—the work largely of religious professors, as our net today is woven so largely by political professors. Each group had convinced itself that everything it most valued on earth, the existence of any kind of morality, its spiritual freedom here as well as its eternal salvation later, depended upon its defending itself by military power against the power of the other—defence, of course, involving preventive wars. There was only one thing which could, and finally did, put an end to the resulting welter: a revision of the prevailing conceptions as to the relation of military force and power over the other group to those moral and spiritual values.

The modification of conception, theory, sovereign idea, what you will, was only possible as the result of certain heresies, of the conflict of one idea with another, and so the correction of both. But that one solution, the one means of egress, the man of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Europe deliberately closed by making heresy the gravest moral offence which men could commit. Each side killed its heretic; preferably in fashions that were "lingering and humorous." What was more important was that they killed with him the capacity of the mass to think clearly—or to think at all on the subjects that the heretic raised, for a community which has no heretics, which is of one mind on a given matter, is on that matter mindless.

If the rival communities had been successful in the attempt to protect themselves by military means from heresy within and without, we should have been fighting wars of religion yet, and perhaps organizing our massacres of St. Bartholomew. But certain forces mechanical, like the cheapening of printing; moral, like the readiness of the heretic to suffer the humorous roasting processes—were too strong for the imperfect organization of the state or the Holy Office.

But the modern state—as Germany proves—can be more efficient in the control of opinion and the consequent suppression of heresy. And we can hardly doubt that, if unity of political belief is necessary to the successful conversion of a nation into a military instrument, the modern state will kill political heresy even more successfully than the church-state killed religious heresy; and in lesser or greater degree with the analogous result of rendering Europe impotent to solve the very problem out of which conscription itself has arisen.

A. T. BLISS & CO., 60 PEARL ST., BOSTON

Organize the World through a League of Nations

Question 1. Why should the world be organized?

Answer. Organization has been made acutely necessary as the only way to prevent destruction of civilization by war. It is the next step in the development of civilization. The world should be organized as effectively as we have already organized cities, states, and nations.

Q. 2. What does world peace mean?

A. It does not mean merely stopping war. If this war should come to an end without laying the foundations of organization between the nations, we should not have peace but only an armed truce. "Peace means a condition of organized living together among nations."

Q. 3. How can the nations have an "organized living together"?

A. The forty-eight nations can be organized eventually on somewhat the same plan as that on which our forty-eight states are organized, with a Supreme Court to settle disputes between them; with a conference or congress meeting regularly, its members chosen from all the nations; and with a common police force to ensure order and safety.

Q. 4. What is the first step to be taken toward such organization?

A. Education of the public on the needs and methods of world organization and immediate preparation for a League of Nations as its initial feature.

Q. 5. What should the members of a League of Nations agree to do?

A. The members should agree to settle all disputes between one another without resort to violence and bloodshed, and to protect one another from injustice and attack from outside their number. They should also provide for common defence against a possible recalcitrant member.

Q. 6. What should be the essential foundations of the League?

A. (*a*) A World Court. (*b*) A Permanent Council of Conciliation. (*c*) A World Conference meeting regularly.

Q. 7. What should a World Court do?

A. It should settle international disputes capable of judicial decision.

Q. 8. What should a Permanent Council of Conciliation do?

A. It should be in constant session to study causes of friction and to take such action as will promote better understanding and good feeling. It should receive disputes exclusive of those that involve questions of law, and should

examine and report on them to the members of the League, with recommendations for their settlement.

Q. 9. What should the World Conference do?

A. It should create new international law, and provide for new agreements needed to preserve justice in a world of growth and change.

Q. 10. What would happen if one of the great nations at the Peace Settlement should refuse to come into the League?

A. It would leave the world divided, and thereby hinder the realization of international peace.

Q. 11. Would a League be of any value if Germany remained out of it?

A. Yes; for though it would not ensure permanent peace, the members of the League, acting under collective control, might exert such pressure on Germany, both educational and economic, as would finally force her to enter the League.

Q. 12. What are the principal advantages of membership in the League?

A. (*a*) Equal trade opportunities, by the abolition of preferential tariffs and the removal of economic barriers, so far as practicable. (*b*) Greater security without the necessity of huge rival armaments.

Q. 13. Is it likely that Germany, as a member of the League, would keep her pledges in the future, after having broken so many in the past?

A. Not only would it be for the material advantage of each nation to keep its pledges, but, as stated above, the League would exert compulsion on any recalcitrant member.

Q. 14. When should the organization of the League be consummated?

A. At the Peace Conference. But its detailed plan or constitution should now be carefully worked out by the best international minds and accepted by the peoples. Since all t rritorial readjustments and other agreements will be profoundly affected by the decision as to whether or not there is to be a League of Nations and what its character is to be, it is therefore absolutely necessary to have a plan thoroughly thought out beforehand. The delegates to the Peace Conference should be instructed to present a plan for a League of Nations as a basis for all other settlements.

Q. 15. Would a nation lose any of its sovereignty if it joined a League of Nations?

A. Yes; but on the other hand it would gain far more than it lost, as did our

thirteen states when they united under our Constitution and each surrendered a small portion of its sovereignty. Each nation would still regulate its internal affairs, yielding control only in matters of international concern.

Q. 16. What force would a League of Nations use in addition to a propaganda of education?

A. Economic force, and the armies and navies of the nations of the League acting under collective control. As soon as possible, however, after the war, national armies and navies should by mutual agreement be reduced and transformed into a genuine international police force whose sole function will be to maintain law and order.

Q. 17. Would large and small nations have an equal vote in the World Conferences?

A. There is as yet no agreement on this matter. It is possible that there might be an upper house representing all nations equally on the basis of our Senate, and a lower house based on population, as in our House of Representatives. National resources, education, and other elements might also enter into the consideration. Justice and satisfaction must be given the weaker nations as to their vote, otherwise suspicion of the strong nations might lead to a coalition of the small states. As soon as trade barriers and the consequent rival armaments are removed, there will be little to fear. Prosperity and safety will be as assured to a dweller in a small country as to one living in a large country; —just as a citizen of a small town or small state is as prosperous and safe as a citizen of a large city or of a large state. A man, for example, is as prosperous and safe living in Westfield, Massachusetts, as if he lived in Boston; and equally so in Rhode Island as in New York State.

Q. 18. Can World Organization abolish war among nations?

A. War can be abolished among nations as surely as it has been abolished between cities and between states. Six hundred years ago European walled cities had armies which fought one another; Scotland and England fought one another; little princedoms in Germany fought one another. Internal peace came when all these little units became parts of a larger whole. Our Supreme Court has settled upwards of eighty interstate disputes. Without our federal organization and our Supreme Court, friction would inevitably have led to war in many cases. International war can practically be abolished by a League of Nations developing world organization. War between nations is bound to be abolished just as much as slavery and other long existing evils have been abolished.

Q. 19. What is to be said to those who argue that war is inevitable so long as human nature remains unchanged?

A. That the same human nature that has abolished war between cities and between states has only to go one step farther and to abolish it between groups of nations. It is not primarily a question of human nature, but one of organization.

Q. 20. Why should we plan *now* for what is coming after the war?

A. If we wait until the last shot is fired, it will be too late to make sure that the peoples and not precedent and privilege shall dictate the agreements. The world will in any case be embittered and frightfully impoverished, and will find itself in a state of industrial and financial chaos. Under these conditions men new to such problems will be unable to grapple successfully with the colossal task of world organization. It is the duty of all patriots at this moment to enter on a new preparedness, based on President Wilson's ultimate aims as expressed in his fourteen points on January 8, 1918. The ground plan for the new edifice must be marked out *now,* and the free peoples of the world must bring materials for its erection or the fruits of victory may be lost.

Lord Bryce has said: "If the opportunity which the close of the present conflict will offer for the provision of means to avert future wars be lost, another such may never reappear, and the condition of the world will have grown worse because the occurrence of the like calamities will have been recognized as a thing to be expected and their causes as beyond all human cure."

The leading statesmen of the world have signified their approval of a League of Nations. An informed public opinion is vital to its establishment.

No individual is unimportant in furthering this world plan. A taper may light a beacon fire!

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September 30, 1918.

In all important cases the United States has a veto power, i. e.: The vote of the Council or Assembly, to be effective, must be unanimous *except in the few unimportant cases indicated by italics.*

COMPLETE TEXT OF THE

League of Nations Covenant

Charted for Ready Reference by BARNEY PEARSON

The separate points in each article are numbered in brackets to assist the reader in quickly verifying the statements made in the A B C of the Covenant on the reverse side of this chart.

Purpose and Conditions of Membership	Purpose	**The High Contracting Parties,** in order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security.	[1] by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, [2] by the prescription of open, just and honorable relations between nations,	[3] by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments, and	[4] by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another,	Agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations.
	Charter Members	**Article 1.** [1] The original Members of the League of Nations shall be those of the Signatories which are named in the Annex to this Covenant and also such of those other States named in the Annex as shall accede without reservation to this Covenant. Such	accession shall be effected by a Declaration deposited with the Secretariat within two months of the coming into force of the Covenant. Notice thereof shall be sent to all other Members of the League.	**ANNEX. One. Original Members of the League of Nations Signatories of the Treaty of Peace.** United States of America, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, British Empire: Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, India; China, Cuba, Ecuador, France, Greece, Guate-	mala, Haiti, Hedjaz, Honduras, Italy, Japan, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Serb-Croat-Slovene State, Siam, Czecho-Slovakia, Uruguay. **States Invited to Accede to the Covenant.** Argentine Republic, Chili, Colombia, Den-	mark, Netherlands, Norway, Paraguay, Persia, Salvador, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Venezuela. **Two. First Secretary General of the League of Nations.** The Honorable Sir James Eric Drummond, K. C. M. G., C. B.
	New Members	[2] Any fully self-governing State, Dominion or Colony not named in the Annex may be-	come a Member of the League if its admission is agreed to by *two-thirds of the Assem-*	*bly,* provided that it shall give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its	international obligations, and shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the League	in regard to its military, naval and air forces and armaments.
	Withdrawal of Members	[3] Any Member of the League may, after two years' notice of its intention so to do,	withdraw from the League, provided that all its international obligations and all its obliga-	tions under this Covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal.	[Also, Article 26 provides that failure to accept an amendment to the Covenant automa-	tically terminates membership in the League of Nations.]
Organization	The Assembly	**Article 2.** The action of the League under this Covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of an Assembly and of a Council, with a permanent Secretariat.	**Article 3.** [1] The Assembly shall consist of Representatives of the Members of the League. [2] The Assembly shall meet at stated inter-	vals and from time to time as occasion may require at the Seat of the League or at such other place as may be decided upon. [3] The Assembly may deal at its meetings	with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world. [4] At meetings of the Assembly each Mem-	ber of the League shall have one vote, and may have not more than three Representatives.
	The Council	**Article 4.** [1] The Council shall consist of Representatives of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, together with Representatives of four other Members of the League. These four Members of the League shall be selected by the Assembly from time to time in its discretion. Until the appointment of the Representatives of the four Members of the League first selected by the Assembly, Representatives of Belgium, Brazil, Spain and Greece shall be members of the Council.	[2] With the approval of *the majority of the Assembly,* the Council may name additional Members of the League whose Representatives shall always be members of the Council; the Council with *like approval* may increase the number of Members of the League to be selected by the Assembly for representation on the Council. [3] The Council shall meet from time to time as occasion may require, and at least once a year, at the Seat of the League, or at such	other place as may be decided upon. The Council may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world. [4] Any Member of the League not represented on the Council shall be invited to send a Representative to sit as a member at any meeting of the Council during the consideration of matters specially affecting the interests of that Member of the League. [5] At meetings of the Council, each Mem-	ber of the League represented on the Council shall have one vote, and may have not more than one Representative. **Article 5.** [1] Except where otherwise expressly provided in this Covenant or by the terms of the present Treaty, decisions at any meeting of the Assembly or of the Council shall require the agreement of all the Members of the League represented at the meeting. [2] All matters of procedure at meetings of the Assembly or of the Council, including the	appointment of Committees to investigate particular matters, *shall be regulated by the Assembly or by the Council and may be decided by a majority of the Members of the League represented at the meeting.* [3] The first meeting of the Assembly and the first meeting of the Council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.
	The Secretariat	**Article 6.** [1] The permanent Secretariat shall be established at the Seat of the League. The Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary General and such secretaries and staff as may be required. [2] The first Secretary General shall be [Sir James Eric Drummond], the person named in the Annex; thereafter the Secretary General	shall be appointed by the Council with the *approval of the majority of the Assembly.* [3] The secretaries and staff of the Secretariat shall be appointed by the Secretary General with the approval of the Council. [4] The Secretary General shall act in that capacity at all meetings of the Assembly and of the Council.	[5] The expenses of the Secretariat shall be borne by the Members of the League in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union. **Article 7.** [1] The Seat of the League is established at Geneva.	[2] The Council may at any time decide that the Seat of the League shall be established elsewhere. [3] All positions under or in connection with the League, including the Secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women. [4] Representatives of the Members of the	League and officials of the League when engaged on the business of the League shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities. [4] The buildings and other property occupied by the League or its officials or by Representatives attending its meetings shall be inviolable.
Agreements Intended to Prevent and Settle Disputes	Reduction of Armaments	**Article 8.** [1] The Members of the League recognize that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations. [2] The Council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each	State, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several Governments. [3] Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every ten years. [4] After these plans shall have been adopted by the several Governments, the limits of armaments therein fixed shall not be exceeded	without the concurrence of the Council. [5] The Members of the League agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections. [6] The Council shall advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the	necessities of those Members of the League which are not able to manufacture the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety. [7] The Members of the League undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military,	naval and air programmes and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to war-like purposes. **Article 9. A permanent Commission shall** be constituted to advise the Council on the execution of the provisions of **Articles 1 and 8** and on military, naval and air questions generally.
	Territorial Integrity and Political Independence	**Article 10.** [1] The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League. [2] In case of any such aggression or in case	of any threat or danger of such aggression the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.	clared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency should arise the Secretary General shall on the request of any Member of the	League forthwith summon a meeting of the Council. [2] It is also declared to be the friendly right of each Member of the League to bring to the attention of the Assembly or of the	Council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.
	Arbitration Agreements	**Article 12.** [1] The Members of the League agree that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration or to inquiry by the Council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the report by the Council. [2] In any case under this Article the award	of the arbitrators shall be made within a reasonable time, and the report of the Council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute. **Article 13.** [1] The Members of the League agree that whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they recognize to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy,	they will submit the whole subject-matter to arbitration. [2] Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which if established would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among	**those which are generally** suitable for submission to arbitration. [3] For the consideration of any such dispute the court of arbitration to which the case is referred shall be the Court agreed on by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any convention existing between them. [4] The Members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any	award that may be rendered, [5] and that they will not resort to war against a Member of the League which complies therewith. [6] In the event of any failure to carry out such an award, the Council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto.
	International Court of Justice	**Article 14.** [1] The Council shall formulate and submit to the Members of the League for adoption plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice.	[2] The Court shall be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it.	[3] The Court may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or by the Assembly. **Note**—[At its meeting of February 11, the	Council appointed an organizing Committee of twelve world famous jurists, including Hon. Elihu Root of the United States, to draft a plan for the establishment of this International	Court of Justice. It was for this purpose that Mr. Root was at The Hague and not to "form a new League of Nations built around The Hague Court."]
	Settling Disputes Between Members	**Article 15.** [1] If there should arise between Members of the League any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration in accordance with Article 13, the Members of the League agree that they will submit the matter to the Council. [2] Any party to the dispute may effect such submission by giving notice of the existence of the dispute to the Secretary General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof. [3] For this purpose the parties to the dispute will communicate to the Secretary General, as promptly as possible, statements of their case with all the relevant facts and papers, and the Council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.	[4] The Council shall endeavor to effect a settlement of the dispute, and if such efforts are successful, a statement shall be made public giving such facts and explanations regarding the dispute and the terms of settlement thereof as the Council may deem appropriate. [5] If the dispute is not thus settled, the Council *either unanimously or by a majority vote shall make and publish a report containing a statement of the facts of the dispute* and the recommendations which are deemed just and proper in regard thereto. [6] *Any member of the League represented on the Council may make public a statement of the facts of the dispute and of its conclusions regarding the same.*	[7] If a report by the Council is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with the recommendations of the report. [8] If the Council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, *other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute,* the Members of the League reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice. [9] If the dispute between the parties is claimed by one of them, and is found by the	Council, to arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the Council shall so report, and shall make no recommendation as to its settlement. [10] The Council may in any case under this Article refer the dispute to the Assembly. [11] The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request be made within fourteen days after the submission of the dispute to the Council. [12] In any case referred to the Assembly, all the provisions of this Article and of Article 12 relating to the action and powers of the	Council shall apply to the action and powers of the Assembly, [13] provided that a report made by the Assembly, if concurred in by the Representatives of those Members of the League represented on the Council and of *a majority of the other Members of the League, exclusive in each case of the Representatives of the parties to the dispute,* shall have the same force as a report by the Council concurred in by all the members thereof *other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute.*
	Punishing Covenant Breakers	**Article 16.** [1] Should any Member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles 12, 13 or 15, it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League, [2] which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, [3] the prohibition of all intercourse between	their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State, [4] and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, [5] whether a Member of the League or not. [6] It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several Govern-	ments concerned what effective military, naval or air force the Members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League. [7] The Members of the League agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which are taken under this Article in order to minimize the loss and inconvenience resulting	from the above measures, [8] and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking State, [9] and that they will take the necessary steps to afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the Members of the League which are co-operating to protect the	covenants of the League. [10] Any Member of the League which has violated any covenant of the League may be declared to be no longer a Member of the League by a *vote of the Council concurred in by the Representatives of all the other Members of the League represented thereon.*
	Settling Disputes Involving *Non-Members*	**Article 17.** In the event of a dispute between a Member of the League and a State which is not a Member of the League, or between States not Members of the League, [1] the State or States not Members of the League shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes	of such dispute, upon such conditions as the Council may deem just. [2] If such invitation is accepted, the provisions of Articles 12 to 16 inclusive shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the Council. [3] Upon such invitation being given the	Council shall immediately institute an inquiry into the circumstances of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances. [4] If a State so invited shall refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the	League for the purposes of such dispute, and shall resort to war against a Member of the League, the provisions of Article 16 shall be applicable as against the State taking such action. [5] If both parties to the dispute when so invited refuse to accept the obligations of	membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, the Council may take such measures and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute.
Agreements Affecting Treaties	Treaties Monroe Doctrine	**Article 18.** Every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any Member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretariat and shall as soon as possible be published by it. No such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.	**Article 19.** The Assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by Members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world. **Article 20.** [1] The Members of the League	severally agree that this Covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations or understandings *inter se* which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, [2] and solemnly undertake that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof.	[3] In case any Member of the League shall, before becoming a Member of the League, have undertaken any obligations inconsistent with the terms of this Covenant, it shall be the duty of such Member to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.	**Article 21.** Nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace.
Mandatories For Dependent Peoples	Dependent Peoples a Sacred Trust of Civilization	**Article 22.** [1] To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet	able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities	for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant. [2] The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced na-	tions who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as Mandatories	on behalf of the League. [3] The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances.
	The Three Classes of Mandatories	[4] Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a	principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory. [5] Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the Mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion, sub-	ject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defence of	territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other Members of the League. [6] There are territories, such as South-West Africa and certain of the South Pacific Islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population, or their small size, or their re-	moteness from the centres of cvilization, or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the Mandatory, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the Mandatory as integral portions of its territory, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population.
	Report Annually To the League	[7] In every case of mandate, the Mandatory shall render to the Council an annual report in reference to the territory committed	to its charge. [8] The degree of authority, control, or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory	shall, if not previously agreed upon by the Members of the League, be explicitly defined in each case by the Council.	[9] A permanent Commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the Mandatories and to advise the	Council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates.
Promoting The General Welfare	Miscellaneous Red Cross	**Article 23.** Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, the Members of the League: (a) will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations	extend, and for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organizations; (b) undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control; (c) will entrust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women	and children, and the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs; (d) will entrust the League with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest; (e) will make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of	transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all Members of the League. In this connection, the special necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914-1918 shall be borne in mind; (f) will endeavor to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease.	**Article 25.** The Members of the League agree to encourage and promote the establishment and co-operation of duly authorized voluntary national Red Cross organizations having as purposes the improvement of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world.
	International Bureaux	**Article 24.** [1] There shall be placed under the direction of the League all international bureaux already established by general treaties if the parties to such treaties consent. [2] All such international bureaux and all	commissions for the regulation of matters of international interest hereafter constituted shall be placed under the direction of the League. [3] In all matters of international interest	which are regulated by general conventions but which are not placed under the control of international bureaux or commissions, the Secretariat of the League shall, subject to the consent of the Council and if desired by the	parties, collect and distribute all relevant information and shall render any other assistance which may be necessary or desirable. [4] The Council may include as part of the	expenses of the Secretariat the expenses of any bureau or commission which is placed under the direction of the League.
Amendments	Must be Ratified	**Article 26.** [1] Amendments to this Covenant will take effect when ratified by the	Members of the League whose Representatives compose the Council and by *a majority of the*	*Members of the League whose Representatives compose the Assembly.*	[2] No such amendment shall bind any Member of the League which signifies its dis-	sent therefrom, but in that case it shall cease to be a Member of the League.

Issued by Irving Fisher, for the preliminary organizing committee of **THE PRO-LEAGUE INDEPENDENTS,** 17 East 41st Street, New York City

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The a b c of the Paris Covenant for a LEAGUE of NATIONS

By
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Secretary of League to Enforce Peace

in conference with

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Published by
LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE
WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT, *President*
BUSH TERMINAL SALES BUILDING
130 WEST 42D STREET
NEW YORK

The A B C OF THE PARIS COVENANT

I. THE AIM: The Paris Covenant provides for a voluntary League of civilized nations, which shall undertake to promote the justice and preserve the peace of the world by accepting obligations not to resort to war, but to deal openly, justly, and honorably with one another, by scrupulously maintaining the sanctity of treaties, by firmly establishing the rules of international law as the rule of conduct between governments, and by establishing close cooperation in matters of common concern.

It does not assume to be able to end war, any more than governments assume to be able to end crime. But as governments reduce crime by settling disputes peaceably, by punishing crime when it is committed, and by organizing society in the general interest; so the League of Nations aims to reduce war by settling disputes peaceably, by penalizing the nation that begins war contrary to the covenant of the League, and by an administration of matters of common concern in the interest of the people of the whole world.

II. THE COVENANT: *To accomplish these purposes, the members of the League agree that they will—*

Respect and Preserve the Political Independence and Territorial Integrity of each member against external aggression. [Article 10.]

Submit Disputes to Arbitration by a tribunal administering international law or to mediation by the Council or the Assembly provided for in the treaty, and furnish a statement of the case to the Secretary General of the League. [Article 12, No. 1.]

Abstain from War against any member until the dispute has been submitted to arbitration or mediation, and until three months after the award or recommendation; and even then not go to war with a member of the League that complies with the award of the tribunal or with the unanimous recommendation of the Council or Assembly. [Article 12.]

Carry Out in Good Faith any awards that may be rendered whenever the parties to the dispute voluntarily agree to abritrate. [Article 13, No. 4.]

Boycott any Nation that goes to war contrary to the covenants of the League, support one another in economic measures necessary to make the boycott effective, support one another in resisting any special measure aimed at one of their number by the offending state, and afford passage through their territory to the forces of League members operating against the offending nation. [Article 16, No. 4.]

Exchange Information concerning military and naval programs and industries adaptable to warlike purposes, and for stated periods not exceeding ten years, unless relieved of the obligation by the Council, observe limitations of armament when voluntarily adopted by each of them on recommendation of the Council. [Article 8, No. 7.]

Secure Fair and Humane Treatment for Labor, as far as practicable, at home and in all countries with which they trade. [Article 23 (a).]

Secure Just Treatment, so far as possible, for native inhabitants of territories under their control. [Article 23 (b).]

Entrust the League with Supervision over the execution of international agreements providing for the suppression of the white slave traffic and the sale of dangerous drugs, and with the supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition in countries where the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest. [Article 23 (d).]

Maintain Freedom of Transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of members. [Article 23 (e).]

Co-operate in Measures for the prevention and control of disease. [Article 23 (f).]

Encourage and Promote Organization and work of the Red Cross. [Article 25.]

Establish International Bureaus to administer such matters of common interest as may be agreed upon. [Article 23 (a) *et al.*]

Abrogate all treaties and obligations among themselves inconsistent with the Covenant and enter into no such obligations in the future. [Article 20.]

Register all New Treaties, which shall not be binding until so registered. [Article 18.]

Pay a Due Share of the expense of administering the affairs of the League. [Article 6, No. 5.]

III. THE AGENCIES: *The Covenant provides the following agencies to advise and assist in carrying out these agreements—*

An Assembly which shall represent all member nations, determine by majority vote its own procedure, and meet at stated intervals and as occasion requires. Each member of the League may have three delegates but only one vote. The Assembly shall make its decisions by unanimous vote except as otherwise provided, and shall have power to—

"Deal With" (that is, discuss, and, no doubt, express opinions concerning) **All** Matters within the sphere of action of the League, or affecting the peace of the world. [Article 3, No. 3.]

Advise the Reconsideration of Treaties which have become inapplicable, or of international conditions dangerous to peace. [Article 19.]

Select the Four Non-Permanent Members to the Council, in succession to Belgium, Brazil, Greece, and Spain temporarily appointed by vote of the Paris Conference pending action by the Assembly. [Article 4, No. 1.]

Admit New Members to the League by two-thirds vote. [Article 1, No. 2.]

Inquire into Disputes referred to it by the Council or the parties to the dispute and by majority vote make recommendations which, if concurred in by the votes of all the States represented in the Council, exclusive in each case of the parties to the dispute, will protect from attack the States complying with them. [Article 15, No. 13.]

A Council of nine which by majority vote shall determine its own procedure and meet at least once each year, each member having one vote as follows: representatives of the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and of the following four nations designated by the Peace Conference to serve until the Assembly shall appoint their successors—Belgium, Brazil, Greece and Spain.* The Council shall have power, by unanimous vote, to—

Expel a Member that has violated any covenant of the League.† [Article 16, No. 10.]

Formulate Plans for the reduction of armaments for the consideration of the several governments, such plans to be subject to revision at least every ten years. [Article 8, No. 2.]

Advise How the Evils attendant upon the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war may be obviated. [Article 8, No. 6.]

Advise Upon the Means of preserving the territorial integrity and political independence of the members against external aggression, whether actual or threatened. [Article 10, No. 2.]

Propose What Shall be Done to give effect to the decision, if a state fails to carry out the award of an arbitration by which it has agreed to abide. [Article 13, No. 6.]

Formulate Plans for a permanent Court of International Justice. [Article 14.]

Inquire into Disputes not within the domestic jurisdiction of a State, and not submitted to the court or to arbitration or to the Assembly; endeavor to secure a settlement by mediation and, failing this, make a recommendation which, if unanimous, protects the state complying with it from attack. [Article 15, No. 7.]

Recommend What Military and Naval Forces shall be contributed by each member to protect the covenants of the League against a nation that resorts to war contrary thereto. [Article 16, No. 6.]

Inquire into, and Offer Facilities for, the settlement of disputes with or between non-member states and, in case of refusal by the non-member state or states to accept such offer, make recommendations and, if necessary, take action to prevent hostilities and settle the dispute. [Article 17.]

Fix the Terms of a Mandate, by a nation willing to accept it, over any colony or territory formerly governed by Germany or Turkey, whenever this has not been previously agreed upon by the members of the League. [Article 22, No. 8.]

Appoint the Secretary General, subject to confirmation by majority vote of the Assembly and confirm his subordinates. [Article 6, No. 2.]

Appoint Permanent International Commissions and control international bureaus. [Articles 9, 22, 24.]

Supervise the Execution of Agreements to suppress the white slave trade and the traffic in dangerous drugs. [Article 23 (c).]

A Secretary General, and his subordinates, chosen by the Council for administrative work. [Article 6, No. 2.]

A Court of International Justice to be established in accordance with plans to be worked out by the Council, with power to decide any dispute referred to it by the parties thereto, and to give an advisory opinion upon any matter referred to it by Council or Assembly. [Article 14.]

A Mandatory Commission to oversee and advise respecting the administration of colonies and backward peoples formerly governed by Germany or Turkey. [Article 22, No. 9.]

A Permanent Commission to advise on military and naval questions. [Article 9.]

International Bureaus for the regulation of matters of international interest; existing international bureaus such as the International Postal Union to come under the League's direction when the parties to the treaties creating them so agree, and all international bureaus hereafter created to come automatically under the League's direction. [Article 24.]

IV. GUIDING PRINCIPLES: *The Covenant formulates the following principles for the guidance of League members and administrative agencies—*

That the Validity of International Engagements for the maintenance of peace such as the Monroe Doctrine and treaties of arbitration shall not be affected by the covenant. [Article 21.]

That War or Threat of War anywhere is the concern of the League, since war, like fire, is liable to spread; and the members of the League may take action to safeguard the peace of nations. [Article 11.]

That Making War contrary to the covenants of the League shall be deemed an act of war on the part of the offending nation against all other members of the League. [Article 16, No. 1.]

That Maintenance of Peace requires reduction of armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement of international obligations. [Article 8.]

That Submission of Any Dispute to mediation by the Council can be effected by either party thereto by giving notice of its existence to the Secretary General. [Article 15, No. 2.]

That Each Member of the League shall have the right and respcnsibility of calling the attention of the League to anything that threatens to disturb peace and good understanding among nations. [Article 11, No. 2.]

That Publication of the Facts of all Disputes that threaten war and are not settled by arbitration shall be made, so far as expedient, whether or not unanimous recommendation of an award is reached. [Article 15, No. 5.]

That the Well-Being and Development of Backward Peoples residing in colonies of the Central Empires, or in territories taken from them, is a sacred trust, and that they shall be administered by nations acting as agents or mandatories of the League: a principle consideration in the selection of such mandatories being the wishes of the peoples in the areas to be administered. [Article 22, No. 1.]

That All Positions in connection with the League shall be open equally to men and women. [Article 7, No. 3.].

V. THE LIMITATIONS: *Things the Paris Covenant does NOT do.*

Does **not** create a super-government outranking those of member states or maintaining armies to over-awe them; but is a treaty in which the members pledge themselves to maintain a condition of international morality akin to that maintained by every civilized State within its own borders.

Does **not** commit members to obligations they cannot get out of. A nation may withdraw from membership on two years' notice, if its international and League obligations have been fulfilled, just as a partner may withdraw from a partnership.

Does **not** place the United States in a position where it can be coerced by the vote of other nations in the Council or the Assembly, as the power of these bodies is almost wholly advisory and even for this a unanimous vote is required on all vital matters.

Does **not** involve the calling out of American soldiers in case of local squabbles in the Balkans or elsewhere. While members of the League are obliged to take part in a boycott against a nation that attacks another member contrary to the League covenant, they do not otherwise agree to join in making war.

Does **not** place peace above justice, but PROVIDES for war as a last resort to restrain an aggressive nation and does not forbid war against a nation that refuses to accept the awards of League tribunals and in case of disputes where no decision can be reached by the Council or Assembly.

Does **not** prevent the division or union of existing nations, but keeps open every means of effecting changes in national boundaries except by external aggression.

Does **not** affect the constitutional authority of Congress to declare war, although Congress will be morally bound by this treaty, as by every other. The Council CAN RECOMMEND war but only Congress can DECLARE war.

Does **not** destroy the Monroe Doctrine. On the contrary, the Monroe Doctrine for the first time in history is expressly recognized by all the members of the League, and its principle extended to the world by means of the provision that the territorial integrity and political independence of all the members shall be preserved.

Does **not** interfere in the domestic affairs of any nation. That also is expressly provided against. The League has no right to interfere with revolutions, rebellions, immigration, tariffs and other internal problems of its members, although it may take notice of them and make recommendations when such matters threaten the peace of the world.

Does **not** exceed the treaty power under the Constitution. The United States has during its history entered into treaties involving all the powers affected by the covenant.

VI. MEMBERSHIP: *The Covenant provides the following rules for membership in the League:*

Charter Membership is open to the following signatories to the Treaty of Peace: United States of America, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, British Empire, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, India, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Hedjaz, Honduras, Italy, Japan, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Serbia, Siam, Uruguay; and to the following states which are invited to accede to the covenant: Argentine Republic, Chile, Colombia, Denmark, Netherlands, Norway, Paraguay, Persia, Salvador, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Venezuela.

Other Self-Governing States, Dominions or Colonies may be admitted to the League provided they give "effective guarantees" of sincerity and accept such regulations regarding military and naval armaments as may be prescribed by the League.

VII. LOCATION: The seat of the League shall be at Geneva unless changed by the Council.

VIII. APPROVAL, RATIFICATION AND AMENDMENT: This Covenant in its original form was unanimously approved by representatives of fourteen nations at the Peace Conference, was then referred to the peoples of the world for criticism and suggestion and revised in the light of this discussion. It includes all the material amendments requested by the people of the United States. In its final form, it is now referred to the governments of the nations for adoption. When ratified, it can be amended by the unanimous vote of the nations represented in the Council and a majority of the nations represented in the Assembly.

No amendment, however, shall bind any member of the League which signifies its dissent therefrom; but in that case the dissenting state would cease to be a member of the League.

*The Council may, by unanimous vote of its own members and a majority vote of the Assembly, increase its permanent membership. By similar procedure it may increase the number to be selected by the Assembly.

†The vote of the covenant-breaking nation, if a member of the Council, would be ignored in determining unanimity of action.

MR. TAFT ON THE LEAGUE

"When Mr. Wilson brought to this country the League Covenant, as reported to the Paris Conference I urged on the same platform with him that we join the League. I thereafter recommended amendments, many of which were adopted into its final form. Had I been in the Senate, I would have voted for the League and Treaty as submitted; and I advocated its ratification accordingly. I did not think and I do not now think that anything in the League Covenant as sent to the Senate would violate the constitution of the United States or would involve us in wars which it would not be to the highest interest of the world and the country to suppress by universal boycott and, if need be, by military force. I consider that the moral effect of Article X on predatory nations would restrain them from war as the declaration of the Monroe Doctrine has done and that the requirement of the unanimous consent by the representatives of the great powers in council before League action would safeguard the United States from any perversion of the high purpose of the League. Moreover, I believe that the issue of the League transcends in its importance any domestic issues and would justify and require one who believes so to ignore party ties and secure this great boon for the world and this country."

WILLIAM H. TAFT, Aug. 2, 1920.

(But Mr. Taft, like many other Republicans who have held office, can't bring himself to desert his party because he calculates that not enough Republican Senators can be removed to insure a two-thirds majority for the League without nullifying reservations. He seems to have forgotten that Mr. Lodge, the Senate Republican leader, promised to abide by the people's verdict. The very object of this election is to find what the people of the United States, not a few Senators, want. The President and the Senate may need to compromise somewhat; and Governor Cox has expressly stated his willingness "to meet all reasonable desires for proper reservations offered in sincerity and not trumped up for political purposes." If a Senate minority should really defy the people's will, it must be fought to a finish if this requires waiting till 1922 or 1924.)

MEMBERS shown in white | INVITED NON-MEMBERS shown in light shading | NOT INVITED NON-MEMBERS shown in dark shading

The League of Nations is already established with 43 of the leading nations as members.

These nations will not abandon the League simply because we do not join.

The only great question is shall we go in, or stay out?

What we gain by going in: 1—Help restore peace in the world and prevent future wars. 2—Increase our power and prestige and take our place as the leading nation in the world's work. 3—Safeguard our foreign loans, increase our foreign trade, retain our rights under the Treaty of Versailles, save billions of dollars a year of taxes to build dreadnaughts and otherwise prepare for war. 4—Uphold our honor and regain our international good will, the greatest asset any nation can have. 5—Secure what our soldiers fought for, a means of making the world safe.

The only objections to the League of Nations are fanciful and for the most part "trumped up for political purposes."

The League does not impair our sovereignty. It is only a means of conference to give advice and even this advice cannot be given unless the United States through its representative consents.

The League cannot declare war nor order our soldiers abroad. It does not prevent internal revolutions; it does not prevent change of boundary except through arbitration. It provides the best chance for Irish self-determination.

PRO-LEAGUE INDEPENDENTS

The purpose of The Pro-League Independents, consisting of Pro-League Republicans and Independents who intend to vote for Cox and Roosevelt, is to give correct information to voters on the League of Nations and help disabuse their minds of the mass of misinformation now current.

Among the most common misrepresentations of the League are: that it is a super-government which impairs American sovereignty; that England could outvote us and override us; that the League could by a majority vote compel us to go to war against our will, or order our soldiers abroad; that the League fixes forever existing boundaries and nationalities. All of these notions of the League are absolutely false.

The prime purpose of the League is to secure proper and effective co-operation of sovereign nations when unanimously desiring to suppress the breaking of world peace by boycotting any nation which attempts it, and by agreeing to submit disputes between two nations to a third party.

The chart of the League of Nations shows clearly what it is and what it is not. The "A B C" gives a condensed interpretation made largely by Republican writers in May, 1919, long before the League was a political issue. The statement of Mr. Taft shows how great a boon a sincere Republican still considers the League to be.

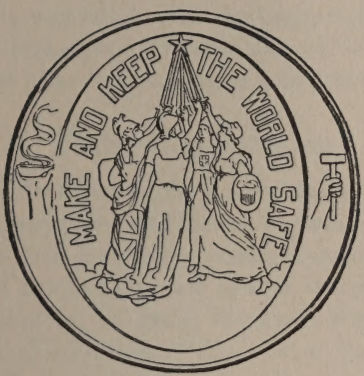
The map shows that forty-three nations are already in the League; this includes all the important nations except Germany, Austria, Russia, Turkey, Mexico and the United States. If we do not join the League, we shall soon be the one isolated nation. So far as we can learn, no other nation has joined with any reservations.

Those who wish to more fully inform themselves are referred to the article by Republican Governor Samuel McCall in the September *Atlantic*, the article by an independent, Dr. Charles W. Eliot, President emeritus of Harvard University, in the October *Atlantic* and the book by George Creel, "The War, the World and Wilson." Or write for literature to the National Democratic Committee, Grand Central Palace, New York, The League to Enforce Peace, 22 W. 19th Street, New York, N. Y., The World Peace Foundation, 40 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, Mass. The Pro-League Independents, 17 E. 41st Street, New York City.

The Republican Campaign Book is full of these fanciful objections. But it DELIBERATELY OMITS the league covenant itself which would enable the reader to see through these objections

WORKING FOR
A LEAGUE of NATIONS

A Handbook on County Organization for The League to Enforce Peace



Prepared by the
EXTENSION DEPARTMENT
and published by
LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE
BUSH TERMINAL SALES BUILDING
130 WEST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK CITY
WILLIAM H. TAFT, President

PLACE
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42nd Street
New York City
WILLIAM H. TAFT, President

TO STATE AND COUNTY OFFICERS:

YOU are privileged to take an active and responsible part in this great patriotic movement for a League of Nations in the territory of which you have assumed charge as the representative of the League to Enforce Peace. Co-operation to the utmost is necessary if our high purpose is to be achieved. National, State and County Organizations working as one unit is our best earnest of success.

The crucial hour has struck. "A spirit is abroad in the world." The opportunity of the centuries is at hand and we are privileged to work for the immediate realization of an age-old ideal in government. Our part may be a humble one. Men may not remember our names, but if we can accomplish even the beginnings of this world organization for peace they will in generations to come look back to us with gratitude.

State Organization

In order to perfect the organization by counties as outlined below, the League to Enforce Peace desires that every state organization include a State Chairman in active general charge of the Organization; a State Speakers' Bureau in charge of a Director of Speakers; a State Publicity Bureau, in charge of a Director of Publicity and a State Executive Committee composed of representative men and women from all walks of life.

How to Organize a League Branch

Immediately write or have written a story of the movement among the American people for a League of Nations and send it to your local newspapers. Announce therein that at the National Congress held under the auspices of The League to Enforce Peace, your State Caucus and the National Congress committed themselves to the organization of a League Branch in every county in the United States and that the immediate organization of your county is requested.

State that upon application literature will be sent to anyone desiring it and speakers will be provided to address any meeting upon the subject of a League of Nations. Solicit the co-operation of all persons wishing to aid the cause, particularly returned soldiers or relatives of boys at the front.

County Organization

The County branch of the League is an auxiliary of the State branch. It should be organized as follows:

1. A County Chairman.
2. An Associate as Director of Speakers.
3. An Associate as Director of Publicity.
4. A Representative County Executive Committee.

The Associates

The two Associates should be appointed at once and gotten to work, the State and National Organizations co-operating in the making of these appointments.

One of the Associates should be known as Director of Speakers and have charge of the enlisting and directing of your speakers; the other should be known as Director of Publicity and charged with responsibility for obtaining proper publicity for all League Addresses, Meetings, Resolutions, etc.

The Director of League Speakers

For your Associate in Charge of Speakers you should, wherever possible, secure an experienced director of The Four Minute Men, The Liberty Loan or The Red Cross Speakers. Such directors know the local speakers of ability and it will be a comparatively easy matter for them to enlist the services of ten or a dozen effective men for whom to make engagements.

The National Secretary of the Extension Department and Speakers' Bureau, at 130 West

42nd Street, New York City, is also at the service of your Director of Speakers and will place in his hands a list of volunteer League speakers within the State, who may be invited to address various meetings. These speakers receive no honorarium for their services, the inviting organization paying only for their travelling and entertainment expenses.

The Director of Speakers should be constantly on the alert and use much initiative in securing assignments for his men, scorning not even the smallest meetings. He should see to it that the resolutions are properly presented for adoption to all meetings where such a course is feasible. He can render most valuable service by co-operating closely with the Director in charge of Publicity, so that proper advance announcements may be secured and the speeches covered by the press.

Audiences

Every meeting in the county is an opportunity for a League to Enforce Peace speaker. If the meeting is that of an organized body, such as a Church, Grange, Chamber of Commerce, Woman's Club, Teachers' Institute, etc., etc., it is a proper meeting from which to secure the adoption of a resolution modeled upon the form found at the end of this booklet.

Speaking Calendar Plan

One very successful plan followed by the associates in charge of League speakers is known as the Speaking Calendar Plan. The Director of Speakers makes a calendar listing by date and place every fixed meeting during the next month, and arranges with those in charge of the meeting for a place on their program for one of his speakers. He then assigns his speakers to cover all the engagements. By this plan he is able to speedily reach, through various audiences, the entire population of the county.

A perfect speaking calendar in an active month would provide for at least one address

before all Churches, Granges, Fraternal Orders, Chambers of Commerce, Boards of Trade, Rotary, Kewanis, Women's and other Clubs, Business, Social, Educational and Religious Conventions, Farmers' and Teachers' Institutes, Public Forums, Farm Auction Sales and Mass Meetings, of every kind, held within the county. With the assistance of Ministers, Superintendents of Schools, Secretaries of Fraternal and Commercial bodies, Hotel Clerks, County Agricultural Farm Agents, Y. M. C. A. Secretaries, Grange Secretaries, etc., such a calendar can be quickly and easily made up.

Since these meetings will be scattered through the month and the subject matter of the addresses much the same in every case, a few speakers could easily and quickly reach the entire population of the county, arouse discussion, secure resolutions and the writing of personal letters to the United States Senators and local congressman, thus making a tremendous contribution to the final success of the whole movement. We must take the lead in securing initial discussion, but every Director of Speakers will find that the demand for his speakers will soon grow to the limit of his ability to supply, once he has aroused public discussion of this most important topic at this critical hour.

The Director in Charge of Publicity

For this position a man of energy and initiative,—thoroughly acquainted with newspaper methods and newspaper men,—should be early secured. Editors, reporters or advertising men of the county afford splendid personnel from which to draw, but influential men of energy, initiative, and an acquaintance with the newspaper men of the county are frequently equally efficient.

Duties of County Director of Publicity

The duties of the Director of Publicity are to secure *advance* publicity on speaking engagements and meetings in behalf of the League, and

to see to it that newspaper reporters cover the meetings and give publicity to the speeches and resolutions adopted.

If League speakers, who have their addresses in manuscript, will supply the County Director of Publicity with copies in advance of delivery it will enable him to obtain much splendid publicity, for newspapers are glad to get and use such addresses immediately following a meeting and as a part of their report thereon. These addresses the County Director of Publicity can place with the local newspapers much more effectively than it is possible for the National Publicity Director to do.

Special articles for the use of newspapers are frequently prepared at National Headquarters and a special service is now being given to a large number of newspapers throughout the country, under the direction of the National Secretary of the Publicity Department at 130 West 42nd Street, New York City. Through this department numerous "releases" for given dates are sent out in advance to those making applications for them.

County Executive Committee

Each County Chairman is urged immediately to organize his county by inviting capable men and women to associate themselves with him as a County Executive Committee. This is a *working* committee each member accepting responsibility for a definite field of work, and no man or woman, regardless of position or influence, should be honored by an invitation to membership who does not desire to work heartily for the realization of the program for a League of Nations. In many counties the nucleus of an Executive Committee has already been appointed and the Chairman should call the existing committee together without delay, complete the organization and start an active campaign. Pending the securing of a complete working committee, the County Chairman will himself discharge the unassigned functions.

Personnel of County Executive Committee

The County Executive Committee should consist of one or more carefully chosen representatives from each of the following groups, in order that contact may be established with every form of community activity and the Committee be thoroughly representative of the life of the people:

1. Business.
2. Labor.
3. Agriculture.
4. Women.
5. Protestant Church.
6. Catholic Church.
7. Jewish
8. Outsanding Men and Women, Leaders of various war organizations, Political Parties and other activities of community life.

Duties of Members of Executive Committee

The work among a particular group shall be entrusted to the member chosen as the representative of that group, who, by and with the advice and assistance of the County Chairman, shall choose, and invite to serve with him as a special committee, representative men or women of his or her group.

For instance, the Executive Committee member chosen to represent the Women's Organizations should choose for her committee representative women from among the Women's Clubs, Associations, Lodges, Churches, etc., with whom she will maintain an active correspondence. This committee under her direction would see to it that literature was distributed to women's organizations, that such organizations took up the study course (furnished upon request from National Headquarters) on The League of Nations, that they invited the Director of Speakers to provide a speaker to address them upon the subject, and that resolutions were presented, passed and forwarded.

A like course of action, with variations to suit any particular situation, should be followed by the member representing the Business, Agricultural, Religious or Labor, etc., activities of the community. Working thus the broad function of the various Chairmen of organized groups would be to see to it that the program of the League was carried out in their particular fields and to provide the County Director of Speakers with the audiences for his speakers, and the County Director of Publicity with advance information and publicity matter for the newspapers. In this way the whole organization would be stimulated and the whole field covered.

County Conventions

After the above preliminary work is well advanced and the National Campaign Manager and the State Secretary advised of that fact, a county convention should be called. This county convention would be in charge of the county chairman and his staff, working under the auspices of the National and State Organizations, who would be called upon to recommend speakers of note and otherwise to aid in the formulation of a program. To this great county convention all citizens should be invited and the resolutions there adopted be a solid expression of the public opinion of the county.

Membership

The League to Enforce Peace is a people's movement, and the more widely we can distribute the membership therein, the more power we can wield for good. Hence, every member, with the interest of the movement earnestly at heart, should strive to enroll as many others as possible. The National Organization is the source of League literature, information and administration. Membership in it includes membership in State and County Organizations.

There are two forms of National Membership —General Membership and Paid Membership, the latter being divided into three classes of membership, with dues and privileges as follows:

General Membership:

Any person may be enrolled by signing an enrollment card and returning it to the National Office. Such a member will receive notice of and be privileged to vote at the annual meetings of the National League and of his own State Branch.

Paid Membership:

Active ($5.00) members receive official receipt, membership button, membership certificate, signed by the President and Secretary of the League, and by the Chairman and Secretary of State Branch, notice of public meetings and weekly bulletin.

Sustaining ($10.00) members receive in addition all publications, not including Proceedings of National Convention.

Patron ($25.00) members receive in addition all publications, including Proceedings of National Convention.

Will you not urge all your Committee to actively campaign among the citizens of your County for the largest possible League to Enforce Peace membership?

Resolutions

A resolution constitutes at once the method of expressing the will of any organized body and the means of conveying that expression to others. It is vitally important that Speakers, Chairmen and Committeemen, secure the adoption of resolutions from every organization within the county, in order that their representatives may be informed of the will of their constituencies.

To aid in preparing these resolutions we print on page 12 sample forms of resolution which have proved acceptable.

Procedure After Resolutions Adopted

Once adopted, copies of the resolution should be immediately mailed to each of the following:

1. The President of the United States.
2. The two United States Senators representing the State.
3. The President of the United States Senate.
4. The Speaker of the House of Representatives.

5. William Howard Taft, President of the League to Enforce Peace at 130 West 42nd St., New York City, New York.

Personal Letters

All friends and officials of the League to Enforce Peace should write personal letters to their United States Senators, expressing their advocacy of a League of Nations to establish and maintain world order, and informing them of the attitude of their constituents with regard thereto. The effect and value of such a letter is doubled by sending a copy to your local newspaper.

In Conclusion

It is all worth while. The gift without the giver is bare, so let us put our hearts into our work for the League. It is now or maybe never for us. Only after another great world war can there be another such opportunity. Everybody is vitally interested whether he realizes it or not. All our speakers report a tremendous undercurrent of desire, an ardent reaching out for something but vaguely understood, upon the part of the people.

A spirit *is* abroad in the world. A new spirit, an awakening of souls to the fact that the hopes of yesterday can become the realities of today or tomorrow. Now is the time to work. With our President we are privileged to labor "For the reign of law, based upon the consent of the governed, sustained by the *Organized Opinion of Mankind*," which the statesmen of every land have told their country's fighting sons was the cause for which they fought. Our country is pledged to a League of Nations, to "A World Made Safe for Democracy," to "The Sweet Purposes of Peace" made secure through the rule of an all prevading justice.

Fighting men have won for us the opportunity to now redeem our promises. Let us see to it that what we have won on the field is not lost in the council, by informing ourselves upon the issues at stake and letting the voice of the people be heard in support of a League of Nations.

A Suggested General Form of Resolution

It is very evident that a variety of resolutions indorsing the League of Nations, when received from different sources, would have greater effect and receive better attention than one form of resolution submitted by a number of different organizations. Therefore, while the form herein suggested may be followed, the language should be your own, and express the particular interest of the group (whether business, labor, agriculture, religious or educational) adopting the resolution.

RESOLUTIONS

(NAME OF ADOPTING BODY)
(ADDRESS)

WHEREAS, The War, now brought to a victorious close by the associated power of the free nations of the world, was above all else a war to end war and protect human rights.

THEREFORE, be it RESOLVED that we advocate the establishment of a League of Nations. We believe that such a League should aim at promoting the liberty, progress and orderly development of the world.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that we favor the entrance of the United States into such a League as may be adequate to safeguard the peace that has been won by the joint forces of the allied nations.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, the Senators representing the State of.....
.....at Washington, and to the Honorable William H. Taft, President of the League to Enforce Peace, 130 West 42nd Street, New York.

.....
(Name of Body Adopting)

By.....
(Official Position)

Date.....

What we seek is the reign of law, based upon the consent of the governed, and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind.

—WOODROW WILSON, July 4, 1918.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S FOURTEEN POINTS

THE BASIS OF THE NEW WORLD ORDER

Open Democratic Diplomacy

1. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

Freedom of the Seas

2. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

Toward the Removal of Economic Barriers and the Establishment of Equal Trade Conditions

3. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

Reduction of Armaments under Guarantees

4. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest points consistent with domestic safety.

New Colonial Policies Based on the Interest of the Populations Concerned

5. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.

Russia

6. The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest coöperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire.

The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

Restoration of Belgium

7. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

France and Alsace-Lorraine

8. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

"Italia Irredenta"

9. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

Austria-Hungary

10. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.[1]

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[1] Since this was written the Government of the United States has recognized that a state of belligerency exists between the Czecho-Slovaks and the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires, and that the Czecho-Slovak National Council is a *de facto* belligerent Government clothed with proper authority to direct the military and political affairs of the Czecho-Slovaks. It has also recognized in the fullest manner the justice of the nationalistic aspirations of the Jugo-

Restoration of Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro; International Guarantees for the Balkan States

11. Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan states to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan states should be entered into.

Turkey

Dardanelles Permanently Opened Under International Guarantees

12. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations, under international guarantees.

Independence of Poland

13. An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

Establishment of a League of Nations

14. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

FROM PRESIDENT WILSON'S LIBERTY LOAN SPEECH NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 27, 1918

"If it be in deed and truth the common object of the governments associated against Germany and of the nations whom they govern, as I believe it to be, to achieve by the coming settlements a secure and lasting peace, it will be necessary that all who sit down at the peace table shall come ready and willing to pay the price, the only price, that will procure it; and ready and willing, also, to create in some

---

Slavs for freedom. The President recognizes in his note to Austria-Hungary, October 19, 1918, that he is no longer at liberty to accept the mere "autonomy" of these peoples as a basis of peace, but is obliged to insist that they, and not he, shall be the judges of what action on the part of the Austro-Hungarian Government will satisfy their aspirations and their conception of their rights and destiny as members of the family of nations.

virile fashion the only instrumentality by which it can be made certain that the agreements of the peace will be honored and fulfilled.

That price is impartial justice in every item of the settlement, no matter whose interest is crossed; and not only impartial justice, but also the satisfaction of the several peoples whose fortunes are dealt with. That indispensable instrumentality is a League of Nations formed under covenants that will be efficacious. Without such an instrumentality, by which the peace of the world can be guaranteed, peace will rest in part upon the word of outlaws, and only upon that word. For Germany will have to redeem her character, not by what happens at the peace table but by what follows.

And, as I see it, the constitution of that League of Nations and the clear definition of its objects must be a part, is in a sense the most essential part, of the peace settlement itself. It cannot be formed now. If formed now, it would be merely a new alliance confined to the nations associated against a common enemy.

It is not likely that it could be formed after the settlement. It is necessary to guarantee the peace; and the peace cannot be guaranteed as an afterthought. The reason, to speak in plain terms again, why it must be guaranteed is that there will be parties to the peace whose promises have proved untrustworthy, and means must be found in connection with the peace settlement itself to remove that source of insecurity. It would be folly to leave the guarantee to the subsequent voluntary action of the Governments we have seen destroy Russia and deceive Roumania.

But these general terms do not disclose the whole matter. Some details are needed to make them sound less like a thesis and more like a practical program. These, then, are some of the particulars, and I state them with the greater confidence because I can state them authoritatively as representing this Government's interpretation of its own duty with regard to peace.

First, the impartial justice meted out must involve no discrimination between those to whom we wish to be just and those to whom we do not wish to be just. It must be a justice that plays no favorites and knows no standard but the equal rights of the several peoples concerned;

Second, no special or separate interest of any single nation or any group of nations can be made the basis of any part of the settlement which is not consistent with the common interest of all;

Third, there can be no leagues or alliances or special convenants and understandings within the general and common family of the League of Nations;

Fourth, and more specifically, there can be no special, selfish economic combinations within the league and no employment of any form of economic boycott or exclusion except as the power of economic penalty by exclusion from the markets of the world may be vested in the League of Nations itself as a means of discipline and control;

Fifth, all international agreements and treaties of every kind must be made known in their entirety to the rest of the world.

Special alliances and economic rivalries and hostilities have been the prolific source in the modern world of the plans and passions that produce war. It would be an insincere as well as an insecure peace that did not exclude them in definite and binding terms."

This program for permanent peace is supported by leading statesmen and liberal thinkers throughout the world

LEAGUE FOR PERMANENT PEACE
421 BOYLSTON STREET, BOSTON

November 2, 1918.

Copies at 10 cents per hundred may be obtained from the League for Permanent Peace

PEACE and the PEACE MOVEMENT

Sermon

BY

Rev. FRANK THOMAS,

DELIVERED IN

VICTORIA HALL, GENEVA,

September 22nd, 1912,

ON THE OCCASION OF THE

Interparliamentary and the Nineteenth Universal Peace Congress.

PEACE SOCIETY :
47, NEW BROAD STREET, LONDON, E.C.

1912.

PREFACE.

DURING my stay in Geneva last September, I had the pleasure of hearing the Rev. Frank Thomas preach the grand sermon which I now desire to circulate, having received the kind permission of the author to translate and use his sermon in the cause of Peace.

Unfortunately there are still many people, educated in a warlike or military atmosphere, who are prejudiced against all that relates to the question of pacifism. This is most deplorable, for it is contrary to every true sense of justice and universal brotherhood. Happily, we can state that Governments have many times had recourse to arbitration in order to ensure peace; and it must be recognised that during the last twenty years these ideas have made great progress. Nations have been drawn more and more closely together, and nowadays one scarcely speaks of a single nation; but of groups of nations, as, for instance, the Triple Entente, the Triple Alliance, the Balkan States, etc.

This is owing to the fact that it is better understood that identical interests bind the peoples together; that all important questions should be discussed in international conferences, which themselves form tribunals, movable,

provisionary, even unsettled and precarious perhaps; but which, however, are the forerunners of a permanent tribunal for all nations. It is with regret that one must state it is interest and not love which to-day dictates Peace. Yet, as it is with individuals, so it is with peoples; as soon as they come into touch with one another, they learn to know, esteem and, finally, to love one another; then they desire Peace, Peace based upon justice, actuated by that spirit of love which Christ came to establish on earth, and which tends towards true Christian civilisation.

May this powerful sermon, by one of the most well-known Swiss pastors, encourage many of his colleagues, all over the world, to manifest, with that same frankness and goodwill, the principles which Jesus, "The Prince of Peace," taught us, included in the command, "Love one another" (John xiii. 34).

ED. DE NEUFVILLE.

Peace and the Peace Movement.

"And He shall judge among the people, and rebuke strong nations afar off; and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks: nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."—Micah iv. 3.

DURING the past week the Interparliamentary Conference, composed of delegates * from most of the parliaments of the civilized countries, met at Geneva, the object being to make war superfluous by the substitution of legal means, and so bring about a cessation of international conflicts. The Nineteenth Universal Peace Congress is again meeting this week in Geneva, uniting peoples of all countries and languages in order to study practical means for the peaceful solution of conflicts between the nations, and to determine a channel of thought favourable to Peace.

It would naturally seem that this Sunday, placed between the two Congresses, and in such an assembly as this, should be devoted to the treatment of this important

* Nearly 4,000, out of 12,000 Members of Parliaments.

subject, not only in a general manner, but specifically from a religious point of view. For we are of those who believe that the Church, if she would not be put on one side with more or less contempt by a progressive humanity, should take an interest in all vital questions which agitate this humanity, and even, so far as possible, take the lead in all movements which are in harmony with the Spirit of Christ.

This is why I can do no other than touch upon this solemn question, so much the more as I desire upon this point, as upon all others, to adhere as closely to the Bible as possible, or at least to be true to its general spirit, even though upon certain points it seems to contradict itself. My text, which is also to be found in the second chapter of Isaiah, is in harmony with the main current of spiritual prophecy, which is the current of the Holy Spirit, and with this declaration of Christ: "Ye are all brethren" (Matt. xxiii. 9); which saying contains the idea of the unity of mankind which we find in Genesis, and that of the human family described in the Apocalypse. It must therefore be the duty of a preacher of the Gospel to touch lightly upon a question of such importance.

Oh! I know quite well that as a result we shall have more or less bitter criticisms, more or less untruthful calumnies. It will be said to us as it was, when, not long since, we protested against the Russo-Japanese war, that we are bad patriots. As if true patriotism did not consist in sustaining all causes of justice and brotherhood. We shall be told that war is necessary to develop energy and manliness; as if the fight for life, and above all the struggle

against evil, were not quite sufficient to attain this end. We shall again be told that the Bible never condemned war, and that the massacres of the Canaanites, ordered by that man of God, Joshua, are a proof thereof; as if after the coming of Jesus Christ we should remain at the point where men were under the Old Testament dispensation. They will go so far as to pretend that we incite citizens called to do their military service to rebellion; whereas on the contrary we believe that under existing conditions the Christian has to perform his duty in contributing to the defence of his country. No matter how this may be, we must go forward, provided we have the inner conviction that we are in accord with God the Father, whom Jesus Christ has revealed to us.

Granted that mockery and criticism in these matters are very easy, especially by those simple souls who do not see far ahead, do not the facts appear to contradict the modern pacifist movement? In spite of the numerous Peace Congresses, war still exists; but it is precisely for this reason these Congresses are held. They will draw attention to the moment when the Russian Emperor proposed the Peace Conference, and shortly afterwards war was declared between that Empire and Japan. To reason thus is to forget that throughout the centuries the men of progress, the greatest discoverers, have always been regarded as Utopians, visionaries and sometimes as madmen. It is said that Thiers, who was not exactly a fool, was uneasy at the appearance of railways, and maintained that when the peasants saw the trains go by, they, or even the passengers themselves, would lose their heads; he therefore counselled

the construction of partitions along the routes. The true benefactors of humanity are not those who follow routine and are governed by it, but rather are they men of heart and conscience, not to speak of sound and practical reason, who have raised humanity higher by breaking through certain prejudices which have occasionally become nightmares.

We shall not be there to witness it, but we have the certain conviction that in fifty or a hundred years, perhaps even sooner, war will appear as such a relic of barbarism that those who uphold it will astonish and perplex our successors. The fool of to-day will certainly be regarded as the wise man of to-morrow.

Therefore we can but applaud the efforts of the numerous Congressists, official and otherwise, who are seeking with an intelligent and practical loyalty the solution of the serious and very difficult problem of the suppression of war, and if amongst them there are side by side the disciples of Christ, Freethinkers, Jews and Freemasons, we will none the less show our hearty sympathy. What shall I say? In seeing them we shall be humiliated to think that they have accomplished what Christians ought to have done long ago. It would be easy to show that the earliest pacifists were disciples of Jesus Christ; at first they were the primitive Christians, later the Moravians, Quakers, etc.

In order to be effective our sympathy must not remain a theory; and I wish in the following pages, leaving my text, to show some possible directions in which its realisation may be effected. I may indicate four quite practical

means which are at our disposal for helping the cause of Pacifism.

I.—We ought to believe in the possibility of the suppression of war, and not look upon it as a beautiful dream, or as a magnificent ideal, so far off that humanity will never see it, but as a possible ideal to be realised by the united goodwill of each and all. To-day we can foresee this possibility, thanks to the proposed means! Peace Congresses, Conferences, Arbitration Courts, Limitation of Armaments, currents of opinion more and more powerful, etc. To cite one example, do not let us forget that the number of treaties for international arbitration has multiplied in the second half of the last century in a most satisfactory manner:

From	1840 to 1850	...	there were	6
„	1850 to 1860	...	„ „	15
„	1860 to 1870	...	„ „	22
„	1870 to 1880	...	„ „	24
„	1880 to 1890	...	„ „	42
„	1890 to 1900	...	„ „	63

Do not these significant figures permit us to suppose that, thanks to arbitration, many wars have been averted during the last 50 years?

All these means should create—and this is most important—a new mentality, a pacifist mentality; and in order to form this, women and mothers in particular can exercise a considerable influence. May I be allowed here to address a few direct words to those women who may read these lines, for I have observed, not without pain, that woman has often been more bellicose than man, and when war breaks

out we must ask as usual, "Cherchez la femme"? One knows the saying of the Empress Eugenie, wife of Napoleon III., at the time of the declaration of the war of 1870, "This war, it is my war!" Regarding this, I myself have had an unpleasant experience. A few years ago, having preached on the subject of Peace, two or three young women, after hearing me, said, "As Mr. Thomas is against war we will never again go to hear him!"

Ah! sisters, if you only knew the enormous influence you could exert for good or for evil! That day when all women, or at least the majority, will say of war, "Thus far and no further!" that day will war cease to exist. If they would from infancy, I was going to say from the cradle, instil into the minds of their sons and daughters that war is an abomination and a relic of barbarism, we should see great changes accomplished in the world, and there would be a nobler part assigned to women in fighting against war than now in merely abstaining from it themselves.

II.—In order to attain this reality, the establishment of Peace, we absolutely must all work to develop confidence amongst nations. It has been said and repeated more than once in the Interparliamentary Conference, "That which is lacking is confidence among the nations." In this regard the press, at least the greater part thereof, deserves the most serious censure. To make money, to increase its profits, to do good business, it not only is pleased to recount scandal, all the horrors that happen and that do not happen, in the civilised world, but it also does not lack occasion to spread false rumours, provided they are sensational, to encourage the people to think they should be suspicious of one another,

and even to hate one another, instead of loving and understanding one another. The Press united to Capitalism is at the actual moment one of the most redoubtable dangers of war, especially at a time when material interests are at a premium; wars are more and more likely to be made for economical reasons rather than for the honour of the flag.

When one thinks, for instance, of the ditch which the Press has dug, and which it persists in digging, between Germany and France—those two countries which ought to get on so well together, those two peoples whose united qualities could contribute so powerfully to the welfare of contemporary humanity—one cannot hesitate to deplore bitterly the existence of misunderstandings, and the part played by the Press in creating and maintaining them.

The ancient idea of exclusive patriotism, forcing man to consider the stranger as a barbarian, ought to disappear from the mentality of man, however little intelligent and cultivated, especially as through his travels man perceives that all peoples have their good and bad sides, and that in order to secure progress a true and cordial understanding must obtain.

III.—But in order to arrive there, to bring about the triumphs of Peace, one must have Peace within oneself. I am convinced that war between men is the fruit of war in man; it is because this Peace does not reign in man as it should that it is difficult to establish it between men. We generally radiate around us that which we possess within ourselves. This accounts so often for the different impression, which we receive in the presence of different persons. There are some who are so peaceful, so serene,

that one feels calmed near them; even without words nerves are calmed, simply by their presence. There are others who, on the contrary, excite and agitate us, with whom we lose the calm we had. You may be sure the former possess within themselves a Peace of which the latter are deprived.

It has been imagined that war was nothing less than the continuation of nature, and that man, in going to war, simply imitated the example which nature had given him. This is partly true; the fight for life is an undeniable reality; and yet we see no animal species organise and arm itself with a view to war, and even if there were one, I do not see why we should imitate it.

But it must be confessed that the true reason for war is not imitation of nature, but rather the fight of man in and with himself, the hidden conflicting in the depths of his own heart, impelling him to fight his brethren.

How shall this inner peace be attained? In giving our higher nature supremacy over the lower. We notice there are several personalities in man, in each personality several states; even as our mountains have different strata, so there are successive layers in each personality, and, in particular, a lower stratum which is the animal in us, and a higher stratum which is spiritual man. We all know very well that in the depths of our being lies hidden a wild animal —a cave-dweller—more or less terrible and savage. War brings him out, gives him full satisfaction, and one sees peaceful men, led on by war, become carnivorous, drunk with blood, but with this difference always:—that an animal once satiated stops, held back by its instinct; while

man, because he is free, often shows an unlimited thirst in satisfying his passions, to the point of not knowing how to stop.

I remember, as if it were yesterday. that when I did my military service, in what we call the little war, I should have liked to have had a bullet in my gun so that I might have seen the enemy fall upon whom I had fired.

The question is to know to which part of our being we desire to give the pre-eminence. Does not the development of real civilisation consist in silencing the animal in us in order to give the spiritual man the victory and crush the brute, that is—to make love triumph over egotism? It is at this price, and this price only, that we can have Peace within, and, having it ourselves, we can radiate it around us.

IV.—But we must go further and deeper. Without in the least despising the efforts of the Freethinker, more or less unbelieving, to gain Peace, for we foresee a social condition wherein Peace will be established through the principles of justice, or simply out of general interest, and because man will recognise the absurdity of war and the impossibility of keeping up armaments which weigh down the budget more and more heavily, we are, however, persuaded that the mightiest factor in the world for Peace has been, is, and will ever be, the Gospel of Jesus Christ, of whom it is said: "He is our Peace." He made Peace for us on the Cross and came to establish this Peace on earth, in destroying the wall of separation which existed between men, and which is nothing but enmity (Eph. ii. 14-18). The song of Christmas was right in proclaiming over the Bethlehem

manger: "Peace on Earth, Goodwill to men" (Luke ii. 14), and in ascribing directly to the new-born infant the reign of true Peace. Note carefully He whom the prophet calls the arbiter of nations is not some human being, or a tribunal as highly placed and impartial as may be, but is God Himself; and when the prophet Daniel would show us a transformed earth and a regenerated humanity, he makes the Son of Man to appear as descending from Heaven; One whose empire succeeds to that of the wild beasts preceding (Daniel vii.). Isaiah begins by describing David's offspring as full of the Spirit of the Eternal, and bringing justice, equity and mercy to his brethren, before giving the sublime description of the peaceful earth: "The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them. And the cow and the bear shall feed; their young ones shall lie down together; and the lion shall eat straw like the ox. And the sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp, and the weaned child shall put his hand on the cockatrice den. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain: for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea. And in that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people; to it shall the Gentiles seek: and his rest shall be glorious" (Isaiah xi. 6-10). Thus it is to Jesus Christ, and to Him alone, that the prophets, and later the apostles, ascribe the triumph of Peace on Earth. How could it be otherwise, as it is He, and He only, who has been able to establish this threefold Peace,

the condition of true pacifism : Peace with God, Peace in man, and Peace between men ? the more so as Jesus Christ is the only one who has laid the foundation of true human brotherhood, in revealing to us the divine Fatherhood. Children of the same Father, we are all brethren, and we ought to love one another as brethren : " Ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus. There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female : for ye are all one in Christ Jesus " (Gal. iii. 26 and 28).

We have already realised something of this universal brotherhood, deep and real, in International Congresses such as the Young Men's Christian Associations, or Societies of Christian Activity. There we have seen men of every country, nationality and speech, proclaiming their brotherhood and mutual love ; we have heard them repeat in chorus, each in his own tongue, the Lord's Prayer, and we have had an intuition of what might be some day, a humanity entirely penetrated with the Spirit of God, reconciled with the Father and itself through the great Elder Brother. Then we understood that the great saying of Jesus Christ, the testament which He left to His disciples before dying, would be one day the most glorious reality : " Father I pray— that they may be one, even as we are one : I in them and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one ; and that the world may know that thou hast sent me, and hast loved them, as thou hast loved me" (John xvii. 22 and 23).

Brethren, humanity seems to me to pass through three principal stages : in the first man is strong and glorious according to the number of beings he has overcome and

even crushed, such as the Indian, who is esteemed in proportion to the number of enemies he has scalped : the heroes of this phase are the Alexanders, Cæsars, and Napoleon I., who are great in the proportion to the number of men they have caused to die. Then comes the second stage where man is esteemed according to the measure in which he has overcome and governs himself, where he does not rush when he might, and puts forth his whole energy to conquer himself instead of conquering others. The Stoical phase, infinitely more interesting than the preceding, but which must be followed by a third, the one that Jesus Christ has inaugurated in the world, where the lion becomes a lamb, where man is valued, not according to the victories he has won for others or over himself, but according to the good he has done to his neighbour. Not only does he no longer crush others, not only does he no longer content himself with subduing himself, but he gives himself, he forgets himself in devotion. He is rich in proportion to the wealth he gives, strong in the measure in which he imparts his strength, living according to the degree in which his life radiates. This is the Christian ideal. Is it yours, dear reader ?

Picture to yourself the glory of a modern sovereign, who, through a really Christian movement would put a stop to the nightmare of war which haunts and torments our generation, in restoring liberty to this or that province conquered through war, thus recognising the rights of their inhabitants, which is given to every human creature, for instance that of a wife giving herself to her husband freely out of love. Would not such a ruler have

performed the most Christian act in history? And, I am not afraid to say, the wisest and most politic. He would be the man of the future, for the Holy Spirit, that cannot mislead us, tells us in Scripture that "the day will come when one nation will no more draw the sword against another, and the art of war shall not be taught any more."

May Thy government of Peace
Embrace all nations of the world
From henceforth and for evermore :
That both on water and on land
All knees may bow in faith and love
In Thy name, Lord Jesus Christ.

Glory to the Holy Ghost !
Glory be to God the Father !
Glory be to Jesus Christ !
Our Saviour and our Brother
Whose infinite charity
Endures throughout eternity.

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*7598.325

SECURITY AND WORLD PEACE

A Radio Debate in
Boston, October, 1925

By
Mrs. LUCIA AMES MEAD
and
Rev. RAYMOND GRANT

WASHINGTON, D. C.
NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR PREVENTION OF WAR
1926

NATIONAL CAPITAL PRESS, INC., WASHINGTON, D. C.

Security and World Peace

The following debate on Security and World Peace by Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead and Rev. Raymond Grant was given over the Boston WNAC Radio, under the auspices of the Federation of Churches of Greater Boston, October, 1925, and printed in full in the Boston Herald.

MR. GRANT.—Good evening, Mrs. Mead. I understand that you are a pacifist and are going to show us how a wicked world can gain security and peace by the Golden Rule. Suppose you begin.

MRS. MEAD.—As to being a pacifist, I never say whether I am one or not until I know what one means by the word. Of course, the word means simply peacemaker. Pacifist is a very vague term, as vague as the word "Christian." When you say "Christian," you do not know whether it refers to Mrs. Eddy, or the Pope, or Theodore Parker, or John Wesley. The word pacifist has been dragged in the dust and is supposed by many to denote a fool or coward, one who would not risk his skin to defend his country. One of the Nobel peace prize winners said, "Peace, according to pacifism, means a condition of organized living together among nations."

I am interested in organized living together between nations as well as organized living together between individuals, between cities and between states; and I believe in taking the first step before the fourth. The first step is to enter the world court. Do I understand that you are a militarist?

MR. GRANT.—Certainly not. Pacifists malign us soldiers as much as you think we malign them. Soldiers detest war and want no more of it. But we see that as there are bandits and thugs in our communities, so there are bandit nations trying to grab other people's territory.

We know that there always has been war and that, until you can change human nature and get rid of selfishness, you are always going to have war. Man is the highest order of animal, and like other animals he fights and always will fight; there is a great deal of the tiger still in us. I say, stand guard and throttle the foe that dares invade our borders. Wars are as certain as floods and earthquakes. You can't change human nature.

I don't call all pacifists cowards. I have seen Quakers under shot and shell carrying off the wounded. But I think their doctrine of non-resistance is too good for this old planet. I'm not a militarist. I'm simply a practical patriot and know that war is going to come in the future as it has in the past and that if we don't get good and ready for it, we shall play the fool and lose out.

"Brutes Kill to Get Dinner and That Is Not War"

MRS. MEAD.—That was just what I supposed you thought, for that doctrine is preached at West Point and Annapolis, and is sincerely believed in by all militarists. A militarist is not one who wants war. No one wants war. But every militarist holds just that philosophy, and that is what makes him a militarist. You raise points that must be taken up in detail. You believe that as animals kill, so man likewise kills. But did you ever think of the world-wide difference between killing your own species and killing other species? The tiger, lion and snake act normally. They are out to get dinner and they kill other species. That is normal. Brutes never go en masse to kill their own species. A pack of wolves goes to the sheep-fold, not to fight another pack of wolves. Getting dinner is not war.

War is the collective destruction of one's own species. The butcher kills pigs and cattle and acts normally. The man who trains to use the bayonet on a target that will wiggle—one of his own fellow men—is doing the abnormal

thing. Man studies science so as to be able to poison or mangle those of his own species with whom he has no quarrel, whom he never saw before. War, like slavery and witchcraft, will end as soon as men think differently. There is no biological basis for it. It is merely a question of thinking. International war could be ended in this generation.

MR. GRANT.—Isn't that a Utopian dream? How can you abolish in your lifetime what has been a dominant passion since man began to be man?

MRS. MEAD.—Science is now refuting that old assumption. The caveman never went to war.

He couldn't, because he did not know enough to. Man had first to invent language; then weapons; to acquire private property; to learn to organize and subject himself to discipline and orders. That probably took him 100,000 years. Scientists now show that the greater part of man's existence on the globe was before he knew how to use collective force. War is a comparatively modern thing. It is a product of civilization, like slavery, forgery, graft, opium culture, intemperance, smuggling and many evil things. It is an acquired, an unnatural accomplishment employed by the most highly technical and clever nations.

MR. GRANT.—But what ground have you for thinking that, with the tremendous power which the nations have today, they are ever going to give it up? When Asia and Africa learn as much science as we, shall we ever dare to lay down arms?

Points to History to Show Spread of Peace

MRS. MEAD.—Study history. Immense areas of the world's surface have already achieved peace within their borders where formerly, in Dante's day, one city fought another city and Italy and Germany were all divided into tiny sections, every now and then warring with each other.

Now each has common customs, a common flag and a common army. A united Italy and a united Germany are strong and at peace within their borders. All this has come about without any change of human nature, nothing but larger interests, a larger allegiance, new ideas.

The greatest illustration is the 400,000,000 black, white, brown and yellow people under the Union Jack who speak 150 different languages, and have scores of religions. They keep the peace, as do the 110,000,000 people under the stars and stripes. Once we had customs duties between New York and her neighbors; we were suspicious and quarrelsome. We got a substitute for war, got to thinking differently and, since we became a republic, there has been no war between one State and another.

MR. GRANT.—How about Ireland and India? Do they love England? Isn't India held down by main force? May there not be an awful explosion any day in the Mohammedan world that will require all of the British army and navy to suppress?

MRS. MEAD.—Perhaps. But the point I am making is that an enormous area of the world's surface has achieved organizations which have suppressed warfare between states, even in such countries as ours where murder and lawlessness within the States are phenomenal. Where there has been gain in security it has come through organization and the extension of common interest. Murder and other spasmodic and individual violence will be the last forms of violence to be put under control. War between nations can end in this generation. Civil war, riots, revolution may continue indefinitely; they are in another category, but will be much lessened as soon as international war is taboo.

China with Peaceful Policy Now Football of Nations

MR. GRANT.—What I want to ask is, do you want to chinafy the world? China had enormous population and

a peaceful policy for thousands of years, but she is now the football of the nations.

If she had had a good modern navy, do you suppose that Japan would have imposed on her the 21 demands? Would she have ignominiously had opium culture forced on her, and control of her tariffs, and an extraterritorial court? Would western nations have got such concessions? China has tried non-resistance and it has been her ruin.

MRS. MEAD.—Had China, which is rich in coal and iron and natural resources, had western science and known how to exploit her riches herself and had she had central organization, she could have held her own with all the nations of the earth, navy or no navy. She has been imposed on because over 90 per cent of her people are illiterate and hampered by a frightfully difficult method of writing and communication. Yet, spite of this, her peaceful boycott of foreign goods, her proud refusal to work for the foreigners, now are making them eat humble pie, as much as would a naval engagement. The old warlike nations have disappeared, and great Spain has become a fifth-rate power without colonies, and all the nations that fought in the world war are buried in debt. China alone of all the ancients survives. She has kept her place 4000 years. Better a live dog than a dead lion.

MR. GRANT.—You say that collective armed force is modern; that it is abnormal; that, if we properly organize, we can get rid of it within a generation and without any change of human nature. Now I happen to remember the Boston police strike. We tried an experiment that we shall never try again. We went without police for nearly 24 hours. We sha'n't soon forget the looting and the scare we had.

Now all we want an army or navy for is to act as a national police. We are not aggressors. We are not

wanting to conquer any territory. We are and always have been a peace-loving people. But we are the richest nation in the world, and nations don't like a creditor who insists on being paid. Do you want us to surrender or do you want us to have a national police force of cruisers and submarines and air-planes to protect our women and children and save us from a shameful invasion?

"We Shall Always Need Police, Sheriffs, Militia"

MRS. MEAD.—Police functions and those of army and navy are as far apart as the east is from the west. Police we shall always need. Sheriffs and state militia we shall always need. Their function is to protect and to promote justice. They are not rival bodies. The police of Lowell are not preparing to defend themselves against the police of Fall River. The militia of Massachusetts are not expecting to be attacked by the police of Connecticut. Of course it is the business of police to arrest criminals and take them to court, but they are equally engaged in kindly, protective work,—guiding the traffic, etc.

Note, I say "court." There, judge and jury settle the punishment according to law. The police are not allowed to punish; they give their testimony and return to their beat. Do armies or navies ever send to court? Certainly not. They are the instruments of nations that refuse to go to court and say, "We will settle this question of boundary or honor by poison gas and explosives."

Armies and navies are always rival bodies. We shall give up ours when there is a general agreement. Sometime we may have an international police, but we have none yet.

It would be employed only in the remote contingency of an organized world calling upon the different quotas to unite in driving home an invader that refused to arbitrate.

MR. GRANT.—I guess you are right about the distinction

between police functions and army functions, but you don't say how we are to protect New York. What force is going to keep the Woolworth building from being blown to pieces if Uncle Sam holds his hands and invites invasion?

Mrs. Mead.—It is certain that we shall not abolish armies and navies until other nations do. But that is no reason why we should now insist on having a navy as large as Great Britain's. Our coastline is less than half that which Great Britain must protect. Great Britain cannot feed herself. If any one needs a navy, she does to protect her merchant marine.

We are the safest nation in the world—the only one with a great ocean on each side and a northern boundary absolutely safe as long as it remains unguarded. In all our five foreign wars, we lost in battle fewer than we have had murdered in the last ten years. This is an astounding fact. It shows how very slight our danger has been from foreigners, however it may have been with other nations who stand in each other's way. Why a well man should take as much medicine as a sick man I never could see. Our big navy is unnecessary, burdensome to tax-payers. It is looked upon outside as an evidence of growing militarism, kept up simply to make a show and get a certain prestige.

As for our riches being an inducement for attack, a rich man is one thing, a rich nation quite another. A bandit may carry off a pay roll. No nation can carry off our forests, mines, fields, factories and sky-scrapers. We are the goose that lays the golden egg. Those who don't like us want to borrow from us.

Secretary Hughes said last year: "So far as we can see into the future, the United States is not in the slightest danger of aggression. In no single power and in no possible combination of powers lies any menace to our security."

There is no danger of any one's wanting to destroy New York until the nations want to stop borrowing.

Mr. Grant Cites Judgment of Expert Military Men

MR. GRANT.—Aren't you ignoring the judgment of experienced military men, men who have spent years as experts in studying this whole subject of security? If you do not think my position sound, what have you to say to these men?

Admiral Rodgers declares: "War itself is an integral part of law. War is the agency whereby law is made to prevail when it is disrupted by evil-doers."

The Secretary of War in an address at West Point is reported as saying: "If it were not for the restraining effect of military establishments of the nations of the world, an indescribable state of chaos would result and civilization would be rapidly terminated through self-destruction."

Says Gen. J. G. Harbord: "War still remains the supreme act of the state. Permanent, universal peace still remains as an ideal lost in inaccessible distances, until envy, malice, lust and avarice have disappeared from the human heart."

MRS. MEAD.—These statements are typical of the dangerous sophistry common among technicians in the art and science of war. A man may understand all about mustard gas and tanks and machine guns, but it does not follow that his 30 or 40 years of playing war games gives him any power of judgment on the questions that I am now discussing. The militarist focuses his attention on possible enemies. He studies nothing about substitutes for war. His theories are based on false assumptions, and he is just as sincere as he is confused in his thinking. No one should blame him for not being a statesman or a psychologist or a judge. I only blame him when he goes outside his legitimate province and propounds his guesses like an oracle, and fools the public which stands in awe of epaulettes.

As well go to a shoemaker to ask how many shoes you

need as to ask a military man what appropriations are "adequate." None are ever adequate. The distinguished men whom you quote are pitifully confused in their thinking when they get outside their specialty. They would better listen to President Coolidge: "It will always be impossible to harmonize justice and war."

MR. GRANT.—Well, you haven't yet told me how you expect we can obtain security and peace. Your great women's organizations at the conference on "The Cause and Cure of War" spent three days discussing the causes of war—overpopulation, lack of raw materials, tariff barriers, bad education, etc. How do you expect to root these causes out so as to stop war within a generation?

"We Cannot Root Out Causes of Disputes"

MRS. MEAD.—We cannot root out causes of disputes. Those will continue indefinitely, as they continue between individuals and between states. But nations can stop settling these disputes by explosives. Disputes should not be confounded with war. We need not root out the causes of disputes before we can stop war.

MR. GRANT.—Then you think the possibility of ending international war within a generation depends on organization?

MRS. MEAD.—Yes; it depends on the same measures which ended war between individuals, between cities and between states. We have done all that without any change in human nature. Get 500 leading statesmen of the world to provide adequate world organization and we should end war. World peace depends on a very few people. The same principles that created a United States can create a united world. You have the last word.

MR. GRANT.—Our time is up and we recognize our inability to deal with so momentous an issue in the brief period allotted to us. We must leave the matter for public consideration.

Price of this pamphlet:
$30.00 per 1,000; 5 cents per copy prepaid.

AMERICA

AND THE

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The Aspiration Born on the Battlefields that Looks to Statesmen for Something Better than War

By

PHILIP GIBBS

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AMERICA

AND THE

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

THE ASPIRATION BORN ON THE BATTLEFIELDS THAT LOOKS TO STATESMEN FOR SOMETHING BETTER THAN WAR

Since I have been in America one conversation has dominated all other subjects of thought. It is the ideal of a League of Nations, associated with the personality and purposes of President Wilson in his interpretation of that scheme for the reshaping of the world's relationships.

No class of people is definitely divided on this subject from any other class. Its controversy cuts athwart political parties and social cliques.

The attitude and acts of President Wilson are hotly criticised or warmly defended, and, after my first surprise, as a stranger ignorant of political opinion in the United States, I can now see the issues involved. The critics of President Wilson—and there are many among the intellectuals of New York—complain bitterly that he has not taken the nation into his confidence, that he is asking them for a blank check on behalf of pledges which he is making without reference to them—pledges which may involve the United States in European quarrels contrary to all their traditions and interests—and that, by tactlessness and an autocratic spirit, he has flouted Congress to such a degree that they refuse to submit any longer to this challenge of their power and rights.

On the other hand, the President's admirers say that all this

criticism is fastening on to small matters which have but little significance compared with the vast responsibilities which President Wilson is shouldering with a high and simple courage for the sake of American prestige and power in this reshaping of the world's destiny; and that beyond any doubt he has the mass of the American people behind him in his attempt to safeguard humanity from the evil which overtook it in 1914.

As an Englishman here in America, after being an onlooker of war for four and a half years, I confess I am distressed by the violent conflict of thought at present seething among the American people, and threatening to wreck the hopes of all those other peoples who have been scorched and tortured by the fires of that infernal strife in Europe. But one thing is comforting after an analysis of these passionate opinions, as expressed to me by many different types of American citizens—both men and women. It is that through all this division of intellectual argument there is beyond any doubt a general agreement of spiritual purpose. The soul of America, as I have seen it, is not at this moment touched by selfishness. No man in my hearing has ever hinted at a desire for commercial or political advantages which the United States might seize out of the troubles of Europe. On the contrary, hard business men, and professional men like New York lawyers, speak with an unconscious and simple idealism, profoundly touched by emotion, practical and direct words which have no "flummery" in their way of speech.

Their criticism of the League of Nations, if they are against it, is not based on mean views, but on the fear: first, that it will be a mere political machine superimposed upon the peoples of the world without their spirit behind it, and without real power to restrain the evil purposes of nations ready to treat the League as another "scrap of paper" when it suits them; secondly, that it will break down the traditional isolation of America and involve the people of the United States in petty quarrels leading to war.

I do not blame them, for it is a fearful thought to these people who before the war watched the secret intrigues, the hatred and ambitions of small kingdoms, and the alliances of great powers in Europe, with disdain and disgust. But what the American people I have met do not understand—what it is difficult for them to understand—is the passionate yearning of great masses of people for American aid in liberating them from the repetition of horrors through which they have passed in agony.

Among the soldiers of the French Army, as well as among those of the British Army, there was, from the beginning, a sense of despair that civilization itself should have been dragged down to such depths of degradation in the filth of the battlefields, with their wholesale slaughter of youth and of life's beauty and decency. Their hatred of the Germans who were the direct cause of this did not blind them to the larger truth that the whole structure and philosophy of Europe had been damnably guilty, and that if it had been different—O God, in some way different!—not even the Germans would or could have let these devils loose upon the boyhood of the nations and upon women and children.

Over and over again in the early days French officers and men said to me with a thrill of passion in their voices: "If I thought this Thing would ever happen again I would strangle my child in its cradle to save it from such torture." This was said to me not once, nor dozens, nor scores of times, by bloody and bandaged men, but hundreds of times. It was the common, general, passionate thought. And hundreds of times on the British front, in trenches and in dugouts and in officers' messes, our own men spoke to me in a similar line of thought. Deeper than their hatred of the enemy who had brought this thing upon them was their hatred of statesmen and politicians and men of wealth and learning who had failed to foresee the horrors ahead, who had gone on in the foolish old way supporting balances of power, framing secret alliances, influencing national hatred and rivalries, and maintaining the old

philosophy of material Force to hold or to grab, with weakness and inefficiency even in that view of life and its meaning. Young English officers of good family argued passionately in the face of death that all our social structure was wrong and that there would be no hope for humanity for which they were going to die—they knew that—unless some new relationship between nations could be established, giving at least some postponement and respite to the spasms of slaughter between periods of so-called "Peace," which were but a preparation for new massacres of youth.

That conviction has not been killed by victory. It is in the hearts of the living as it was in the souls of the dead—and I write of what I know. It is in the hearts of multitudes of women who gave their first-born—and sometimes their second, and third and fourth—to the devouring monster of War. It is hot in the brains of millions of workmen who watch the politicians of the world with increasing hatred and distrust, because of their failure to avert the frightful catastrophe, and their tinkering, now, with problems which must be handled largely and with an unshrinking courage, in order to make the world clean of the foul outrage against civilized ideals on those corpse-strewn fields in France. Not only clean in that way, but clean also of old social evils which come largely from the crushing burden of militarism, so that, this being lifted, men and women of the people, the Nobodies who are Everybody, may enjoy more beauty of life, get more of the fruits of labor, and build their homes decently, without fear of seeing them in ruins, and free of even the spectre of the wolf at the door.

It is for those instinctive reasons that the great Masses of Europe look to this proposal of a League of Nations with hope, if not with faith. It is all vague to them; they cannot understand by what machinery it will be made possible and powerful; but they believe that, at last, some new arrangement will be made by the statesmen of the world in the interests of the peoples whom they used as food for guns, cannon fodder. Let us be frank and

put it straight and square like that, because that is the naked and terrible truth working in the minds of millions.

If the League of Nations fails, as it may, because it is the most daring effort to lift the organization of human society to a higher plane of hope, and that is not easy of achievement, there is only one alternative. For a time I thought there were two alternatives, the first of which was a new combination of alliances, leading certainly to another race for armaments and another grouping of powers until the time came for the next inevitable war, far more terrible in its sweep of slaughter than the one now passed. But I am certain now that there is only one alternative. What will happen if the League is not established with the impulse of the world's democracy behind it is as clear as sunlight to discerning minds who are in touch with popular passion born out of the sufferings of the war. What will happen is the wild revolt of many peoples against their established forms of government in the mad hope that by anarchy they may gain freedom of their souls and bodies and of their unborn children to enjoy the fruits of labor in larger measure than now, and in safety against the devastating terrors of modern warfare.

The alternative to a League of Nations, democratic in its foundations, and powerful by the understanding and faith of peoples—machinery from above will be of no avail—is Bolshevism. For Bolshevism is the revolt of the mob against leaders who have betrayed it, and against classes who have resisted a new philosophy of life which seeks to replace the fetish-worship of old cruelties by wider brotherhood. It is the madness of mobs, driven to insanity by despair and fear. I have heard the mutterings of that menace in Europe, not only in Germany where the dragon has raised its head, but also in England where it is beginning to stir. America has the supreme chance of any power in the world to-day because she is looked upon by the peoples of Europe as a fair, unselfish, and democratic arbitrator, aloof from their rival-

ries, and untainted by the disease which infected their civilization. American people that I have met do not realize this immense power of their mission, nor do they understand that to the European masses, when President Wilson speaks, he speaks, in their belief, for America herself. Over here, in New York, many people repudiate the assertion that the President speaks for America, and say that he has no authority behind him. If that is so and Mr. Wilson fails and falls, America may lose this great chance in the history of mankind; and in any case, if, with President Wilson or without him, the League of Nations fails, then the world will, in my belief, crash into the gulfs of widespread anarchy.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The Scheme Explained

Reprinted from the London Times
March 10, 1919

LEAGUE OF FREE NATIONS ASSOCIATION
40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston. Tel. 4840 Haymarket

Introduction

Apart from uncertainties and omissions now being cured by the adoption of amendments at the Conference in Paris, the main objections to the Covenant—at least on the part of those who desire any league of nations to prevent war—are based upon a mistaken impression that the United States would assume, under the Covenant, an obligation to follow the dictates of a council, or other body, in which, of course, its representatives are in a minority.

Anyone who studies the Covenant with care will see that this is not the case; that the functions of the Executive Council and Body of Delegates are practically confined to giving advice and making recommendations to the several members of the league, which are at liberty to follow them or not, as they think best.

In fact, the persons who assert that the United States by the Covenant assumes an obligation to obey the Executive Council, or subjects itself to its control, are unable to point to any clause in the Covenant which supports their statement.

From this point of view, the following article from the London Times of March 10, 1919, is highly interesting. It purports to come from an authoritative source, and makes it clear that, in the view of that authority, the functions of the Executive Council and the Body of Delegates are only advisory.

A. LAWRENCE LOWELL

Purpose

The purpose of the League, as stated in the preamble, is two-fold. It is, in the first place, to promote international co-operation; that is to say, it is to establish better and more efficient methods of dealing with the common interests of peoples throughout the world. In the second place, it solemnly binds its members to respect international law and justice, and to refrain from war.

The first seven articles of the Covenant constitute central authorities in which all the activities of the League are to be focussed.

Body of Delegates

There is first a Body of Delegates, representing all the States which are members of the League. Each State may be represented by three representatives. This Body of Delegates is to meet as often as it desires, and can regulate its own procedure by majority votes. It can admit other States to membership of the League by a two-thirds majority vote. It can make amendments to the constitution of the League by a three-fourths majority vote, provided that these amendments are unanimously approved by the Executive Council, the functions of which are detailed below. When dealing with a dispute referred to it by any of its members, it can make a recommendation as to a settlement by a vote of all its members, excluding those who are actually parties to the dispute. Further, in the event of disagreement among its members, other than the parties to the dispute, it can publish majority and minority reports upon the subject in question.

NOTE—This article was published in the London *Times* and was prefaced with the following statement:

> "We have received from an authoritative source the following particulars with regard to the Draft Covenant of the League of Nations laid before the full Peace Conference in Paris on February 14."

These are the only cases in which voting in the Body of Delegates is recognized. That is to say, in all matters of policy, it is an organ for international discussion and regular negotiation, and no State can be bound to any decision or any policy with which it disagrees.

The Body of Delegates has full powers to deal on the above lines with any matter of international importance. But, as its function is not to override any State, but to secure agreement between all its members, so large an assembly will find rapid action difficult.

Executive Council

Consequently, there is established an Executive Council, consisting of representatives of the five Great Powers, and of four other States selected by the Body of Delegates. These nine States, however, must invite to their meetings the representatives of any State directly concerned in their deliberations. Like the Body of Delegates, the Executive Council has full power to deal with all matters of international importance, and can regulate its own procedure by majority votes.

Like the Body of Delegates, too, it can make a recommendation as to the proper settlement of a dispute by a vote of all its members excluding those who are actually parties to the dispute, and can, in the event of disagreement among its members other than the parties to the dispute, publish majority and minority reports. These, however, are the only cases in which voting in the Executive Council is recognized. Like the Body of Delegates, its function is to secure international agreement, not to exert any overriding authority.

Executive Council's Functions

The Covenant fixes upon the Executive Council, as distinct from the Body of Delegates, as the organ best constituted to make recommendations on certain difficult matters not settled in detail by the Covenant itself. For instance, the Executive Council is directed to recommend arrangements for disarmament; to

advise the members of the League what steps they should take when any one of them is threatened with aggression, or when any one of them fails to carry out an arbitral award or a unanimous recommendation by the Council or the Body of Delegates in regard to a dispute; to recommend what military or naval force members of the League should bring to bear against a State which goes to war in contravention of the Covenant, and to formulate plans for a Permanent Court of International Justice. To the Body of Delegates, however, are confided two functions in which the Executive Council has no part—namely, the admission of new members to the League and the right of *advising* members of the League to reconsider obsolete treaties.

It is important to realize that this central constitution of the League is intended to place the control over foreign policy directly in the hands of the chief responsible statesmen of each nation. Such matters are no longer to be dealt with by correspondence through Foreign Offices and diplomatists, but are to become one of the main duties of statesmen immediately responsible to the public opinion of their peoples.

Court of International Justice

There is to be a Permanent Court of International Justice, the constitution of which is to be elaborated by the Executive Council, and to which members of the League will be able to submit disputes on which they desire a judicial decision. There is to be a Mandatory Commission, which is to receive annual reports from Powers holding mandates from the League for the administration of certain territories in Africa and the Pacific, and for the assistance of certain new States in Western Asia. There is to be a Permanent Bureau of Labour, which is to co-ordinate and bring up to as high a level as possible the Labour legislation of all countries. The constitution of this Bureau of Labour and the definition of the terms of each mandate in Africa, Western Asia, and the Pacific are being made the subject of separate detailed agreements not yet laid before the world.

Prevention of War

One great problem remains. If all this machinery of international action fails to satisfy the interests of the various peoples; if, in spite of the advance which it makes over the old diplomacy, wrongs are left unredressed, or national demands unsatisfied; if the habit of international co-operation developed by continuous common work in the various practical branches of the League's organization proves insufficient to avert serious disputes or to allay popular unrest or military ambitions, how are such disputes to be settled, and how is war to be averted?

The middle part of the Covenant deals with this problem. Articles 8-11 recognize the possibility of threats to the peace of the world, and charge the Executive Council with the duty of drawing up plans against any such danger. Armaments, as being in themselves a cause for war, are to be reduced, but not below the point required by national safety and by the obligation of each member of the League in certain eventualities to come to the aid of its fellows. All members of the League are pledged to preserve each other against external aggression and the League is to concern itself with all dangers which may threaten the peace of nations. Reliance is placed upon the fact already explained that the policy of the League is placed directly in the hands of the responsible statesmen of all the Powers in personal consultation. If men of such authority and power are unable, when danger is foreseen, to agree upon adequate measures of protection, then it is vain to hope that the Conference at Paris can devise such measures in advance.

Arbitration

In the case of some such disputes, the parties may be willing to refer the question at issue to arbitration. If so, they are left free to choose their own tribunal, but when the tribunal they have chosen has given its award they are bound to carry it out in full good faith. If they do not do so, the Executive Council is to propose

what steps can be taken to give effect to it. Statesmanship and wisdom in dealing with difficult issues cannot be defined by a foot rule in advance. Discretion must be left to the responsible elected representatives of the peoples assembled in the Executive Council.

If the parties to the dispute cannot agree to refer it to arbitration they are bound not to resort to war until they have submitted it to the Executive Council, or, if either party so desires, to the Body of Delegates. They must then allow the Executive Council or the Body of Delegates six months within which to arrive at a settlement, and if the Executive Council or Body of Delegates recommends a settlement they must wait for another three months before going to war. If during that time one of the parties has complied with the recommendation, the other party may take no war-like action against it.

If these central obligations and pledges are violated by any member of the League, Article 16 provides that all the other members shall immediately sever all relations with it whatsoever, and shall prevent all intercourse between it and any other State, whether a member of the League or not. Further, the Executive Council is to recommend what military and naval action shall be taken.

Case for Discretion

One case is not provided for in the above. The Executive Council or the Body of Delegates may make a unanimous recommendation against a State, and that State, while not going to war, may simply refuse to carry out the recommendation or to redress the wrong which it has caused. In such a case the coalition of force is not called into being. The Covenant merely provides that the Executive Council shall, in such event, propose the measures necessary to give effect to the recommendation. Here, again, discretion is left to the responsible statesmen of democratic countries to give effect as required to the collective popular judgment of the world.

The Covenant also provides that the coalition of force may be called into being against a State which is not a member of the League, and which, after refusing to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of an international dispute, goes to war against a member of the League. The Executive Council has also a general power of taking into consideration disputes between two States neither of whom are members of the League, and both of whom refuse to accept the obligations of membership for the purpose of a dispute.

No Secret Treaties

Finally, Articles 23–25 of the Covenant deal with one of the main causes of international unrest in the past—namely, the existence of secret or obsolete international treaties or understandings. Every future treaty is to be made publicly and registered with the secretariat of the League, and the Body of Delegates is to recommend the reconsideration of treaties which may appear to have become inapplicable to existing conditions. Treaties inconsistent with the Covenant itself are to be abrogated.

In a changing world the League may be called upon to face difficulties now unforeseen. Reliance is not placed on a rigid system which might create a false popular sense of security. The Covenant seeks rather to direct the attention of the peoples of the world to foreign policy and to international relations as one of the chief responsibilities of democracy, and enables them to find their own security in that continual vigilance which has so often been called the price of liberty.

A PRIMER OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT

BY

LUCIA AMES MEAD

NINTH EDITION
REVISED

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY
WASHINGTON, D. C.
1915

The following pages contain the revision of 1915, the ninth edition of the enlarged text of the illustrated exhibit of the American Peace Society at the World's Fair, St. Louis, 1904, which received a gold medal. The Primers are sold at ten cents a copy, $5.00 a hundred. American Peace Society, Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.

FOREWORD.

Christian nations in 1915 are enacting the greatest tragedy in all the ages. The world now stands at the turning point of human history and the fate of civilization hangs in the balance.

The European war differs from every other war, not merely, because it is employing 28,000,000 men, is spending $50,000,000 a day and is carrying bitterness and bloodshed into three continents, like a dozen wars in one, but because, since Napoleon's day when travel was no faster than in Abraham's time, the world has become organic, complex and sensitive, and now all neutrals suffer with belligerents. This war is destroying the world's capital and impoverishing customers; there is pinching poverty in Alabama, Brazil and China, and higher prices everywhere. The world's innocent suffer with the guilty. Had war ended forever in July, 1914, three generations of prosperity without the burden of arms could not have wiped out the world's old war debts. The interest on them was all that many could pay. The incredible sums now spent are borrowed from the inheritance of the unborn. Future generations, unable to bear the intolerable inherited burden, may repudiate it and thus bankrupt and overthrow their governments.

Causes of the European War.

There are two wars with two distinct political causes. The Eastern war is largely the outcome of the Balkan war and of the rival ambitions of Russia and Germany.

The Western war is due to the alliance of France with autocratic Russia: this compelled her in loyalty to fight, but most unwillingly. France had abandoned her earlier intention to regain Alsace-Lorraine but, finding her death rate almost reached her birth rate while Germany's population increased by 20,000,000, she allied herself with Germany's rival and loaned her enormous funds, part of which were pledged for armaments.

Could France have broken her alliance with Russia, Germany, who was loth to fight her, would not have invaded Belgium, and France, Great Britain, Canada, Australia, Africa, and Japan would not have been dragged into war.

The psychological causes of the war are the fallacies, economic illusions and confused thought which were for generations taught

by militarists, legislators, editors and preachers. These men, though educated in technique and science, misread human nature, economic laws and the laws of God.

Christianity has not failed. Its principles were never tried by any government. But church and school sanctioning two codes of ethics—one for the nation, another for the individual—both failed lamentably to teach clear thinking on either ethics or economics and to create the international mind.

The World's Peace.

The world's peace depends chiefly on eight nations, seven of which are "Christian." These eight own nine-tenths of the armaments of the world. Six of them are at work destroying civilization—Russia, Germany, Austria, Great Britain, France and Japan. The seventh, Italy, has her troops mobilized and may go to war. The United States, alone free and unmenaced, bears a stupendous responsibility to help the nations at the war's end to attain a permanent peace. Its peculiar privilege is to show the way to a United World.

The great powers must together take one of two paths. The one leads upward through general reduction of armaments and world organization to peace and progress; the other, downward through continued reliance on force to conscription the world around. This means, presently, an armed Asia facing an armed Europe, and perpetual fear and suspicion, intolerable debt, and the decay of civilization. The world now is one; no nation suffers alone; world problems have become our own. Apathy and timidity here may be fatal not only to us, but to civilization. An agonized world calls upon America for sanity, courage and leadership.

America's Duty.

To refuse increase of armaments until the war is over; to wait, while all possible enemies are becoming poorer and weaker, and not create suspicion and ill will by taking advantage of the situation.

Increase of war preparations now beyond the usual amount would be construed as a menace by tax-ridden Japan. It would lessen our influence with the warring powers when we at the war's close ask for a general reduction of armaments. It might make our action tip the world's balance for more militarism instead of less. The safest nation in the world is called by suffering humanity to show courage, confidence and moral leadership. If we engender panic and suspicion by establishing more military schools and by following the Old World's folly of supreme reliance on force, we strike a blow at civilization and progress.

What Constructive Work for Peace Demands.

1. A convention of neutral nations to band themselves into a League of Peace; to consider conditions of permanent world peace and to try to prevent "fighting to a finish."

2. No indemnities when this war ends; no transfer of land by conquest; an abolition of defensive alliances; a substitution of a Concert of Powers for "Balance of Power."

3. The immediate calling of the Third Hague Conference after the war and the creation of much needed law. There must be collective action for righteous readjustments of abnormal boundary lines, for neutralizing trade routes and for removal of unjust conditions lest these breed further war.

4. The carrying out of the program for World Organization—as sound and healing a remedy for world anarchy as it has been for three-quarters of a century while the physicians of peace have offered it to blind and stubborn governments who now cry out in anguish because they had not taken it.

THE PRACTICAL PROGRAM FOR WORLD ORGANIZATION.

Already Achieved.

1. Some degree of representative government in practically all independent nations, even in China, and the peaceful union of small states to form larger ones, as in Italy and Germany.

2. A Permanent Tribunal of Arbitration opened at The Hague in 1901, with provision for Mediation and International Commissions of Enquiry. In 1907, provision for a Prize Court to decide upon captures made in time of war.

3. For any one of the forty-four signatory nations to lay its case before the Hague Court whether its opponent agree or not, and for a third Conference which was planned for 1915.

4. Prohibition against bombarding or laying tribute on unfortified places.

5. Approval of a Permanent International Court of Arbitral Justice.

6. The Porter-Drago convention, practically preventing the use of force to collect contractual debts.

7. Establishment of an International Institute of Agriculture in Rome by signed treaties of forty-seven nations. The International Postal Union embracing the globe and hundreds of unofficial international organizations. Endowments amounting to the cost of one battleship, to promote justice and peace between nations.

8. Treaties between all the Central American States and also between some other nations to submit all differences to arbitration.

Yet to be Achieved.

1. Treaties by all nations pledging reference of all international disputes to arbitration, or to one or more of the International Courts of Justice yet to be established.

2. The development of Hague Conferences into a Stated World Congress, at first only advisory, but gradually increasing its powers and evolving a code of international law. This will deal not only with measures to preserve peace, but with quarantine, commerce, tariff, and all matters which affect international relations.

3. Gradual disarmament and transference of troops from military to civic service of the state. The principle of non-intercourse embodied in law as penalty for breaking pledges.

4. A small International Police for land and sea.

These measures will not do away with the use of militia and may not end the possibility of civil war for an indefinite time;* but they will end our barbarous international duels by substituting the System of Law for the System of War.

The First Hague Conference.

On May 18, 1899, one hundred delegates of the twenty-six nations that had representatives at St. Petersburg met in the Queen's House in the Wood at The Hague to consider the Czar's rescript issued in August, 1898. The mightiest monarch in Christendom, appalled that the increased cost of armaments was leading to the "very cataclysm they are desired to avert," had urged the nations to discuss the question of limitation and reduction of armaments. For nearly three months the Conference in three committees worked steadily on its problems. Vast numbers of letters and telegrams were sent from America to Andrew D. White and the other American delegates at The Hague, and at a critical moment this strong expression of American opinion had great weight. Though disarmament was not definitely arranged for, a Permanent International Tribunal, as the necessary first step towards it, was agreed upon by the delegates. They also arranged for commissions of inquiry and methods of mediation and conciliation between the signatory powers.

Their achievement was the greatest of the kind in human history. The delegates, who had assembled with misgivings, like those at our Constitutional Convention in 1787, parted in confidence and hope.

The Hague Court was opened in April, 1901. A fine mansion was purchased for it—and used until the Peace Palace provided by Mr. Carnegie was opened in 1913—and a permanent secretary installed. It has now a board of one hundred and forty-four judges from the countries that ratified the Conventions. These judges remain at home until selected to try a case. Recourse to the Hague Court is optional until nations pledge themselves by arbitration treaties to use it. Several jurists have repeatedly been asked to serve at The Hague, and thus have in a peculiar sense become international judges.

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* When civil war in any country becomes a menace to civilization, it may be ended by the friendly offices of a group of States or, as a last resort, by recourse to cutting off outside supplies of munitions of war and by the employment of non-intercourse.

The Hague provision for Commissions of Inquiry prevented strife between England and Russia when the Russian admiral in the North Sea fired on an English fishing fleet, mistaking it for Japanese torpedo boats. An international commission of admirals which met in Paris allayed English fury, and Russia paid the widows and orphans more than $300,000 for her blunder. The Hague provision for mediation was used by President Roosevelt when he invited Russia and Japan to send commissioners to settle their war at Portsmouth, N. H.—one of the most romantic achievements of modern history.

The Second Hague Conference.

In June, 1907, the second Hague Conference, the call for which had been delayed by the Russo-Japanese war and the Pan-American Conference, convened with 256 delegates from forty-four nations, representing practically the power and wealth of the world. Hon. Joseph H. Choate headed the American delegation and presented a plea for a Court of Arbitral Justice at The Hague, to supplement (and not abolish) the present Arbitration Tribunal. This was agreed upon, and will be established as soon as any group of nations agrees upon the method of selecting judges. This court will hold regular and continuous sessions, and gradually build up a definite system of international law. The Porter-Drago doctrine arranged for the peaceful settlement of difficulties arising from non-payment of contractual debts. Germany, which had been an obstacle to progress in 1899, led to the establishment of a Prize Court, to adjust ownership of captures in war. This marks the first real concession of the absolute right of sovereignty, and is a very important precedent. The Conference was practically unanimous in endorsing the principle of obligatory arbitration. Among provisions agreed to for lessening the injustice of war was that forbidding bombardment of unfortified places.

A third Hague Conference was planned and, two years previous, suitable preparations were to be made by an international commission to avoid the loss of time incident to the second Conference.

Some Causes of War.

Fear and suspicion, bred of huge armaments. War traders, coining large dividends from war supplies, who own newspapers and promote war scares in order to get contracts.

A military class, ambitious for activity and promotion.

Contempt for peoples who have not white skins.

Lack of power to put one's self in another's place, and a superstitious notion that questions of honor can be settled by explosives.

Ignorant and perverse interpretation of the Bible, judging God's will by ancient Israel's barbaric deeds instead of by Christ's spirit.

Greed for high interest, which war loans provide. Rich investors have much political power, and are made richer by war, while the masses are impoverished. Most wars would end quickly were war loans impossible.

"The vast expenditure on armaments, the costly wars, the grave risks and embarrassments of foreign policy, the stoppage of political and social reforms within Great Britain, though fraught with injury to the nation, have served well the business interests of certain industries and professions."—*The. English Economist, Hobson.*

"That original sin of nations—the greed of territorial aggrandizement."—*Gladstone.*

"You push into territories where you have no business to be and where you had promised not to go. Your intrusion provokes resentment, and resentment means resistance. You instantly cry out that the people are rebellious, in spite of your own assurance that you have no intention of setting up a permanent sovereignty over them. You send a force to stamp out the rebellion. Having spread bloodshed, confusion, and anarchy, you declare, with hands uplifted to the heavens, that moral reasons force you to stay. These are the five stages in the Forward Rake's Progress."—*John Morley.*

Investors. Foreign investments are enormously increasing in weak and poorly governed countries. Poor Asiatics are supposed to be better customers than our own negroes and poor whites and South Americans. Put this year's naval budget into Southern schools, create new wants and resources, and we should have immensely larger sales near home.

The Sensational Press. It enlarges on every misunderstanding and evil rumor. It exaggerates and distorts news with false head-lines—anything to create a fever, sell papers, and coin money. Its readers are fooled, and fooled all the time.

What Might Have Been.

A treaty between Germany and France of delay before hostilities, such as the United States has signed with 30 nations. Had France been able to avail herself of it, Russia would probably not have entered war. At all events the western war would not have come. Had the nations waited but one month, the financial forces would probably have brought pressure to avert war.

Had even one month of the war's cost been turned into constructive work, it could have used $1,500,000,000 in creating all these things in the warring lands:

1,000 Churches, at $50,000 each.
1,000 Public Libraries, at $100,000 each.
1,000 Hospitals, at $100,000 each.
500 City Halls, at $200,000 each.
3,000 schools, at $100,000 each.
500 Factories, at $500,000 each.
10,000 Farms, at $10,000 each.
10,000 Shops, at $10,000 each.
10,000 Engines, at $10,000 each.
150,000 Houses, at $2,000 each.

Common Fallacies.

That armies and navies are but national police, and will be needed as long as police are. Police and armies have totally different functions. Police will be needed until the millennium. Militia will be needed as long as there are rioters and lynchers; but armies and navies might be banished in the immediate future. Police do not punish criminals, but use only that minimum of force necessary to bring them to an impartial court. Armies and navies, on the contrary, settle cases themselves by sheer brute force, without reference to evidence or justice. National armies and navies will diminish gradually, to be replaced at last by a small international armed police. The united action of European and Japanese troops at Pekin foreshadowed this.

That armies and navies are useful in giving employment. So is a Baltimore fire or Galveston flood, a San Francisco or Kingston earthquake. The murder of President McKinley gave work to doctors, bands, undertakers, florists, and reporters. The many suffer while a few temporarily gain.

That barrack drill educates slovenly peasants into clean, well-disciplined men. Were there no armies, hundreds of millions more dollars every year could be turned into schools, with proper physical training, and eventually there would be no ill-fed, slovenly classes left.

That a military expert knows the nation's military needs better than other men do. As well ask an architect whether you need a house, or a dressmaker whether you need a gown, as to ask a soldier whether we need more armaments. It is human nature to magnify one's profession and to want large appropriations. The soldier gets no glory or promotion in time of peace, and naturally wants something to do. The business man is a far more impartial judge of the nation's danger from foreign jealousy.

That we need a larger navy to keep the peace. Our navy already ranks third. It may be second when the war is over. It has no fear of the greatest navy so long as our Canadian line remains unguarded. Our outlay for our navy has increased seven hundred per cent since 1886. We are going wildly beyond the needs of defense, are considered aggressive, and are arousing suspicion and jealousy. Our rich, safe nation, without enemies except those we provoke, of all others can best afford to lead the world toward reduction of arms.

That war kills off surplus population. There is none. The earth is very sparsely settled, and is incalculably rich in resources. We have only begun to see the possibilities of scientific farming. All the population of the globe could be put into Texas, and allow a half acre to each family.

"You can't change human nature." All history gives this fallacy the lie. Nothing in the world is changing faster than human tastes and activities. If our bad instincts cannot be wholly rooted out, they can be kept dormant. Emerson and Lincoln showed better than their savage, tattooed ancestors what human nature is. The European war did not come because men loved slaughter. They loathed it, but were helpless to free themselves from the war system that they had permitted.

"In time of peace prepare for war." This principle is responsible for the European war. It means, when you are friendly with a neighbor, build up a wall between you; be on the alert for insults, and prepare to knock him down. Since opening the Hague Court, the motto for sane nations is, "In time of peace prepare for peace."

War prevents stagnation and makes nations brave and strong. Famines, fires, and floods bring out bravery in some men also. Shall we therefore desire them? War makes far more men immoral, diseased, and cruel than it makes brave and noble. Bravery in battle does not imply courage to vote an unpopular ticket, to do business honestly, or to be brave outside of war. War skims off the cream of manly vigor and leaves a skim-milk nation to produce a weaker race. Napoleon's wars destroyed the strength of France. The French physique has been inferior ever since.* Spain's chronic wars have left an enfeebled race. Peaceful China is the only nation of antiquity that survives.

Nothing but blood can wipe out blood. This is a savage and silly superstition. As well say that only ink can wipe out ink.

Nations will never arbitrate questions of honor or of vital importance. The armed cavalier who fought duels at the slightest provocation, two hundred years ago, thought no court could settle

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* See President Jordan's "The Blood of the Nation."

a question of his honor. His descendants, who carry no swords, pick fewer quarrels and settle even the most vital ones in court. Nations will gradually follow suit as soon as they create a World Court. The skeptics in 1901 said the Hague Tribunal would amount to nothing; but its first case was begun in much shorter time than our Supreme Court at Washington had to wait for its first case. Within the century the World Court will become a universal substitute for international duels or the nations will be on the highroad towards decay.

"Trade follows the flag." All the statistics show the contrary. Trade goes where it finds customers. Only thirty per cent of England's foreign trade is with her own possessions.

True and Sham Patriotism.

Patriotism is not tested by a show of bunting nor making noise nor by boasting of our bigness and our strength, but by daily deeds of service through good citizenship.

Flags and fire-crackers no more indicate service of country than pew-cushions and steeples indicate service of God. Pride of ancestry, interest in genealogy and colonial furniture, admiration for martial music and gold lace are sometimes mistaken for patriotism.

Are not Americans singularly unpatriotic in time of peace—that is, more than nine-tenths of the time? Our civic corruptions, due to civic apathy and general disregard of law, made us a by-word in Christendom. Increase of wealth and opportunity has made multitudes selfish and indifferent to the country's dangers. This means treason to the Republic. It means that we have deserters and cowards as well as patriots in office, factory, shop, and parlor.

What Editors Can Do.

They can largely change the course of history by choosing how and what they will report. If they are first of all patriots, they will be as willing to sacrifice dollars from advertisers and subscribers as soldiers are to lose limb in battle when the country's welfare demands it.

They will dare write unpopular truths. They will forbid "fake" reports and misleading head-lines. They will "blue pencil" flippant comment and cynical sneers upon peace, progress, and justice. They will realize the obligation of doing the thinking for the masses, and will no more poison their minds for a few paltry dollars than they would poison their food.

They will show the relation between imperialism and militarism; they will not confound "expansion," which term refers only to area, with "imperialism," which concerns method of government.

They will show the virtues of other nations as well as our own, will condemn all hysterical talk about a Yellow Peril, and will show the truth of Ambassador Wright's statement that "the talk of war with Japan is not even respectable nonsense."

Said John Hay, Secretary of State: "If the press of the world would adopt and persist in the high resolve that war should be no more, the clangor of arms would cease from the rising of the sun to its going down, and we could fancy that at last our ears, no longer stunned by the din of armies, might hear the morning stars singing together and all the sons of God shouting for joy."

What Voters Can Do.

They can ask all candidates for Congress whether they will join its Arbitration Group, will vote against increase of the navy, and for the neutralization and independence of the Philippines. They can create public sentiment in favor of securing passage by the Senate of the broadest arbitration treaties with all nations and of a pledge by all nations at the Third Hague Conference to begin a general and extensive reduction of armaments. They should keep constant watch on the 530 men in Washington who voice the American Republic. These are constantly surrounded by over 700 "active and retired army and navy officers, who," said Justice Brewer, "are making a military center of our national capital."

What Teachers Can Do.

They can join the American School Peace League,* which has no fees. It has about 45 State organizations, and is initiating similar leagues in Europe. It is powerfully aiding a better teaching of history, literature, and patriotism.

1. Children are natural partisans. Make plain to them that the American Revolution was not a conflict between America as a whole and England as a whole, but between the Liberal and Tory parties in both countries. Let pupils memorize noble passages from Chatham, Burke, and others who sided with us against King George; also Longfellow's "The Arsenal at Springfield," and similar poems.

2. Enlarge on the causes and results of wars, but not on details of campaigns. Show that loyalty to truth and justice is more than loyalty to any man or race or place or party. Teach pupils that we began our three foreign wars since 1789, and lost in them all told less than 15,000 men by foreign bullets. This is only one-tenth the number lost annually by tuberculosis! Our constant, definite dangers are from within; we have no enemies without.

* Secretary: Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, 405 Marlborough street, Boston, Mass.

We sustained the Monroe Doctrine when we had a very small navy. Our great navy implies no more security.

3. Teach the history and significance of arbitration. Teach graphically what *a million* means. Few adults have any conception of it. Utilize for arithmetical problems some of the significant statistics on the cost and waste of war and armed peace. Let children figure up the number of dollars spent if one had been thrown into the ocean on the first Christmas day and continued every minute for 19 centuries and see that this is about what Europe has wasted in one month at the rate of $50,000,000 a day. Never let children sing without explanation such words as "The army and navy forever," or "Then conquer we must, for our cause it is just." This is misleading. In war, justice does not imply success. The strong wins.

4. Celebrate the 18th of May, the anniversary of the opening of The Hague Conference, by instructive exercises in the schools. This is recommended by the superintendents throughout the country.

5. Oppose the movement to put rifle shooting into the schools. No nation taxes its people to teach its boys the art of killing. For us to begin would imply a new danger and timidity on our part that has no basis. Spend the time and money in teaching boys to make friends rather than how to kill supposed enemies.

What Business Men Forget.

Three-fourths of the teachers of the United States are women. The salary of the average woman teacher has been about half that of a garbage-hauler or street-sweeper. Our true national defense is not short-lived battleships, but what teachers can achieve. Our rich country, lying safe between two oceans and with no enemies on earth, spends about $12,000,000 a month upon its navy. Were this sum for only one year put into building up our men, instead of building destroyers of other people's property, each one of our millions of illiterates over ten years old would get a three-years' schooling.

When Washington urged a "respectable defensive posture" for our Government, he obtained it at about $1,000,000 a year. Today, when population is twenty-five times as great, our total outlay for national defense has increased two hundred and fifty times.

Armed peace is probably the chief cause of poverty in Christendom. Two-thirds of the nations' revenues are, on an average, spent upon "national defense."

What Business Men Can Do.

Chambers of Commerce and Merchants' Clubs should send to the World Peace Foundation for a list of all bills pending in Congress every session which affect the peace cause, and should bring their influence to bear after making investigation of these.

Business men can endow lectureships in colleges and theological schools, to provide yearly lectures on international justice and the organization of the world. They can help extend the prizes offered at the Intercollegiate Contests, in which 500 students in 22 States contested in 1914 by orations on peace and arbitration.

They might win worthy fame and help to change the course of history by endowing the American School Peace League, which needs $50,000 annually to reach the teachers and normal schools and enable them to teach history and patriotism from the twentieth-century point of view.

Syndicate articles written by experts should be sent to every newspaper. Economic facts about the cost of armed peace should be advertised everywhere. Why are not business men more practical? When millions can be had for naval displays, our people are criminally neglectful in spending so little to show the public the methods to attain peace with justice. Utilize the moving-picture shows.

What Ministers Can Do.

Preach about international relations in the spirit of Jesus Christ instead of Joshua. Always clearly explain the context of Christ's saying, "I came not to bring peace, but a sword," etc. Never permit "Boys' Brigades" in your church.

Read the history of arbitration, and consider the practical program for the organization of the world. Preach on peace problems until your congregation is adequately informed. Do not confound international peace, which is attainable in a generation, with universal peace, which requires the conversion of the lowest classes in all nations and requires an indefinite time. Always show your audience what are the next practical steps toward peace *and what they can do.* Apply to the Church Peace Union, 70 Fifth avenue, New York City, for information and literature.

After this mad conflict the chief concern of the church must be to interpret one nation's point of view to another and to remove bitterness.

What Parents Can Do.

Permit drums and trumpets, color, music, marching, "dressing up," all that is harmless about military display; but never allow toy guns or soldiers or playing at killing. As well give children

toy coffins, and let them play "hanging," as to permit the ghastly business of shooting human beings to be associated with sport and pleasure.

Substitute beautiful pageants for dangerous sports and lawlessness. Put copies of Verestchagin's pictures of war in your son's room, if he is inflamed with the military spirit. Cultivate imagination—putting one's self in the "other fellow's" place.

Select the newspapers your children read and religiously teach them the significance of the European war, how it could have been avoided, and the only hope of preventing future wars. War news excite, but do not educate immature minds. Discuss politics, world movements, and race prejudices with your boys and girls as if they were as vital as family affairs. Show that you covet for them a keen sense of justice more than high marks or prizes. Teach them that the true culture "counts nothing human foreign."

HISTORY.

Peace Congresses.

The first International Peace Congress was planned in Boston and held in London in 1843. Of its three hundred delegates, thirty were from the United States. The second received its impulse from Elihu Burritt, and was held in Brussels in 1848. The third, in Paris, in 1849, had an attendance of two thousand, and was presided over by Victor Hugo. The fourth was in Frankfort in 1850, and the fifth in London in 1851. Burritt was an active promoter of all of these last.

The Peace Congresses were revived in 1889, and have been held in Paris, London, Rome, Berne, Chicago, Antwerp, Buda-Pesth, Hamburg, Paris, Glasgow, Monaco, Rouen, Boston, Lucerne, Milan, Munich, London, Stockholm, Geneva, and The Hague. Since the meeting in 1903, most European nations have signed arbitration treaties pledging reference to the Hague Court, and France and England, unfriendly to each other for centuries, have quietly settled by diplomacy a half-dozen matters any one of which in former days might have led to war. The mere fact of a World Court being ready to hear disputes causes many cases to be peaceably settled out of court.

The International Peace Congress of 1904 met in Boston in October, and was opened by Secretary Hay. It was by far the largest International Peace Congress ever held, and was followed by great meetings in many American cities.

National Peace Congresses in addition to the international have been held in England, Germany, France, and the United

States. The first National American Peace Congress was held in New York City from April 14-17, 1907, to arouse public sentiment regarding the points to be considered at the second Hague Conference. Secretary Root addressed it, and many thousands of persons attended it. The Second Congress was in Chicago in 1909. The Third National Peace Congress in 1911, at Baltimore, was opened by President Taft. The fourth was held in St. Louis in 1913, and the fifth will be in 1915.

Two National Arbitration Conferences have been held in this country, in Washington, in 1896 and 1904.

The annual Mohonk Arbitration Conferences since 1895, to which Mr. Albert K. Smiley annually invited hundreds of judges, college presidents, captains of industry, etc., have had great influence, and will continue by his provision.

History of Arbitration.

Since John Jay was burned in effigy in Boston for putting an arbitration clause into our treaty with England in 1794, there have been upwards of six hundred international disputes settled by arbitration or by special commissions. The most notable fact is that no nation involved has repudiated its pledge and gone to war. Except the dozen or more cases which have been sent to the Hague Arbitration Tribunal, most of them were settled by special courts or commissions arranged for the occasion. Hereafter, the Arbitration Tribunal will probably settle many such cases even after the Court of Arbitral Justice agreed on in 1907 is finally opened. America had the honor of opening the Hague Court. The first case sent to it was the "Pious Fund" case between the United States and Mexico. The second was the Venezuela case, to which eleven nations were parties. Forty-six nations of the two hemispheres have now no excuse for war with each other. Since 1899, 175 arbitration treaties, some of them still unratified, have been signed between signatory powers.

The United States took the initiative in bringing about the establishment of a Central American Court of Arbitration, which has probably prevented two wars, and Mr. Carnegie gave $100,000 to erect its court building.

Many questions involving honor, *e. g.*, the Alabama Claims, have been arbitrated. Ex-President Taft has rightly maintained that all questions of vital interest and honor can and ought to be peacefully settled.

The New World's Work for Peace.

Following Edwin Ginn's gift in 1910 of $1,000,000 for the World Peace Foundation, Mr. Carnegie gave $10,000,000 for the

Carnegie Peace Endowment. His previous gifts of $1,500,000 for the Peace Palace and International Library at The Hague with a gift of $2,000,000 in 1914 for the Church Peace Union, added to those above mentioned, make a sum far exceeding all that had previously ever been given in the world for the peace cause. Nevertheless, the available income for the peace cause from all foundations and societies in the world amounts to less than the cost of one torpedo-boat destroyer.

A century before the Czar's rescript, Jefferson, Samuel Adams, Washington, and Franklin were zealous advocates of peace.*

The United States led the world in organized work for peace. We established three Peace Societies in 1815—the first in the world. A great wave of peace effort spread over the country during the next generation. Noah Worcester, Channing, Sumner, William Ladd, Elihu Burritt were among its leaders. The International Peace Congresses had their inception in Boston. Here, too, were taken the first steps toward forming the International Law Association of four hundred jurists—one of the foremost agencies for the world's peace. Seventy years ago agitation for a World Court was so common here that Europeans called it "The American Way."

Bolivar, the Washington of South America, did much to promote peace by means of arbitration treaties. The constitution of Brazil decrees that no territory shall ever be taken by conquest.

In 1900, Argentina and Chile were on the verge of war over territorial boundary disputes, but a revulsion of feeling, originating in the noble protest of an eloquent bishop of Argentina, led to an agreement to arbitrate their difficulties. The arbitration satisfied both countries. In March, 1904, upon a mountain pass on the lofty Andes boundary line there was erected a colossal bronze statue of Christ, as a memorial of the compact of perpetual peace between these nations, and as a better guardian of the border than a cordon of fortresses.

Some Famous Workers for Peace.

1. Henry IV of France, who formed his "Great Design" for the federation of Europe.

2. Hugo Grotius. His "Rights of War and Peace," published in 1624, says Andrew D. White, "of all works not claiming to be inspired has proved the greatest blessing to humanity."

3. William Penn in 1693 published his remarkable "Essay toward the Present and Future Peace of Europe."

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* See some of their trenchant and little known statements in Edwin D. Mead's "The Principles of the Founders."

4. Immanuel Kant, the great German philosopher. In his essay on "Eternal Peace" he showed that war would not cease until the world was organized, and that it could not be safely federated until the nations had representative government.

5. David L. Dodge, of New York, founded the first Peace Society.

6. William Ellery Channing, the ablest and most strenuous supporter of peace that the American pulpit has produced.

7. Charles Sumner. In his famous address on "The True Grandeur of Nations" and other great addresses, he worked as earnestly against war as during his whole life he worked against slavery.

8. Elihu Burritt. He secured cheap ocean postage. Half a century before the Czar's rescript he proposed a World Court.

9. The Baroness von Suttner, of Austria, whose story, "Lay Down Your Arms," together with her constant work for peace, won her the Nobel Prize in 1905.

Statesmen and Jurists.

The Interparliamentary Union, composed of about three thousand members of parliaments of different nations, held its annual meeting in St. Louis in September, 1904. Congress voted $50,000 for the entertainment of the foreign delegates. It was founded in 1889 by Wm. R. Cremer, M. P., afterwards knighted, who received in 1903 the annual prize of about $40,000 left by the Swedish inventor, Nobel, to be given to the person who had done the most to promote peace. The Union was founded in 1889 at Paris. It was at the request of the Interparliamentary Union, in 1904, that President Roosevelt called the second Hague Conference, which, owing to various hindrances, was delayed until assembled by the Czar in 1907. Next to the Hague Conferences, this great body of statesmen has been most influential in promoting progress toward peace. The group in the United States Congress has about two hundred and eighty members. Dr. Christian Lange, an able Norwegian statesman, is its permanent secretary.

The International Law Association was formed in 1873, and has a membership of over four hundred jurists and publicists. It is a strong factor in developing international law and promoting better international relations.

United States judges in the Hague Court: Judge George Gray, Hon. Oscar S. Straus, Prof. John Bassett Moore, Senator Elihu Root.

Two Remarkable Books.

Jean de Bloch, eminent economist, financier, and Russian Imperial Councilor, who was born near Warsaw in 1836 and died in

1902, was a poor Polish Jew, who by rare ability rose to wealth and power. As an administrator of railroads, he studied war as affected by food and transportation. His great work, "The Future of War," in six volumes, based on the researches of many experts, is a scientific demonstration of the futility of war today when waged between equal powers. The last volume, summing up his conclusions, is in English. Bloch's book was one of the causes of the Czar's calling the Hague Peace Conference. Bloch met and influenced the delegates at The Hague, and in lectures in Paris and London he exerted a wide influence.

"Norman Angell," in his volume, "The Great Illusion," now translated into over twenty languages, gives a startling revelation of the economic fallacies of the day regarding the relation of armaments to the maintenance of trade and prosperity. He proves how, under modern conditions of business and banking, the victorious nation in war loses more than it can possibly gain; that navies do nothing to create trade; that since all nations have become interdependent, it is for its highest advantage to promote the prosperity and buying power of every nation with whom it trades. The senseless naval rivalry between Great Britain and Germany is shown in a new light and the war has not invalidated the principles of the book.

What Great Soldiers Have Said.

"The more I study the world, the more am I convinced of the inability of brute force to create anything durable."—*Napoleon at St. Helena.*

"War is a most detestable thing. If you had seen but one day of war, you would pray God that you might never see another."—*Duke of Wellington to Lord Shaftesbury.*

"Though educated a soldier, and though I have gone through two wars, I have always been a man of peace, preferring to see questions of difference settled by arbitration. It has been my misfortune to be engaged in more battles than any other American general, but there was never a time during my command when I would not have chosen some settlement by reason rather than the sword."—*U. S. Grant.*

"My first wish is to see this plague to mankind banished from the earth," and, "although it is against the profession of arms and would clip the wings of some young soldiers soaring after glory, to see the whole world in peace and the inhabitants striving who should contribute most to the happiness of mankind."—*Washington.*

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* Mr. Angell is one of the leaders in the "Union of Democratic Control," which since the war began is voicing the sanest sentiment of Great Britain as to plans for a permanent peace and the control of foreign policies by the people. This plan opposes the crushing of any nation as a result of the war and aims at international co-operation.

"I confess without shame that I am tired and sick of the war. Its glory is all moonshine. It is only those who have neither heard a shot nor heard the shrieks and groans of the wounded who cry aloud for more blood, more vengeance, more desolation." "War is hell."—*General Sherman.*

"War will eliminate itself. . . . By the next centennial, arbitration will rule the world."—*General Sheridan.*

Books Recommended.

The Friendship of Nations (profusely illustrated, for young people, 275 pages), Lucile Gulliver. Ginn & Co.	$0.75
The Great Illusion (translated into over twenty languages; an important revelation of economic fallacies), Norman Angell. G. P. Putnam's Sons.	$1.00
Swords and Ploughshares, 18 illustrations (a general survey for the average person), Lucia Ames Mead. G. P. Putnam's Sons.	$0.85
The Two Hague Conferences (valuable for reference), Prof. Wm. I. Hull. World Peace Foundation.	$1.65
Addresses on War, Charles Sumner. World Peace Foundation.	$0.65
Moral Damage of War, 462 pages, Walter Walsh. World Peace Foundation	$0.90
Blood of the Nation, paper cover (how war destroys virility), David Starr Jordan. World Peace Foundation.	$0.15

Pamphlets Recommended.

Published or Supplied by World Peace Foundation,
40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass.

Heroes of Peace.
Outlines of Lessons on War and Peace.
The War; How to teach it in the schools.
Club Women and the Peace Movement.
The Nemesis of America.
The Drain of Armaments.
Woman and War.
Washington, Jefferson, and Franklin on War.
The Mission of the United States in the Cause of Peace.

Supplied by the American Peace Society,
Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.

Pride of War (brilliant narrative), Gustav Jansen.	$1.30
The American Japanese Problem, Sidney L. Gulick.	$1.75
The Christ of the Andes, per hundred.	$1.00
Hymns for Peace Meetings.	$0.05
Women in the Peace Movement, per hundred.	$1.50
Wanted: Aggressive Pacifism, per hundred.	$1.00
The Two Hague Conferences and Their Results (5 cents each), per hundred	$2.50

Supplied by the American Association for International Conciliation, 407 West 117th Street, New York City:

Three Men Behind the Guns, Chas. E. Jefferson (September, 1914).
The War and the Way Out, G. Lowes Dickinson (December, 1914).

Send for full lists of publications of these three organizations.
Sample copy free on application.

"Japan's Message to America and America's Reply," Rev. C. F. Aked, L.L. D., Published by Japan Society of America, Orient Building, 332 Pine Street, San Francisco, Cal.

The Japanese Problem and A New Immigration Policy, Sidney L. Gulick. Bulletins No. 9 and 10, February, 1914. Federal Council of Churches, 105 E. 22d St., New York City.

Since the night
we entered war-

we have been pledged, by the President, to "such a concert of free peoples" as shall make militarism forever impossible.

Read again the President's "War Message" of April 2, 1917; it can be found in any good almanac.

Cover photo (c) and published C. O. Buckingham, Washington, D. C.

To the American Union Against Militarism,

Headquarters: Westory Building,
Washington, D. C.

Please count me a supporter in your fight against the establishment of permanent compulsory military training and service in this country.

Name .....

Address .....

.....

Contribution $ .....

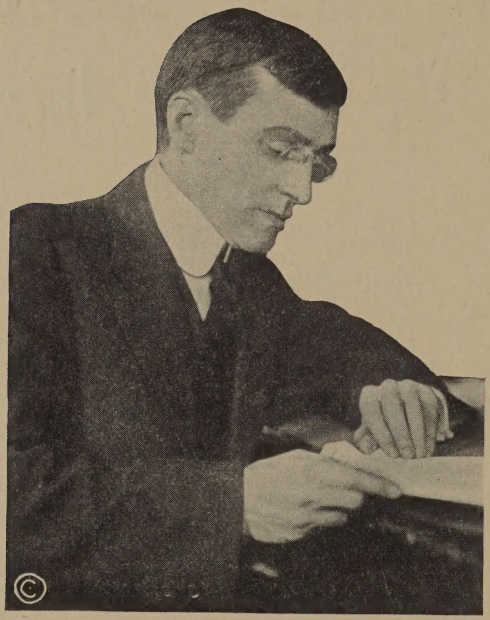
54 54

We need every dollar we can get in this struggle of democracy against militarism at home and abroad.

This solemn pledge was repeated when the President pressed for the Draft Act:

"This legislation [the General Staff's plan for raising an army of 1,000,000 men by draft] makes no attempt to solve the question of a permanent military policy for the country, chiefly for the reason that in these anxious and disordered times a clear view can not be had either of our permanent military necessities or of the best mode of organizing a proper military establishment. The hope of the world is that when the European War is over arrangements will have been made composing many of the questions which have hitherto seemed to require the arming of nations and that in some ordered and just way the peace of the world may be maintained by such co-operations of force among the great nations as may be necessary to maintain peace and freedom throughout the world."
—April 6, 1917.

Secretary Baker reminded us of it again:



Harris and Ewing

"The War Department has not sought and does not seek legislation on the subject [of compulsory military training] chiefly for the reason that the formation of a permanent policy will inevitably be affected by the arrangements consequent upon the termination of the present war. Civilized man must hope that the future has in store a relief from the burden of armament and the destruction of war."

Annual Report to the President, November 20, 1917

And the organized teachers of America promptly said: "We are with you, Mr. Baker!"

"The National League of Teachers' Associations, representing 20,000 teachers, in convention at Pittsburg, desires to express its warm approval of your courage and statesmanship in refusing to be stampeded into the endorsement and adoption of a permanent system of universal military training and service at this time. The American people are in this war, as Lloyd George has said of the English people, to put an end to that monstrous evil everywhere, and it is heartening to feel that under the leadership which we now enjoy we are in no danger of losing the chief end of the war before the war is more than well begun. We are well aware that your moderate and sensible position has cost you some newspaper abuse, but we believe that your course is well understood and is silently approved by the great American people."

Resolutions adopted and telegraphed to Secretary Baker, July 4, 1918.

Our Senate jingoes, led by Chamberlain and Wadsworth, attempted, on March 26 and 29, 1918, to pass a compulsory military training bill but—

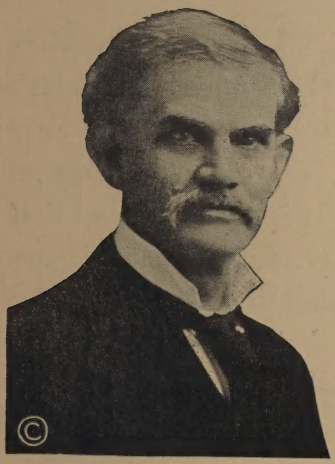
were summarily defeated, 36 to 26, on the following roll call:

YEAS—Calder, Chamberlain, Cummins, Curtis, Dillingham, Fall, France, Frelinghuysen, Gallinger, Gerry, Johnson (Cal.), Kellogg, Kenyon, King, Myers, Nelson, New, Page, Poindexter, Sherman, Smoot, Sterling, Sutherland, Wadsworth, Warren, Watson—26.

NAYS—Bankhead, Beckham, Borah, Fletcher, Gore, Gronna, Henderson, Hitchcock, James, Johnson (S. Dak.), Jones (N. Mex.), Jones (Wash.), Kirby, McKellar, Norris, Nugent, Overman, Reed, Robinson, Saulsbury, Shafroth, Sheppard, Smith (Ariz.), Smith (Ga.), Smith (Md.), Stone, Swanson, Thomas, Thompson, Tillman, Townsend, Trammell, Underwood, Vardaman, Walsh, Wolcott—36.

NOT VOTING—Ashurst, Baird, Brandegee, Broussard, Colt, Culberson, Fernald, Goff, Hale, Harding, Hardwick, Hollis, Kendrick, Knox, La Follette, Lewis, Lodge, McCumber, McLean, McNary, Martin, Owen, Penrose, Phelan, Pittman, Pomerene, Ransdell, Shields, Simmons, Smith (Mich.), Smith (S. C.), Weeks, Williams—33.

And in the cloakrooms they still recall John Sharp Williams' scorching speech, on that occasion, on "sinking to the Prussian level":

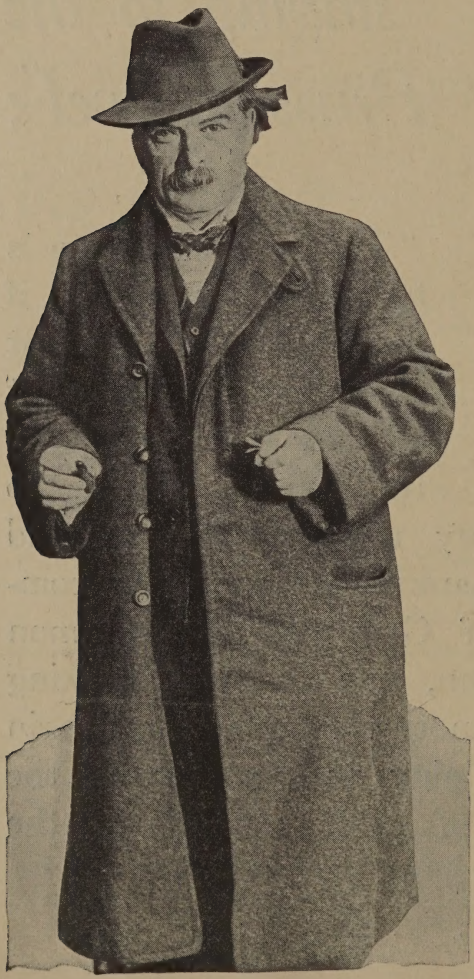


Harris and Ewing

"The thing to do now is to win this war, and if we win this war, to put an end, not only here but all over the world, even in Prussia itself, to universal compulsory military training and service, to make mankind recognize the common fatherhood of God and the common brotherhood of man, and to quit thinking about cutting one another's throats and begin to think about helping one another as the common children of God, entitled to the heritage which God has given us."

Congressional Record, March 29, 1918

Lloyd George announced that England, too, wanted an end to permanent conscription everywhere:



A Delegate — How about universal military training after the war?

Mr. Lloyd George— It is my hope, and that is really what we are fighting for, that we shall establish conditions that will make compulsory service unnecessary, not merely in this country, but in every country. Unless we succeed in establishing those conditions, I personally shall not feel that we have achieved one of the most important of our war aims.

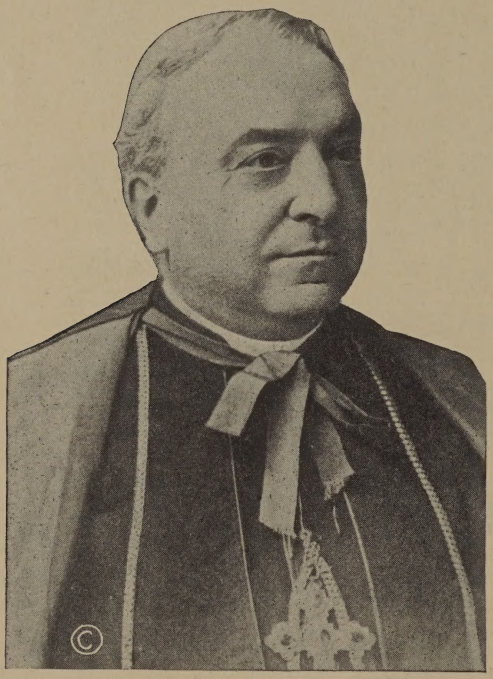
—*London Times, Jan.* 19, 1918, *account of conference with trade union delegates.*

Since then England has remodeled her entire educational system—a gigantic task, for wartime, embracing the repeal of 11 whole Acts and parts of 11 others—and having concluded on mature study that compulsory military training had "neither educational nor military value,' has provided systematic physical training but no military training whatever!

GUARDING THE DYKES

President Wilson: "Stick to it, Mr. Baker. The position is awkward but it makes the kind of history that the plain folks will remember."

Cardinal Gasparri, the Papal Secretary of State, declared in February that the Holy See firmly believed the abolition of compulsory military training and service to be the only possible way of bringing about disarmament:



By Underwood & Underwood

Chicago Daily News, Feb. 9, 1918.

"This is the only effective means" he said, "of securing the limitation of armaments which is desired by all the world to ensue from this monstrous war.

"Every other limitation would prove practically of no force in preventing abuses and violations of agreements, inasmuch as such violations and abuses would always be possible while military conscription was in force.

"Furthermore, the abolition of compulsory training and service would simultaneously involve the abolition of the enormous military budgets which even in peace times eat up such a large part of the resources of European nations, and would therefore automatically furnish a remedy for the financial exhaustion of the nations. Such abolition, moreover would be a great moral satisfaction for an immense number of those people who have suffered in this war and would therefore powerfully contribute to the social peace which is now seriously threatened."

The powerful New York World disposes, in August, of Mr. Roosevelt:

"Mr. Roosevelt, in his Springfield speech the other day, raises the familiar Tory-Junker argument in favor of returning to the military status quo ante. But is manhood so perverse, is statesmanship so bankrupt, that no means can be found for safeguarding the world against a repetition of the horrors in which it has been submerged for more than four years? When this present conflict is ended must the human race remain shackled to the military machine while it works out in semi-industrial slavery the stupendous debt which has been incurred in crushing German autocracy, and likewise work out the stupendous cost of a new program of preparedness? Mr. Roosevelt, of course, is wrong—monstrously wrong. If this war means anything it means that the Tory-Junker system is not only dead but damned. It can have no resurrection unless the self-governing peoples abandon the real cause in which they are fighting. There is no salvation in the old formula of preparedness. This is now pre-eminently a war to end war and a League of Nations is the only way out of the Golgotha of militarism. the one hope of a civilization weltering in blood and agony."*

**Aug. 28, 1918.*

Politiken, the Danish newspaper, tells Europe, in September, that America has sounded the deathknell of the "old-fashioned militarism" based on conscription:

"Last year jeering voices in Germany spoke of America's platonic declaration of war. Nobody believed that America could raise an army of millions in a year.

"Furthermore, it was argued, even if the material were available, how, with short training, could it outweigh the advantages possessed by Germany with years of preparation in arming?

"So they argued in Germany and outside. Now we live to see American transports cross the Atlantic apparently as safely as in peace times. Troops depart and arrive punctually—in August 300,000; in one year about 2,000,000.

"But there lies, in all this, a threat at the root of the old-fashioned militarism. After this war even the most hardened militarists must ask themselves whether there is any sense in throwing millions away on a peace time establishment, when practically the whole machinery can be improvised in a few months. That is precisely what America has done."

Japan, too, sees a new day dawning! Yukio Ozaki, leader of the opposition, warns the government that the western democracies will not tolerate a "militaristic Japan":

"Japan must bestow careful attention on the tendency of the Western world after the war. During the last several decades militarism has been in the ascendency, with the result that the world is now suffering from the most terrible and destructive war known in history. The Allies are now fighting under the banner of democracy for the destruction of militarism. But Japan, with a militaristic premier, is in an anomalous position in this war.

"The Japanese people must make it clear to the Allies that we are not singing paeans to militarism. Unless Japan is prepared to follow the world's current, she will be cut off from world intercourse and left behind."

American Union Against Militarism

Headquarters:
203 Westory Bldg.
Washington, D. C.

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James H. Maurer
Mary McMurtrie
Henry R. Mussey
Mary W. Ovington
Norman Thomas
A. Trachtenberg
L. Hollingsworth Wood

Number 4 of the Fourteen Peace Terms:

Adequate guarantees given and taken for the reduction of armaments to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

For us to adopt compulsory military training would be to begin at once the mobilization of our entire manpower for the "next war," and would wreck at the start the world's hopes of disarmament. What we do in carelessness others must do in self-defense.

Join the American Union Against Militarism in its fight against compulsory military training and service at home and abroad. We need contributions and members. We can set you to work if you do not know what to do.

Just one word more ☞

The Romanoffs have gone.
The Hapsburgs have gone.
The Hohenzollerns have gone.
Dynastic wars are gone forever; no sane man doubts it.
Ah, but the jingoes urge that there still may be wars of commercial aggression. The New York Times, on the very day following the signing of the armistice, cynically suggested*

**Nov.* 12, 1918.

that this agonizing struggle had been, after all, a "raw materials war!" Why this sudden veering around? Is this done deliberately, to prepare our minds for the next "raw materials war?" When the organs of business talk as shamelessly as this about the war to end war, shall we permit them to harness up our youth to a huge militaristic machine? Never! Never! Never!

"God preserve us from our 'patriotic' press!"—

Winston Churchill

The Nation Press. 20 Vesey Street. New York City

83

The League of Nations *and* the National Religion

The trouble with the whole controversy on the League of Nations is that the public has been led by degrees into looking upon it primarily as a political question, in which partizanship holds a conspicuous place. In reality, it is largely a religious question, in which partizanship should have no place at all.

Throughout the brief space of the war, we had a national religion. The "hundred per cent Americans" of that day—and those of a smaller percentage were negligible—really interpreted "America first" to mean that the principles on which our civilization rests should be extended to include the entire world. This faith, widely accepted at home, was embodied abroad in a form which the civilized peoples of the earth were ready to accept in the League of Nations. It was indeed a national religion. It did not replace the personal, mystical relation with God which, under whatever outward form, is the core of the religious life which the individual man and woman tries to lead. But it supplemented that relation in a vastly inspiring manner, for it established a world-ideal closely parallel to the personal Christian ideal, that we should become "members one of another," prepared, by substituting generosity for selfishness, to sacrifice something to the common good of mankind, believing that thus, and thus only, the great desire of the nations, the peace and good will which have been the unattained ideal of Christianity for twenty centuries, could at last be approached, if not completely realized.

It is a melancholy fact that these phrases which belonged to our common language and thought in 1918 have an obsolete sound in 1920, and cannot be uttered now without a consciousness that to

many they will smack of insincerity and cant. It is all a part of the reduction in moral and spiritual values marking the general let-down that inevitably followed upon victory. Nevertheless the phrases and the ideas they represent are precisely as true in 1920 as they were in 1918, and their truth would be as clearly recognized if the political view of the League of Nations had not so largely supplanted the religious. A great difference between these views is that the first will perish, and the second, through its relation to eternal things, will endure.

The coming election brings the matter to a national test. The issue in the final weeks has simmered down to a choice between one candidate, who says of the League of Nations, "I favor going in," with or without reservations which do not kill it; and another who declares, in one of his few unequivocal statements on the subject, "It is not interpretation, but rejection, that I am seeking."

The issue could not be clearer. It is not a question of politics, of animosities and revenges, of rejecting a President and Administration of which the voter may be heartily tired; whoever is elected, they will go out of power next March, and a new President and new Administration will take their places. It is a question of vindicating or rejecting the national religion of two years ago, and abiding by the consequences. The man or woman who votes for rejection—Senator Harding's own clearest word—will have a conscience to reckon with through all the years to come. There are many who cannot respond with enthusiasm to either candidate or either party. In the present crisis, in spite of all that is said to the contrary, these are secondary considerations. The real choice lies between "I favor going in" and "It is not interpretation, but rejection, that I am seeking." There is little comfort in being told by certain Republican believers in the League that the "rejection" candidate is to be understood as meaning precisely the opposite of

what he says. By so doing, they have charged him with a dishonesty of thought and word which even an opponent would hesitate to suggest; and at the same time they have introduced a new and ominous method of appealing for votes.

All this happens to be written on the day set apart for celebrating the Discovery of America. It is written in the hope of helping some new voters to re-discover their country, truly represented in the spirit of 1918, sadly misrepresented in the spirit of 1920. The confirmed partizans of both sides are of course quite beyond the possible influence of any such words as these. But not every voter is a confirmed partizan, and this year the usual multitude of new voters is enormously swelled by the multitudes of newly voting women. It is a new Electoral Army, of the Class of 1920. To its members the appeal of a national religion, embodied in the Covenant of the League of Nations, cannot be made wholly in vain. The election of Cox and Roosevelt offers the only definite guarantee that the United States will promptly enter the League.

M. A. DeWolfe Howe.

October 12, 1920.

[*Reprinted from the* New York Times, *October 20, 1920.*]

Extra copies of this leaflet may be had on application to Pro-League Independents, Massachusetts Women's Division, 67 Milk Street, Boston.

INDEPENDENTS

YOU ARE TO DECIDE THIS ELECTION

READ
THINK
then—VOTE!

By
Irving Fisher, Professor, Yale University

Published by
THE PRO-LEAGUE INDEPENDENTS
17 East 41st Street, New York
and by
THE PRO-LEAGUE INDEPENDENTS
Massachusetts Group, Room 65, 67 Milk St., Boston, Mass.

ALLIED PRINTING TRADES UNION LABEL COUNCIL BOSTON MASS 25

—By De Mar.

"These are fateful times. Organized government has a definite duty all over the world. The house of civilization is to be put in order The supreme issue of the century is before us, and the nation that halts and delays is playing with fire."—Governor Cox.

Courtesy Philadelphia Record.

INDEPENDENTS

You Are To Decide This Election

I have always practiced and preached independence in voting. There will probably be more independent voting this fall than at any time since the Civil War, and for three chief reasons. First, the Great War has loosened and opened men's minds. Secondly, the League of Nations is so colossal an issue that it will inevitably throw thousands, if not millions, of votes across party lines. Thirdly, there will be some ten million new women voters who have not yet formed any real party affiliations.

Pro-League Republicans and Independents are getting together to form an organization in October. I am getting letters every day favoring such an organization. Among those Republicans and Independents who favor the election of Cox and Roosevelt on the League issue are:

THEODORE MARBURG, Republican Minister to Belgium under President Taft.

HAMILTON HOLT, Editor of the *Independent*.

PROFESSOR CHARLES SEYMOUR of Yale, author of "Diplomatic Background of the War," called by Mr. Taft the most illuminating book on the war.

JOHN F. MOORS, Boston, Mass.

CHARLES W. ELIOT, ex-President of Harvard.
CAROLINE HAZARD, ex-President of Wellesley.
HENRY C. KING, President of Oberlin.
MARY E. WOOLLEY, President of Mount Holyoke.
KATHERINE LEE BATES, author of "America, the Beautiful," which might be called now one of our national anthems.
JAMES TOUMEY, Dean of Yale Forestry School.
PROFESSOR SCHLESINGER, President of the American Astronomical Society.
RABBI STEPHEN H. WISE, New York City.
REV. HENRY A. STIMSON, New York City.
MOORFIELD STOREY, Boston, Mass.
COL. H. M. WAITE, former Republican City Manager of Dayton.

This is no ordinary campaign. Not since the Declaration of Independence has America been called upon to take as serious a step as that of joining the League of Nations. The voter should vote not for a party to be in power four years but for a policy to be in force four hundred years.

The election is a referendum. Mr. Lodge and Mr. Wilson have both appealed to the country.

No such solemn referendum should be decided by mere thoughtless traditional voting as for the party for which our grandfathers voted because once there was a Civil War; much less should it be decided by the impulses of personal passion about President Wilson or anybody else.

As I see the picture, the facts are as follows:

Mr. Wilson brought back from Paris the greatest

document for safeguarding civilization since the Magna Charta. Ex-President Taft, Elihu Root, Judge Hughes and other Republicans seemed to so regard it.

Governor Coolidge of Massachusetts, now the Vice-Presidential nominee of the Republican party, in an address of welcome at Boston to President Wilson on his return trip from France said: "We welcome him with a reception more marked than even that which was accorded to General George Washington, more united than could have been given at any time during his life to President Abraham Lincoln. We welcome him as the representative of a great people, as a great statesman, as one to whom we have entrusted our destiny and one whom **we assure we will support in the future in the working out of that destiny as Massachusetts has supported him in the past.**" But Governor Coolidge did not reckon with an offended group of Senators whose "advice," according to one interpretation of the Constitution, the President should have sought more promptly and more formally than he did.

Mr. Taft, the leading authority on the League, and as sincere a man as we ever had in political life, favored ratifying the final draft without reservations and without delay.

But Republican party politicians saw that if they did that, Mr. Wilson would seem to be another George Washington, and the Democratic party might win the coming election and perhaps stay in power indefinitely.

If these men sincerely believed that by opposing or belittling the League they were patriotically saving their country from a terrible mistake, they had a perfect right to protest. If their motive was merely to help discredit Wilson by discrediting a League which they, with Mr. Taft, believed to be a "great boon for the world and this country," they were little short of criminal.

That there was a certain percentage of sincerity in some of their criticism cannot be doubted. Each voter must make up his mind for himself as to what that percentage was and is. It would do no good for me to impugn motives, or to insist on the correctness of my own diagnosis. I will only say that most Republicans who are best fitted to judge the League, and most sincere, notably Mr. Taft, strongly disapproved of the attitudes assumed by Senators Lodge, Knox, Johnson, Brandegee, Borah, Harding, etc.; that their attitudes were often inconsistent with their previous statements; that many of them frankly say in private conversation that the opposition to the Treaty consisted mostly of "politics"— to win the election of 1920, presidential am-

bitions of several Senators, hatred of Wilson, and offended Senatorial dignity for not having been invited to Paris.

It is fair to add that if the Republican Senators were wholly sincere, we should have expected their findings to be sustained by the Democrats. But the Republicans scarcely got any real support from the Democrats except from one Senator who had long-standing personal grudges against President Wilson.

I mention all this not because I am intent on proving that the "fault" is wholly with the Senators and not with President Wilson (who is blamed for vetoing the Knox resolution "declaring peace," and for asking Senators to vote against nullifying reservations as distinct from interpretative ones). My one and only object is to help remove a great stumbling block in the way of the League, the disposition to accept the Senator's statements at face value. The voter, who sincerely and patriotically wants to do his duty at the polls, should beware. Let him **think for himself** and not take his opinions second-hand from people who have so many axes to grind.

This being said, I shall not waste time defending Mr. Wilson, because, in the first place, he is not the candidate; because, in the second place, his record speaks for itself; and because, in the third place, I

believe there is much truth in some of the fault which the Republicans find with him.

Even if the Wilson record were as bad as it is painted by his worst enemy, the only part of it which vitally concerns this campaign is the League of Nations. It is the League, not Mr. Wilson, that is the issue, and the League must stand or fall on its merits, not on our opinion of Mr. Wilson.

Before the blight of politics had come, the Senate, August 28, 1916, by unanimous vote, passed a measure requesting the President to take the lead in such a world movement as the League of Nations. In February, 1919, the first and tentative draft of the League was published and opportunity was given to all to submit criticisms. William H. Taft offered four amendments; Elihu Root, six; Charles E. Hughes, seven. Most of these were incorporated in the final draft. At the White House dinner to the Congressional Committees on Foreign Relations, the President specifically asked for "advice." In a debate between President Lowell and Senator Lodge in Boston, President Lowell asked Senator Lodge to send his suggestions to Paris. Mr. Lodge refused. He refused to accept even Mr. Taft's proposed compromise, although ratification would have been assured thereby.

The Treaty of Versailles was submitted by the President to the Senate July 10, 1919. The first vote

came November 19th, when the reservations proposed failed for lack of a two-thirds majority. The same was true March 19, 1920. The resolution terminating the State of War was vetoed May 27th.

It took about three times as long for our deadlocked Government to do nothing as it took our Allies to draft the whole Treaty of seventy-five thousand words. And the Senators at first complained of the slowness of the peace negotiations.

When the Senators began their discussions the League did not exist. While they have been discussing it, it has been born and all other eligible nations of consequence (thirty-seven) have joined it.

The League of Nations is no longer a plan but a fact. All the nations of the earth of any consequence, except Germany, Austria, Russia, Turkey and Mexico, are already members. So far as I know, none of the thirty-seven nations now members of the League made any reservations, although the League was the subject of a heated debate in Switzerland because of the German cantons. Switzerland joined after a popular referendum May 16, 1920, resulting in a vote of 414,830 for and 322,939 against. This result is remarkable when we consider that the German Swiss, with encouragement from Germany, **and Bolshevists, with help from Russia, hoping to scrap the League and so scrap**

civilization, conducted a most active campaign. French Vaud polled 63,284 for and 4,800 against; mixed Freibourg, 20,080 for and 6,101 against; German Zurich, 46,280 for and 66,887 against. German-Americans are, likewise, opposing the League in this country.

The League is a "going concern," administering the Saar valley and the city of Danzig, conducting a public health campaign to shield the world from typhus and other diseases, and for the elimination of the opium trade, establishing an international labor bureau, and already settling international disputes which otherwise would have led to war, especially one between Sweden and Finland over the Aland Islands. Poland has recently submitted to the League her case against Lithuania. It has developed plans in which Elihu Root participated to organize an International Court of Justice. Treaties are being registered and published, thus marking the end forever of secret treaties. It is acting as a clearing house for information so that secret preparations for a predatory war will be difficult. It is helping the Red Cross to bind up the wounds left by the war, to reduce the appalling deaths from under-feeding and lack of medical care.

It is gathering the facts as to Bolshevism. It is, in short, reducing fighting of man against man and substituting fighting of man against disease and

hunger. It is organizing international conferences to secure better finance, so that nations may not go bankrupt. Deflation of currency and disarmament are being sought.

The League comprises an **Assembly** of all nations, a **Council** of nine (of which the United States is entitled to be a **permanent** member with the **veto** power which each member has) and a **Secretariat** for recording and publishing treaties, etc.

The League members agree to arbitrate certain disputes, to abide by the decision of arbitration, and to "conciliate" in other disputes, and not to go to war until three months after the recommendation of the conciliators.

To break faith will constitute an act of war on all members of the League. The penalty is an immediate boycott.

Force will not be used except as a last resort, and then only after the United States has twice assented, once through its representatives on the Council and then only if Congress votes to follow the **advice** (not orders) of the Council.

Reductions of armaments is one of the chief objects of the League.

As I see them, the chief reasons for supporting Cox and Roosevelt are as follows:

(1) **To insure our entering the League.**

A vote for Cox is a vote for the League. A

vote for Harding is a vote for no one knows what.

Our entrance into the League of Nations is, I am firmly persuaded, an absolute necessity for four reasons:

(a) The League and our membership in it are needed to "finish the job"; for it is not yet "over over there."

(b) It is necessary, in order to secure general disarmament and to save ourselves from the crushing taxation (billions of dollars a year) and aggravation of the high cost of living, which the dreadnaughts and other preparations for war will soon require. If we don't combine with the rest of the world, we must compete with the rest of the world.

(c) It is necessary, in order to prevent another great world war. The world is now so shrunken by rapid transportation that frequent contacts produce frequent irritations and conflicts which must be dealt with. These can be settled peacefully only through the League of Nations. Otherwise war is as certain as that the harvest follows seedtime.

(d) We are in honor bound by the deeds of our soldiers. We are talking of monuments. The greatest monument to those who died in the War against War should be the League of

Nations, to perpetuate, as well as commemorate their work. To secure safeguards for peace was the cause for which our soldiers fought and died.

To my mind the best campaign document for Cox and Roosevelt is Mr. Taft's recent "Apologia," or apology for voting for Harding. He says:

"When Mr. Wilson brought to this country the League Covenant, as reported to the Paris Conference, I urged, on the same platform with him, that we join the League. I thereafter recommended amendments, many of which were adopted into its final form. Had I been in the Senate, I would have voted for the League and Treaty as submitted; and I advocated its ratification accordingly. I did not think, and I do not think, that anything in the League Covenant as sent to the Senate would violate the Constitution of the United States or would involve us in wars which it would not be to the highest interest of the world and the country to suppress by universal boycott and, if need be, by military force. I consider that the moral effect of Article X on predatory nations would restrain them from war as the declaration of the Monroe Doctrine has done and that the requirement of the unanimous consent by the representatives of the Great Powers in Council before League action would safeguard

the United States from any perversion of the high purposes of the League. **Moreover, I believe that the issue of the League transcends in its importance any domestic issues and would justify and require one who believes so to ignore party ties and secure this great boon for the world and this country."**

The only reason Mr. Taft gives for not bolting is that not enough Republican Senators can be removed by the fall election to insure the necessary two-thirds majority for the program which Mr. Cox and Mr. Taft both want.

But Senator Lodge, the Republican leader, expressly promised to abide by the verdict.

If Governor Cox is elected President, we shall doubtless enter the League next March. If Harding is elected, we shall not only not enter it then but probably not during his entire administration; for Johnson and his followers will inevitably proclaim Harding's election as a vindication of their extreme opposition, and any attempt by Harding to run counter to their demands would only give Johnson his opportunity to raise his hue and cry with an eye to the presidency in 1924.

Under such circumstances will the prudent Harding insist or desist? If he insists, the usual senatorial debate will consume more precious time

while the world is burning. If he desists, the League is lost.

Cox is **whole-heartedly** for the League, with a **united party** behind him and a **strong platform** under him.

Harding is **straddling or oscillating** between the Taft and Johnson wings of a **split** party and standing on a **weak and uncertain** platform.

If we really want the League, we should put it in the hands of its friends, not its enemies.

While Mr. Taft's "apology" may seem to excuse him, it is not persuasive to the ordinary Independent, who has never been a Republican President of the United States.

Mr. Taft's argument amounts to saying that the Republican voter ought not to elect Cox because Lodge, Penrose, Johnson, Borah, etc., can and may defy the will of the people of the United States; therefore the people of the United States would better throw up their hands, abandon any thought of fighting the obstructionists, and instead, **entrust the next administration to their tender care.**

If we can't purge the Senate of all of them in 1920, we'll finish the job in 1922 or 1924. But purge them sometime we can and will.

This brings us to the second great reason for opposing Senator Harding, namely,

(2) **To check the "Senate Oligarchy."**

If, as Mr. Taft seems to think, the people of the United States can't get the League because the Republican Senatorial oligarchy blocks their will, then the Senate oligarchy, not the League, is the issue. If the Senators kill the League, they should beware lest the people kill eventually the Senate. Outraged Democracy in England reduced the House of Lords to impotence. Ex-Governor McCall of Massachusetts, the distinguished Republican authority, has in the September "Atlantic Monthly" sounded a note of warning against the growing encroachments of the Senate.

The Republican Senators, or a group of them, should be rebuked for playing politics beyond the water's edge and over the graves of our soldiers in France; and for hitting the President when he is down.

They should be rebuked for defying public opinion in the choice of their candidate. The people wanted Hoover. But, in the Republican Convention which they controlled, the Senators paid no heed to public sentiment, not even to the results of their own Republican primaries.

They have tried one objection to the League after another; for instance: that the League was written by Smuts and put over on America by Europe; that it was written by Wilson and put over on Europe by America; that it is a "supergovernment" im-

pairing our sovereignty and binding us hand and foot; that it is weak and powerless, a house of cards, a rope of sand; that if it were of any use it would have prevented all the Bolshevist and the other existing wars in Europe; that England could outvote us and override us; that the League could compel us to go to war against our will; that it could order our soldier boys abroad; that the League would create wars, instead of preventing them; that it would stereotype forever existing boundaries; that it would crush the hopes of Ireland, and the like.

These are all absolutely and utterly untrue. Most of the objections destroy each other. The League cannot be at once dangerous and harmless. England didn't "put over" the votes of her colonies. On the contrary, England had great misgivings about letting Canada, Australia, India, South Africa and New Zealand get these votes.

Moreover, these votes of British colonies could never by any possibility hurt us because we have an **absolute veto on any measure concerning ourselves.** Majority vote is **not** the rule of the League, but **unanimity.**

And further still, by staying out of the League and having no voice or veto we are at the mercy of the other members, should they unanimously take some action against our interests. By stay-

ing out we not only permit such action, but may even induce it, as our aloofness is already being regarded as an unfriendly attitude. We are running the risk of creating a new alignment of international feeling: The world against the United States. Shall we be ostracized?

For the same reason we are not subject to the "orders" of a "foreign" League. Under the Constitution of the League nothing whatever can be even recommended unless we through our representatives wish it. And any military act by the United States will require in addition action by Congress. The League is not a "supergovernment," for it has no authority to compel any action on its members and no power even to levy taxes for its own support. It is not a government but only a **league,** i.e., a means of co-operation of sovereign nations.

The League does not prevent boundaries being changed but only prevents their being changed by a war of external aggression. In fact, it provides much needed machinery for changing boundaries by **arbitration,** and it does not interfere in internal revolutions.

Some critics objected to the first tentative draft of the League on the ground that it interfered with the Monroe Doctrine. It didn't, yet, to silence criticism, a specific reference to the Monroe Doc-

trine was inserted in the final draft. But the critics didn't want to be satisfied. So, when forced to drop the Monroe Doctrine objection, they complained, instead, of Article X, although, as both Mr. Taft and Governor Cox have pointed out, Article X is, in a certain sense, the Monroe Doctrine extended to the whole world. Article X states that members "undertake to respect and preserve, as against external aggression, the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members." The Monroe Doctrine means that the United States undertakes to respect and preserve, as against European aggression, the territorial integrity and existing political independence of American nations. In short, first they insisted we should put in the Monroe Doctrine specifically, and now they ask that we take it out in general.

The typical self-respecting American independent is beginning to resent what he believes to be attempts to hoodwink him, to play on his prejudices and fears, to capitalize any dissatisfaction he may have with Wilson, or any dislike of England, and to pervert his patriotism into national selfishness, all for the purpose of capturing his vote next November.

(3) **To uphold the honor of the nation.**

If we go into the League we should do so, not as

slackers, but as we went into the war, willing and eager to bear our share of the responsibilities.

Mr. Cox and Mr. Taft both compare Article X to the Monroe Doctrine, of which it is an extension. What would the Monroe Doctrine amount to if we were to serve notice that while we have a pious wish that Europe shall "respect and preserve the territorial integrity and political independence" of the Central and South American nations, we must have it distinctly understood that we are under no obligation to back up our pious wish by force?

As it was, Theodore Roosevelt once told Germany to keep out of Venezuela or he would use our warships; and previously, Grover Cleveland told England essentially the same thing. In both cases we were saved the use of force because we were known to be willing **if need be** to use it. And for a century since Monroe, we have never had to fire a shot, just because it was known we were ready to do so. In 1915 Theodore Roosevelt in a series of articles in the New York "Times" favoring a League of Nations emphasized the fact, that unless there was force in the background, the League would have little effect in preventing war. He said, "There must always be a policeman behind the judge."

He said in the New York "Times," October 18,

1915, that he favored a League of Nations and that: "The nations should agree on certain rights which should not be questioned, such as **territorial integrity.** * * * All should guarantee each of their number in the possession of these rights. * * * They should furthermore agree, not only to abide, each of them, by the decision of the Court, but all of them to unite, **with their military forces,** to enforce the decree of the Court as against any recalcitrant member. Under these circumstances it would be possible to agree on a **limitation of armaments** that would be real and effective. * * * It would be impossible to say that such an agreement would at once and permanently stop war but it would mark an important advance. It would certainly mean that the **chances of war were minimized,** * * * for it will mean that at last a long stride has been taken in the efforts to put the collective strength of civilized mankind behind the collective purpose of mankind to secure the peace of righteousness, the peace of justice, among the nations of the earth."

Could a prophet have described better, five years before it was born, the League of Nations as it is, including Article X?

The Lodge Reservation on Article X says "The United States assumes no obligation to preserve

the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country."

Roosevelt or Lodge?

If we enter the League we want to command the respect and friendship of other members. What would an individual think of joining a club but with the reservation that he was to get all the benefits but pay no dues? Would he be the most popular member of that club, especially if he were the **only** one of forty members, all the rest of whom entered without any reservations?

The obstructing Senators have already gone far to destroy the most precious asset, though an intangible asset, which a nation can have and one which we possessed two years ago in a higher degree than any nation in all history—international goodwill. If Senator Harding is elected, we shall enter the League (if at all) with nullifying reservations and under suspicion; it will then be widely believed both at home and abroad that our entrance into the League has insufficient sanction of the people.

We want an honorable peace whether we enter the League or not. The Knox resolution simply declaring that "Peace exists" will not give us that honorable standing in the eyes of the world. We shall be disgraced before our Allies. The Knox resolution means that we get Peace by the cheap

and easy method of running away and leaving our Allies to impose terms on Germany and enforce them. Worse than that, we say in the Knox resolution that we expect, nevertheless, all the benefits of the Treaty of Versailles! Can self-respecting Americans submit to the humiliation of being called "quitters"?

As Mr. Hoover, who closely follows Mr. Taft, has recently said, our adhesion to the Treaty of Versailles is a necessity. And if we reject the League, we shall have to reject the whole treaty, (of which the League is only the tenth part) and make a new treaty with Germany or, as Senator Harding proposes, declare we are quit of the war and of Europe and are "at peace."

In that case we shall lose all sorts of benefits which we would have had under the Treaty of Versailles and become **entangled in all sorts of complications** with Europe from which that Treaty would have freed us.

For instance, we shall be obliged to restore German ships, and all other German alien property, billions of dollars' worth, which we appropriated during the war and which under the Treaty of Versailles we were to retain. If we should not restore this property we should be violating Article 23 of the Treaty with Prussia of 1785 renewed in the Treaty of 1828 which, unless we accept the Treaty

of Versailles, will remain in force. If we violate the Treaty of 1828 we become ourselves Covenant breakers and liable to be haled into the International Court which, under the League of Nations Mr. Root has just assisted in forming. Germany could appeal to that Court and our own Allies would condemn us.

Again, under the Treaty of Versailles, the property of ours which Germany seized can be recovered. Otherwise it cannot.

Again, if we reject the Treaty we lose all claim to indemnity.

Again, we shall lose valuable trade rights and put our merchants at a disadvantage, or rather, keep them so, as they are at a disadvantage already.

This all means a loss in cash of billions. The Republicans claim they want to get in, in order to effect economies. If they could save all the expenses of government and run the government for nothing, thy would not save what they are proposing to lose by failure to ratify the Treaty of Versailles, especially if our policy of washing our hands of Europe's left-over war problems results, as it may, in bankruptcy and inability, therefore, to pay us back some of the ten billions borrowed of us.

If we don't ratify, we shall have innumerable

private lawsuits of American citizens against Germany which we can't prosecute with success, and of German citizens against the United States.

Let us take a concrete case. A young American on the Sussex, torpedoed by a German submarine, was in the water four hours and contracted pneumonia which led to tuberculosis. He is entitled to damages of say fifty thousand dollars, which could be assessed and collected under the Treaty of Versailles, but without it he can do little more than whistle for them. Is that the sort of protection to our citizens afforded by the Republicans? These complications could be multiplied indefinitely.

The Republicans have gotten themselves into an impossible situation. There is only one practicable business-like thing to do and that is to ratify.

The League cannot be dissected out of the Treaty and, if it could, no other of the thirty-seven nations now in the League would consent. No workable plan is possible by which we accept the treaty without the League while the rest of the world accept it with the League, any more than one man on an athletic team could play football while the rest were playing baseball.

The League had to be a part of the Treaty of Versailles. At first many of the framers of the Treaty thought to have peace and the League later,

as Senator Harding now proposes. But they soon saw that was impracticable. The left-over war problems were so numerous, complicated and vast, and their immediate and complete solution so impossible that the League came at once to be recognized as an indispensable mechanism to be first erected so that through it the problems could be worked out deliberately and properly.

These three reasons for voting for Cox and Roosevelt, namely, (1) to insure our entering the League, (2) to check the Senate oligarchy and (3) to uphold the honor of the nation are the great and compelling ones. There are many minor ones, such as:

To insure Progressive Legislation. This is a period of reconstruction where the watchword should be "progress." Governor Cox is progressive and constructive. Senator Harding and the group whose creature he is and whose tool he will be are reactionary. The Republican platform is full of the word "not." It is little else than negation, criticism, complaint, hatred.

A vote for Harding is really for Penrose and his group, denounced as the worst of reactionaries by Theodore Roosevelt, which means a return of the old scandal of special interests to be "protected" in return for campaign contributions.

It is said that Harding will surround himself by men abler than he. But when a weak man, naturally vacillating and without guiding ideas of his own, is surrounded by abler men than he who know exactly what they want, but aren't responsible for the action which they induce, the results are not promising, even if there be the best of intentions.

One of Mr. Cox's bitterest political enemies in Ohio said to me, "I must confess I voted for him the last time because he gave us the best government the state ever had. He inforced the law without fear or favor and whether he personally approved of it or not."

Has the Republican party lost its soul in the death of Roosevelt? I shudder at the cynicism of one of the Republican leaders who said: "The people are more interested in their stomachs than in the heart of the world." If our boys at Chateau Thierry had been more interested in their stomachs than in the heart of the world, they would have run away. They wipe away that very reproach which had been hurled at us during the three long weary years (1914-1917) when England and France did the fighting for us and kept back the Hun at the cost of millions of lives and billions of treasure; and now that they are exhausted because they

defended us we are asked to desert them as "a bankrupt concern."

Colonel House recently said of Europe: "The feeling is general that America has shirked her responsibilities and has deserted the world at a critical time and for selfish reasons. Some feel a grim satisfaction in the conviction that if Europe goes down America will go with her, no matter how hard she tries to hold aloof. On Wednesday of last week, at the unveiling of the statue of the great, humane and universally beloved Lincoln, Premier Lloyd George gave voice to the feeling lying deep in the hearts of all, when he said: 'This torn and bleeding earth is calling today for the American Abraham Lincoln.'"

In view of the logic of events, I believe that the foundations which attach the Republican voter to his party are crumbling away as the mountain side is loosened by the rains preparatory to an avalanche.

Pro-League Independents

The purpose of **The Pro-League Independents,** consisting of Pro-League Republicans and Independents who intend to vote for Cox and Roosevelt, is to give correct information to voters on the League of Nations and help disabuse their minds of the mass of misinformation now current.

Those who wish to more fully inform themselves are referred to the article by Republican Governor Samuel McCall in the September **Atlantic,** the article by an Independent, Dr. Charles W. Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard University, in the October **Atlantic** and the book by George Creel, "The War, The World and Wilson." Or write for literature to the National Democratic Committee, Grand Central Palace, New York, The League to Enforce Peace, 22 W. 19th Street, New York, N. Y., The World Peace Foundation, 40 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, Mass., The Pro-League Independents, 17 East 41st Street, New York City.

How You Can Help

1. Inform yourself on the League of Nations.

2. Talk to your friends and neighbors and get them to help.

3. Secure and distribute literature. We can supply you with the "A B C of the League of Nations," with map of world showing members and non-members of the League, complete text of the Covenant, charted for ready reference, and extract from Mr. Taft's "Apologia."

4. Write for your local paper, stating that you are supporting Cox and Roosevelt, giving your own reasons.

5. Send us names of nationally known Republicans or Independents who may help.

6. Start a local committee of Pro-League Republicans and Independents.

7. Contribute financially all you can. Make checks to **The Pro-League Independdents** and send to 17 East 41st Street, New York City.

(From New York Evening Post, Monday, Sept. 27.)

Give League Fighting Chance, is Appeal

Funds Asked to Carry on Work of Independent Organization

Do you want to give the League of Nations a "fighting chance"?

A fighting chance requires that misrepresentation shall be combated with truth, that false assertions concerning the League's powers and purposes shall be controverted by correct interpretation, that it shall come literally before the voters of the nation and stand on its own true merits.

To accomplish this **The Pro-League Independents,** consisting of Republicans and Independents who are for the League and therefore intend to vote for Cox and Roosevelt, have organized.

The purpose of **The Pro-League Independents** is to promulgate correct information to voters on the League of Nations and to help to disabuse their minds of misinformation now current.

And in order to distribute literature to the voters it is necessary for us to make an appeal for funds. If you feel able to assist, send check to **The Pro-League Independents,** 17 East Forty-first Street, New York, or to **The Pro-League Independents,** Room 65, 67 Milk Street, Boston.

* 7598.325

WAR ON WAR

PAPER

READ BY

MRS. J. MALCOLM FORBES

BEFORE THE

MASSACHUSETTS FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS

AT

SOMERVILLE

FEBRUARY 26, 1915

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY

WAR ON WAR

MADAM PRESIDENT AND FELLOW-MEMBERS OF MASSACHUSETTS CLUBS:

I appreciate the privilege of saying a few words to you on this subject which must surely be constantly in the minds of everyone of us now, — the question of War and Peace.

May I begin by quoting from a letter which came to me after the war began, from one of America's most honored citizens? — Bishop Brent of the Philippine Islands — who has been called America's greatest statesman in the East. He writes:

"All of us who have steadily been learning the meaning and value of peace according to the ideal given us by the Prince of Peace cannot fail to be wrung by anguish by the tempest of hatred, selfishness and slaughter which is sweeping over Europe. . . . There is little that can be done by us to terminate this awful war, but we must be busy in our preparation to meet the situation when, as I hope, . . . sheer exhaustion will have compelled Europe to quiet. The days are evil: Buy up the opportunity — that must be our attitude. . . .

"But it seems to me our first duty is to examine ourselves and see how and where we as individuals are contributing to a social and national condition that makes war not only possible but easy.

"I have never actually joined a peace movement, because I felt that the Church was, ideally at any rate, the great Peace Society. Now I feel that everyone should publish his belief in the horrible wickedness of this war and his adherence to the principle of peace, so I want you to enroll me as a member of Massachusetts Peace Society. . . . There is no man who, however humbly, counts himself a follower of Jesus Christ, can fail to be roused to new earnestness by the war. Some of us may be called to do something extreme. But whether by much or by little we must stand boldly forth without counting cost. . . .

"(Signed) C. H. BRENT."

Indeed it is certainly the duty of each person to *do* something! Surely we stand at the parting of the ways. Either this war

will only lay up the seeds of future conflicts; or if every man and every woman works for Constructive Peace Ideals, this will be the last war which civilized nations will permit to be fought in their midst.

Everyone who has looked at this terrible war closely, has been brought to the realization of what all Peace workers — Internationalists — have been teaching for years: that while in past generations some wars had to be waged because there was no other acknowledged way of settling the disputes of nations, now in our day and generation there is no excuse for tolerating this outgrown method. War is now an unnecessary as well as a monstrous evil.

Most of the thinking people who stand for twentieth century ideals are passionately exclaiming that the world shall no longer allow this unjust and uncivilized method of settling the disputes of nations. If men in small groups (not dignified by the name of "nations"), attempt to decide their quarrels and misunderstandings by the methods of war, they are imprisoned and turned over to the jurisdiction of the law; and why should the larger groups be allowed to break all the ten commandments when they have misunderstandings to be settled?

The system of war is made by men, and can be overthrown by men; it is not like the forces of nature — earthquakes and tornadoes — which man has little or no power to resist.

The late Justice Brewer wrote: "There never was a time since the beginning of days, that woman longed for bloodshed and the carnage of war, and the more fully she realizes its waste and destruction the more earnest will become her opposition. Nowhere in the world is she so potent a force in public life as in this country, and you may be sure that that force will be ere long concentrated in steadfast opposition to war. She cannot be sneered or laughed out of her faith."

Miss Jane Addams felt that we American women must not stand by as onlookers merely at this tragedy across the seas. So she wrote to women representing many organizations in various parts of this country, and asked them to assemble in Washington to see what could be done. All who could, responded to the call, and after three days' conferences, a platform was agreed upon, and the Woman's Peace Party came into existence.

Mr. Hamilton Holt, Editor of the *Independent*, writes as follows in the January twenty-third number: "They (the Woman's Peace

Party) issued a manifesto, unsurpassed, we think, in power and moral fervor by anything that has been issued here or abroad since the great war began; and their Platform is radical, sound, statesmanlike and constructive."

Jane Addams is Chairman of the Party, with Chicago as the present headquarters. State branches are to be formed as soon as possible; and Massachusetts led as the first state to be organized.

The earnestness and enthusiasm have been overwhelming from the start, and it seems as if the Woman's Peace Party is going to prove the most aggressive of all the groups organized for the purpose of educating public opinion on this, the greatest question of our century.

Our Massachusetts Branch is not quite five weeks old, and we already count over six hundred members, with applications for membership every day. We have instituted public Conferences, led by experts, every Saturday morning,— from eleven to twelve o'clock, at Pilgrim Hall (14 Beacon Street, Boston). Meetings and Study Circles are being arranged for. There is work for everyone to do — and we *need* workers to help us in all sorts of ways.

There may be differences of opinion regarding some of the eleven planks of our Platform — but in the words of our Declaration of Principles, "we have given freedom of expression to a wide divergence of opinion in the details of our Platform . . . in a common desire to make our woman's protest against war and all that makes for war vocal, commanding and effective," and the whole object of the Woman's Peace Party is to push the Peace Work.

We want to have with us every woman who believes that the system of war must be abolished,— and we hope that this spreading of the Peace Movement will be undertaken by all women without any division of race, creed or partisanship.

I see the ideals and the demands of the Woman's Peace Party spreading into every city and village of this country,— and by the sanity and inspiration on which they are founded, compelling every woman to join this great woman's army for Peace.

Our work is not to stop in the United States; there must be and there will be a Woman's Peace Party in every corner of the civilized world.

When most of the individuals, who make up the nations, demand the abolition of the War System, the Cause will be won. Won't you join us and help in this compelling work?

* 7578.325

MILITARY DRILL IN SCHOOLS

By W. Evans Darby, LL.D., London.

That system of education is most preferable which develops the greater number of faculties and which does so most thoroughly. The aim of education should be to make good and useful citizens. But a man is not a good citizen who is only partially developed, who, whatever his intellectual powers may be, collapses in the midst of his labors for lack of bodily stamina, and gets thrust to the wall by stronger competitors, because of his physical weakness. Success in life depends as much upon physical strength as intellectual force. The stability and strength of a nation depend as much upon the physical, as upon the mental condition of its people.

It is now generally recognized that no system of education is complete, unless it provides for the development of the bodily powers as well as the mental faculties. Physical training is avowedly of as much importance as intellectual culture. For the real welfare and efficiency of the individual, the two should go hand in hand.

In connection with the most modern and approved educational systems and appliances, it is advocated that children should be instructed in the elements of physiology and hygiene and be taught the rules for the preservation of health, such as the use of good food, water and air, proper exercise, sleep and clothing; and that while they are taught these theoretically, they should be made to understand them practically, by having properly ventilated and sanitary class-rooms and schools, as well as by the attention given to the position and physical welfare of the children themselves during school hours and in their school work. All this is as it should be, and such physical education cannot fail to have a perceptible and beneficial influence upon the whole after life.

In addition to this, it is maintained that the children should be taught a sound system of exercise; their muscles should be developed; their bodily functions stimulated, so as to result in health and vigor; and they should have the sound mind in a healthy body which is the best equipment for life. It has been advocated that in order to secure adequate results, there should be a director of physical exercises, who should inspect schools and report as to whether the system was being properly administered.

Excellent theory, and if nothing more were aimed at, there could be only general acquiescence and unqualified praise.

Unfortunately the practice is vitiated by the prevailing militarism, which is the most prominent feature of the times in which we live. Military ideas and requirements would make the elementary school a place of primary education for the army, and assume that for the desiderated physical culture, military drill is indispensable.

In Germany, Austria, France and Russia, a national system of physical culture has been adopted. That, however, is avowedly a part of the national system of military training, even when it is itself least military in character. It is the result of cruel experiences gained in war, and of the continual rivalry of the nations, which are maintained in the existing state of armed peace. It is a necessity of the constant preparations for fresh conflicts, which is the natural result of war and the war spirit, and has, unfortunately, come to be the normal condition of the European nations.

M. Gambetta, in 1871, after the Franco-German war, attributed the defeat of France and the loss of Alsace and Lorraine to the physical superiority of the German soldiery. A national system of physical training of the young—for it is in youth such training is most beneficial—followed, as a matter of course, from that belief.

In Great Britain, the assumption that military drill is the indispensable form of physical culture appears to be as widespread as on the Continent, although here it is not accompanied by a national system; for happily as yet, universal compulsory military service does not exist among us.

It is well known that in the large public schools cadet corps are enrolled, with officers regularly appointed by government authority. And though, theoretically, service in these corps is not compulsory, practically it is; and parents have had to face the alternative of allowing their boys to learn the art of soldiery, or to withdraw them altogether from the schools. Last year a number of these cadet corps from well-known public schools took part in the Aldershot manœuvres, and the public press was jubilant over the fact that the boys conducted themselves almost as well as the regulars. Parish authorities and a quasi-christian philanthropy, in its homes, training ships, and other institutions, frequently train young lads directly for the army or navy; but pauper boys can hardly help themselves, and the naval and military training is a part of the philanthropy. Besides all this, however, there is an almost universal idea that the mil-

itary drill instructor is indispensable in every school curriculum. In elementary schools, even in ladies' and private seminaries, the drill sergeant, generally an old soldier, or the local government official, is as much a part of the teaching staff as the head master or mistress. The government, astate enough in taking care of its military establishments, has stationed a number of drill instructors throughout the country, whose services are always available, and whose occupation oscillates between the training of the youth belonging to volunteer or military corps in the military art. and the education of the children in our day-schools in the rudiments of same art.

What the military authorities desiderate, was indicated by General Lord Wolseley, from his position one of the most representative military officers of the day, in a recent speech which attracted some notice. According to the *Times*, 10th February, 1890, "he regretted that when universal education was started in England, every Board School had not had attached to it some sort of military organization, or some military instructor, entrusted with the duty of drilling, and thus to foster amongst them a spirit of military discipline."

He was addressing a reputedly religious body, and this, probably, made him consider the drill sergeant a disguised missionary, for he is reported to have continued: "The essence and foundation of such discipline was obedience to those placed in authority, of whatever kind. Obedience to one to whom they could look as their commanding officer was the first step towards reverence, and reverence was the first step towards faith; and no country from which faith was eliminated, could, in his opinion, be great, powerful, or even lasting." According to his lordship, the greatness, power and permanence of a nation, and in some sense its religious life, were enhanced by military drill—an hypothesis contradicted by the lessons of history and the essential nature of faith.

Another military authority, Colonel G. M. Onslow, in a lecture delivered a short time ago in the offices of the London School Board, before a very different audience, on the necessity of physical culture and recreation for children in Elementary Schools, took a far more rational and tenable position, while he showed that Lord Wolseley's desideratum was to a large extent actual fact. His words are important, not merely from the military character and position of the lecturer, but because they go to the very heart of the question. In the course of an able discussion of his subject he said that, "In the Elementary Education Act of 1870, he saw no mention of physical

exercises, but provision was made for boys to have military drill two hours a week. But why should the drill be military? He looked upon this two hours a week as time wasted. There should be a general system of exercises. In the same Act the girls were not even allowed military drill, but practical cookery was mentioned. If it was thought that military drill would benefit the boys' physique, why were the girls left out, and made to put up with cookery? Physical instruction was quite as necessary for girls as for boys. The bodily strength of future generations of Englishmen depended as much upon the stamina of the women as upon that of the men; for if the boys were to become the fathers, the girls were to become the mothers, of the future generations."

The lecturer claimed that physical education, theoretical and practical, should be made compulsory throughout the country; that it should be State-directed, and conducted on a scientific and rational principle; that it should be recognized as an important part of a child's education; and he showed how physical culture and recreation are essential for the physical and moral well-being of the youth of both sexes, and what national benefits would accrue therefrom. But he nevertheless urged the very important and crucial question, Why should the drill be military?

Our reply, advisedly and emphatically is, that it should not be military, and for the following among other reasons:

1. Because as a method of physical training military drill is both inadequate and injurious.

Experiments, which were conducted in a public school, with a view to ascertain the relative value of gymnastics and of mere drill, showed that the average results yielded by the former were more than three times as great as those yielded by drill alone. Relatively, therefore, this method of physical culture is inferior. Military drill is defective, inasmuch as it does not to any extent meet the physiological demands of the body. Its effect upon boys is not salutary. It does not, as the community at large have believed, make a youth erect, or give him a graceful and manly bearing. On the contrary, it tends to make him stiff and angular in his movements, as well as to droop and round his shoulders.

This fact has long been recognized by the military authorities; and a set of calisthenic exercises or free gymnatics, known as the setting up of drill, has been adopted to correct the tendency, and is incorpo-

rated in all treaties on military training. Upton, in his "Manual of United States Army Infantry Tactics," says: "As the importance of 'setting up' cannot be over-estimated, the exercises must be often recurred to, and all soldiers will be frequently practised therein."

This is not the only expedient adopted to give the soldier his smart appearance and military figure. There is another method commonly known as "tailorizing," by which youthful soldiers may easily acquire a full chest, square shoulders and a straight back.

Dr. Dudley A. Sargeant, Director of the Hemenway Gymnasium, Harvard University, who is an acknowledged authority, adds: "In reference to the gracefulness that is thought to characterize the movement of young cadets, I can only say it is not the outcome of drilling and marching. The soldier is trained to square corners, straight platoons, and angular movements. Curves and embellishments are not encouraged, in speech, or in action. If you would account for the graceful poise of our National Cadets you must see them from one to two hours a day in charge of the dancing master."

It may be an unwelcome task to explode a fallacy which has commended that drill to parents and teachers, and which has given it the widespread popularity which attaches to it. But truth is always best, and this matter is so important that no part of the truth should be concealed.

Dr. Sargeant sums up his conclusion, in an admirable little brochure on the subject, in these striking words: "After taking the most favorable view possible of military drill as a physical exercise, we are led to conclude that its constrained positions and closely localized movements do not afford the essential requisites for developing the muscles, and improving the respiration and circulation and thereby improving the general health and condition of the system. We must further conclude that in case of any malformation, local weakness, or constitutional debility, the drill tends, by its strain upon the nerves and prolonged tension on the muscles, to increase the defects rather than to relieve them.

"Finally, if the ultimate object of the drill was to prepare young men for the life and duties of a soldier, we should be forced to conclude that the drill itself would still be defective as a means of developing the chief requisites for men in that profession.

"This defect, we are pleased to state, is recognized by the great military nations of Europe, and measures are taken to give all the

recruits from three to twelve months' gymnastic training to develop them as men, before they are expected to conform to the requirements of the soldier."

2. Because the moral effects of the drill are not all that have been claimed for it.

The Boys' Brigade movement, the new military development in the Christian Churches of Great Britain, professes to use military organization and drill as a means of moral culture. This profession challenges close investigation. In its constitution it states that "military organization and drill shall be used as a means of securing the interest of the boys, binding them together in the work of the Brigade, and promoting among them such habits as the Brigade is designed to form." These habits are then defined to be, "discipline and obedience," which shall be enforced by all "the officers." The result of "military organization and drill" therefore is disciplined obedience. This may seem a good thing, until it is asked, to what authority? To any authority whatsoever. It is assumed that obedience is in itself good, without any regard to the kind of authority. That, however, is the convenient creed of the despot, which has been always destructive of freedom. In moral culture it can have no place. For moral culture aims at making men self-disciplined, self-governed, not automata moved by the will of another. For a moral being, the only obedience that is admissible and that can be aimed at in religious and moral culture is obedience to moral authority, to right, to conscience, to the divine imperative of duty, and Christianity teaches, to Christ the Lord of the conscience, the true interpreter of duty. Military drill and discipline aim at producing flexible automata, obedient to the will of the commanding officer, and its success is measured by the flexibility of the machine. It is bondage, not freedom. Moral hypnotism it may be; moral culture it is not. Physical strength and plasticity do not mean moral force and independence; and the excellence of manhood lies in these. Even were the "obedience" all that is claimed for it, there are other attributes of character; and these are overlooked. Dr. Sargeant says again: "Coolness, courage, presence of mind, and that rapid and responsible exercise of judgment in emergencies, so valuable to the man of business, as well as to the soldier, are not developed by the drill itself, though I will admit that other moral attributes, such as obedience, patience, fortitude, and forbearance," all passive in character, it will be perceived, "may be brought to a high degree of perfection."

As a means of moral culture, therefore, military drill is defective, for it develops some attributes of character, to the neglect, if not actually at the expense, of others equally necessary.

3. Because military drill is inseparable from its purpose and associations.

It is drill and discipline, with a definite purpose, from which it cannot be dissociated. If it were possible to eliminate the purpose of the drill which gives it character and the associations which spring out of that purpose, the character of the drill would be changed. The definite object of the drill is to impart and develop skill and facility in slaying men. But killing one's fellow-men is rightly considered murder. The musket and sword, or its substitute, come to be necessary parts of the drill. The Boys' Brigade has its dummy, or real, rifles and military accoutrements, and these are purely instruments of killing. In drilling children by military discipline, there is implanted in them the spirit born of the character and associations of the drill, the spirit of the soldier, who is trained to kill and to destroy; there is developed in them the war spirit, the spirit of murder. It is vain to expect that the drill can be used and the moral influence of its associations be escaped. Military drill, therefore, of necessity favors and fosters ideas and practices which belong to the brute and barbaric side of human nature, rather than to the cultured and civilized, the development of which is the object sought in the very existence of the school. It familiarizes the young with the idea of the taking of human life. It takes for granted a series of terrible fallacies that war cannot be dispensed with, that the natural state of man is hostility to his fellow-man. It sanctions and assumes the militarism of which it is a part and for which it is training. Disguise it as we may, the simple fact is "that the primary object of establishing military drill in our schools and colleges is a professional one, that is, to give instruction in military tactics to educated young men, in order that they may be of service to the country or community in the case of war," and to prepare the rank and file of future armies, in the primary and elementary schools of the land.

The end condemns the means.

4. Because military drill may be dispensed with in physical training.

It is by no means necessary; its quality is doubtful; and, under the most favorable circumstances, it has to be supplemented. For the purpose of physical development there is no necessity to teach boys

soldierly duties and the use of the rifle. There are all the appliances of calisthenics and gymnastics; and the proper use of them has been developed into a science; there are the various games which promote physical force and freedom; and there are the various industrial arts which are themselves a means of physical training. It is encouraging to observe that the governments are awakening to a recognition of these facts. Recently, a letter appeared in the leading London newspapers, signed by a score or more of the members of the London School Board, appealing for funds to encourage physical exercises in elementary schools. "The Educational Department," they say, "by its Code of this year, at length recognizes the need of physical exercises for the children in the public elementary schools, and allows instruction in swimming at the public baths to be counted as school attendance."

This is a step in the right direction. What is required is that physical training shall be free from all moral taint, and that it shall be adapted to its purpose.

The *Daily News*, commenting on the purpose of this appeal, intimates that one object of the promoters is to assist school clubs for cricket, football, tennis, and other invigorating games. It then continues:

"It is in the comparative absence of regular organized play that our elementary schools, both Board and voluntary, are most seriously at fault. No higher kind of school is now considered complete without abundant provision for play, and in some great public schools the games are encouraged to an almost absurd extreme. Every one knows the famous saying attributed to the Duke of Wellington, that his battles were won in the playing fields of Eton; but school games not only tend to develop the dash and vigor of our race, they are a great factor in the formation of that *esprit de corps*, without which a school is sadly incomplete."—*Daily News, July 4th*, 1890.

By all means let mind and body be developed to the utmost, but let it never be forgotten that there is a higher purpose in all this culture than mere destruction; that the human race has richer possibilities than can be reached on fields of conquest, or by wasting its energies in mutual conflict; and that the dash and vigor and *esprit de corps* developed by school games and physical exercises may find higher spheres of action than the battlefield, and a fitter outlet and more beneficent achievements than any that can be covered by the term "MILITARY."

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

111 SOUTH 18TH ST.
*3578.325

Resolutions on Military Training in the Public Schools

Adopted at the annual meeting of the Pennsylvania Arbitration and Peace Society, held in Philadelphia January 24, 1916.

In the spring of 1915 the Pennsylvania Arbitration and Peace Society addressed to the legislature at Harrisburg a protest against a bill then proposed for compulsory military training of boys in schools and educational institutions in the state of Pennsylvania. The bill was never reported out of committee. Since that time, however, steps have been taken toward the introduction of military training in the schools in different parts of the state, and a number of persons have publicly urged such training on a national scale.

Our Society has the same strong convictions on this subject as heretofore. It has not taken sides in the matter of "preparedness," but stands on a platform that is broad enough to include all persons who believe in the judicial settlement or arbitration of international disputes, in the further development of courts and of conferences, and the limitation of armament by international agreement. We believe, however, that the question of military training in the schools of the state should be opposed on grounds of common sense, and educational and personal efficiency, if not on military grounds. It is a matter for educators to determine and not for the layman, the politician or the agitator.

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY

Our opposition to military training in the schools and the agitation at present made in its favor, is based on the following grounds:

First. Military training is not conducive to the best physical development of school boys. It is contrary to the practice and experience of the skilled leaders in physical education. This idea is summed up in the words of Dr. Charles Eliot, former President of Harvard University: "Military drill seems to me one of the poorest forms of bodily exercise; very inferior to most gymnastic exercises and to all free sports. There is too much routine and automatic action in it and too much repression of individual freedom. The only good part of it is the 'setting-up drill,' which can easily be made a gymnastic exercise without military accompaniments."

Military drill is unelastic, undeveloping and opposed to that flexibility and initiative which are valuable ends in physical training. Dean Russell, of Teachers' College, Columbia University, has recently expressed similar views in condemning military training for school boys, and Dr. Sargent, of Harvard University, is equally emphatic.

Second. The teachers and educators of the United States are practically a unit in opposing this movement. The following statement appears in the resolutions adopted by the National Education Association, at Oakland, California, in the summer of 1915: "The Association deplores any attempt to militarize this country. It again declares against the establishment of compulsory military training in the schools, on the ground that it is

reactionary and inconsistent with American ideals and standards."

Third. Military training in schools is utterly futile as a preparation for service in the field. The small amount of training that can be given, unsuited to the age and development of boyhood, as above stated, is of no practical value.

Fourth. None of the great European countries at present engaged in warfare, committed as they are to militarism, is practicing military training for its boys in the schools. Such a system was tried temporarily some time ago in both England and France, but was given up on account of its uselessness and futility.

Fifth. The development of a system of military training would entail great expense to no good purpose, interfere with the good working of the schools by introducing into the school system men out of touch with educational ideals and practices, and would introduce grave dangers in the form of militarism and a radical change in our national ideals.

Many other reasons could be given against military training. We are willing, however, to rest our opposition on the grounds above stated.

Pennsylvania Arbitration and Peace Society,
Lincoln Building, Philadelphia.

Copies of these resolutions may be obtained by addressing the Executive Secretary.

HOW WE SPEND OUR INCOME

Total Expenditures for Year Ending June 30th, 1920

$5,687,712,848.00

Taxation for the expenses of the Federal Government for the year ending June 30, 1920, averaged *50 Dollars* per person; of this only *50 Cents* per person were spent for education, development and research.

This Colossal Sum is Divided as Follows:

WAR 93.6%

- **PRESENT ARMAMENT**
- **PAST WARS**

ALL ELSE 6.4%

- **PUBLIC WELFARE, PUBLIC WORKS AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE GOVERNMENT**

Analysis by E. B. Rosa, U. S. Bureau of Standards. Latest Available Statistics.

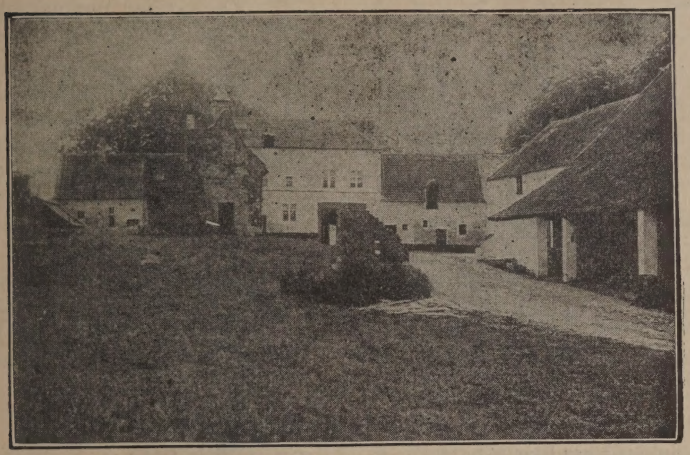
Committee International Reduction Armament
67 Milk Street, Room 65, Boston, Mass.

HOW WE
SPEND OUR INCOME
$5,687,713,643.00
WAR
PAST WARS
PUBLIC WELFARE
PUBLIC WORKS AND
ADMINISTRATION OF
THE GOVERNMENT

"THE NEXT WAR"

An Appeal to Common Sense

By WILL IRWIN



ARTILLERY FIRE IN 1815

Hougoumont Château. During the Battle of Waterloo, it was bombarded all day by Napoleon's cannon. Result: A small outbuilding wrecked (ruin in the foreground), a corner at the peak of the chapel (to the left) knocked off, and some small holes, since repaired, in the front walls and the roofs.—The Next War

ARTILLERY FIRE IN 1915

A château in Northern France. It was wrecked by a single big-calibre German shell.—The Next War.

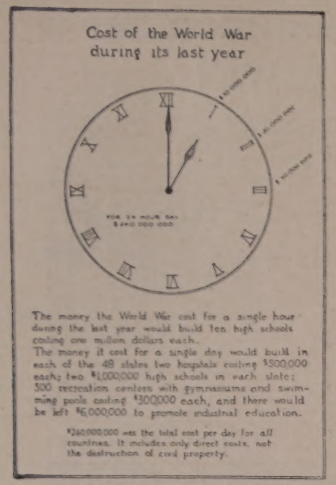
"If I had a million dollars I would see that every teacher, preacher, and legislator in the United States owned this volume."

"I would have it taught in every public school."

"Unreservedly I place it as the best book in the world right now, for every man and woman in America to read, including the President and the Senate."

Frank Crane in the Globe, May 19, 1921

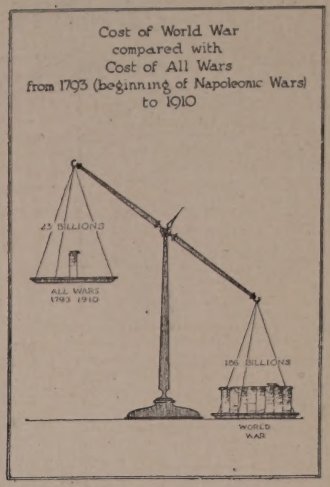
"The Next War:" An Appeal to Common Sense. *By Will Irwin*


Cost of the World War
during its last year
The money the World War cost for a single hour during the last year would build ten high schools costing one million dollars each.
The money it cost for a single day would build in each of the 48 states two hospitals costing $500,000 each; two $1,000,000 high schools in each state; 500 recreation centers with gymnasiums and swimming pools costing $300000 each, and there would be left $6,000,000 to promote industrial education.
$260,000,000 was the total cost per day for all countries. It includes only direct costs, not the destruction of civil property.

"Ten million soldiers in arms died in the last war; and thirty million others 'who might be living today' are not living. War on civilians was not yet a generally acknowledged fact; it was only a practical result. In the next war, it will be an acknowledged fact. The civilian population, I repeat once for all, will be an objective of military necessity —fair game."—The Next War.

"Of course, when you attack and bombard a city without warning—and an air raid, to be effective must come without warning—you include in the circle of destruction every living thing in that city, the weakest non-combatant with the strongest soldier. 'Baby killers' the Londoners called the Zeppelins. They were just that; for baby killing had become incidental to military necessity."—The Next War.

"Now is the appointed time to begin action, and we are the appointed people. The lesson of the last war is still fresh in mind; and unto us, by luck rather than our own foresight, has been given the dominating position in the world of the next quarter-century. The course which the United States chooses will largely be the course of the other nations."—The Next War.



ERNEST POOLE in a letter to the NEW YORK WORLD: "I have just finished reading a book by Will Irwin, a little book, clear and easy to read. It is called 'The Next War.' And I wish it could be read by a million people in the next year. For the accumulation of stark indisputable facts and the graphic pictures of the world-wide desolation and despair inevitable if the next war comes are so ably given in this little book that I do not see how any man or woman reading it can withhold assent from its impassioned plea at the end—that now, not later, but now in time, and in this most favored land, this most powerful people on earth shall seize the chance and lead the way—not to greater armaments but to greater vision, wider, deeper sympathies, a more generous tolerance, an honest effort to understand."

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY: "This is a little book upon the biggest subject now before the world. It ought to be widely read —universally read. It is addressed to everyone, can be understood by all, asks little time and labor of the reader; yet it does not trifle with the topic or study cheap sensation."

NEW YORK TRIBUNE: "Will Irwin, the deservedly famous war correspondent, has put into the pages of one book, the results of his knowledge and consequent decisions as to war as a means of settling international differences. . . . There are passages of tense, terse writing in this book, especially in its graphic true picturing of the horrors now lodged in laboratories, where poison gas awaits its liberation. . . ."

NEW YORK HERALD: "Warning is Irwin's task. But he adds a positive plea for the reorganized world, beginning in the mind. And he hits one fallacy squarely in the solar plexus. . . . that war,—or at least an army establishment,— is needed for discipline."

SAN FRANCISCO BULLETIN: "It is not known whether President Harding has read this little volume, but if he has, the fact might well account for his change of attitude in regard to the Borah resolution, requesting him to open negotiations with Great Britain and Japan for an agreement to curtail naval construction."

Dear Bill:

If the people really knew what your book tells - facts and not theories - no statesman would be able to doublecross the world at Washington on November 11.

Ever yours,

Herbert Adams Gibbons

THE NEW REPUBLIC: "But the soul of the book, wherein lies its real message and immediate value is the spirit of clear-eyed idealism, the determination to get something done, in which it is written."

KANSAS CITY STAR: "The book by the man who of all Americans had probably the longest and most intimate acquaintance with the late war, and who earned the title of 'Ace of Correspondents,' is a demonstration by hard, cold facts of what a new war would really mean to civilization and to the human race, should the world prove powerless to prevent its occurrence."

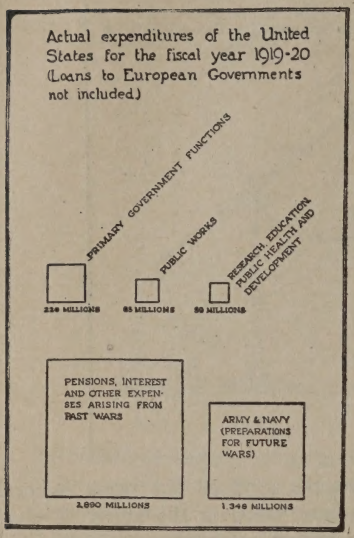
NEW YORK WORLD: "Beholding the world today one is forcibly reminded of a half-finished dog fight—plenty of blood and yelping from the principals, held temporarily in leash, and no guarantee that they will not spring at one another's throats on the slightest pretext and at the first opportunity. . . . Mr. Irwin has put the image of the Beast right in the middle of the mantlepiece, naked in all its horror, a sound, scientifically based estimate of just how and by what means we civilized folk are leisurely planning to massacre each other next time—no Wellsian fantasy of what may lie in store for each of us, but a frigid statement of the frightfulness already harnessed and docketed by man for future use against his neighbor."

RICHMOND NEWS LEADER: ". . . it constitutes an appeal that ought to be circulated throughout the country. Surely men would not hesitate in disarmament if they knew that the 'next war' of necessity will make the last appear as the argument of a gentleman!"

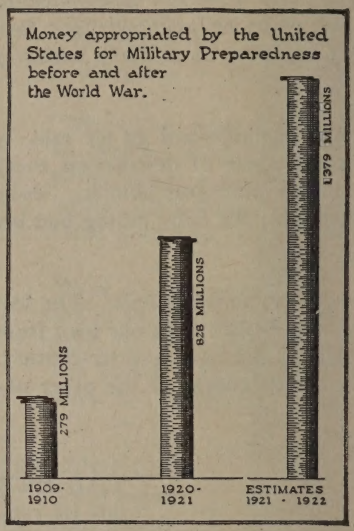
SAN FRANCISCO CALL POST: "Sometimes you come across a book that rouses all the enthusiasm you possess for noble causes. When you have finished it you find yourself saying: 'This book is the last word on the most important subject in the world today. Every man, woman and child in the world ought to read it. Every law maker ought to carry a copy around in his pocket and read a chapter every day of his life. If he won't do it willingly he ought to be forced to do so.' And that is the sort of book Will Irwin has written."

"THE NEXT WAR"

By WILL IRWIN


Actual expenditures of the United States for the fiscal year 1919-20 (Loans to European Governments not included)
PRIMARY GOVERNMENT FUNCTIONS
PUBLIC WORKS
RESEARCH, EDUCATION, PUBLIC HEALTH AND DEVELOPMENT
236 MILLIONS
85 MILLIONS
59 MILLIONS
PENSIONS, INTEREST AND OTHER EXPENSES ARISING FROM PAST WARS
2,890 MILLIONS
ARMY & NAVY (PREPARATIONS FOR FUTURE WARS)
1,346 MILLIONS

An Appeal to Common Sense



CONTENTS—War and Prophecy—The Breeding of Calamity—Second Ypres—The New Warfare—Tactics of the Next War—War and the Race—The Cost in Money—Economics and the Next War—"The Tonic of Nations"—The Discipline of Peace—The Dramatic Moment—Proposed Ways to Peace—The Tempter.

DO YOU KNOW

That nearly 10,000,000 men lost their lives in the World War, while 700,000 were killed in the American Civil War?

That the World War cost 186 billions in comparison with 23 billions for all wars from 1793 to 1910?

That the United States appropriated 279 millions for Military Preparedness in 1909-1910, and estimates spending 1,379 millions in 1921-1922.

That the United States spent in 1919-1920 only 59 millions on research, education, public health, and development, compared with 2,890 millions in pensions, interest and other expenses arising from the World War, exclusive of loans to foreign governments?

DO YOU REALIZE

That future wars will mean killing by wholesale not by retail methods!

That civilians "down to the weakest girl baby" will be fair objects of attack!

That one more upheaval like the one through which we have just passed would mean the extinction of whole races and the probable eclipse of European and American Civilization!

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AND SHOWS

That NOTHING can be done without America and EVERYTHING with America.

Illustrations and Graphs, Cloth $1.50

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THE CONQUERING ARMY

By

KATRINA TRASK

Published in 1915

A mighty Host, implacable as Fate,
Has marched, unceasing, through the centuries,
Across the myriad passes of the earth.
Men of all countries and of every clime
Have swelled the countless number of the Host.
Their garments, crimson-dyed, drip human blood:
Their eyes are grim as graves: their rough-shod feet
Trample fair women and frail new-born babes:
Their hands, blood-stained, are quick to seize, to rend,
To ravage, to destroy.
O'er the green earth,
Where they have passed, a withering blight remains;
Red ruin, desolation, and the dead
Heaped high as Heaven, a ghastly spectacle.
The little children, terror-stricken, run
To fondle fathers dead upon the field,
Or croon to outraged mothers, dead at home.
Defenseless maidens die, defiled by men:
And all things beautiful are desecrate.

For numberless dark ages, marched the Host —
And as they marched, they sang:

Lo! We are the Army of Death;
  We care not for Mercy — for Right:
Hot fury and flame is our breath:
  We battle for Conquest and Might.

We go forth to slay and be slain:
  No mortal can stand where we pass:
With dead we have powdered the plain,
  With blood we have poisoned the grass.

Lo! We are the Army of Death,
The merciless Army of Death,
The conquering Army of Death.

Yet, ever, in the record of the years,
The conquest won, in turn, was swept away
By later conquests of the conquering Host.
Since time began, the devastating horde
Has left no permanent, no living mark;
Has no endurance found in victory;
Nothing but irremediable woe,
And bitter seeds for future harvesting —
Hot hatred, and fresh greed for after-strife.
Each hard-won truce was but a passing pause,
Each conquest but a transitory gain
In the long warfare of the waiting world.

Strong Babylon and stately Nineveh
In triumph rose to glory and renown,
Flourished a fleeting day of royal fame,
To be, once more, low-levelled to the dust
By later deeds of conquest and of doom:
Great Persia, matchless Greece, majestic Rome,
Each rose in pride, then prostrate fell again
Before the trampling of the ceaseless Host.
The towering Teutons, the remorseless Turks,
The dauntless Anglo-Saxons and the Celts,
The valiant Franks, the Latins and the Slavs,
Have each, in turn, been drenched in blood of kin.

After long centuries of savage reign,
The ruthless, devastating horde became
The finely-finished flower of Christendom —
Baptized as Christians, civilized as men:
To-day, a purpose consecrate they hold —
To guard high honor, and to serve mankind:
The glory of aggression they disclaim —
Vaunting ambition, selfishness, and greed:
In splendid armed peace they now await
The call of Duty — the appeal for help,
Then bravely march, with fine-intentioned zeal.
Yet still they are the mighty Host of Death,
Who consecrate themselves to butchery
With lofty purpose and supreme intent:
They kill for honor, and for justice slay:
And as they march they sing:

Lo! We are the Army of Death:
  Great wrongs at our coming shall cease:
God breathes in our spirit His breath:
  We battle for Mercy and Peace.

We go forth to slay and be slain:
  For Duty and Justice we fight.
We care not for gold nor for gain,
  We battle alone for the Right.

Lo! We are the Army of Death,
The civilized Army of Death,
The Christianized Army of Death.

And still they slaughter — as they go to serve,
Equipped with frightful engines, swift to kill:
The mutilated men by millions fall
In trenches red with horror, piled with dead:
Still, as of old, the orphaned children cry,
In blackened towns laid waste and desolate,
And maidens, forced to bitter motherhood,
Are left to curse the day that they were born.
Men are insane with slaughter, drunk with blood,
The toxic curse of war: there is no way
Of killing they forget, no fiendish mode
Of torture they forego: a shrieking Hell
Is found where'er they fight.

Before they march,
The Army, in God's holy name, is blessed,
And over implements of war is made,
And on rewards for bravery is wrought
The awful and historic cross of Christ
Who died to teach men Love for all mankind.

The patient God, the while, looks down from Heaven
And laughs with humor infinite, divine.

He knows old ways will bring but old results.
To punish like with like, makes like, again:
The thistle from the thistle seed must spring:
Swords are the destined harvest of the sword.

But see! Behold! from the awakened East —
Where shines the splendor of the morning star,
Where spreads the effulgence of the coming Dawn,
Which heralds the glad birth of a new Day —
A valiant company is moving on,
An Army quiet, unregarded, small,
Devoid of flaming arms and armaments,
But terrible with Banners: strong in soul:
Brave men and women with their hearts aflame
To dare, to do, to help and to endure.
Their wind-swept garments smell of fragrant flowers
And spicy odors of the woodland pine —
No stench of blood is flaunted from the folds.

With perfect poise this Army marches on,
Unheeding cruel taunts and mocking sneers,
More sharp than bullets to the conscious heart:
When jeering men "white-livered cowards" hiss,
High courage is the conquest they attain —

To stay the hand and smile in steadfast strength.
Their eyes are glowing with an inward light,
As though they looked upon the great Unseen:
Their hands are quick to bind, to soothe, to bless.

How beautiful their onward pathway shines!
The yellow corn springs high, the golden grain
Waves promise on a thousand fruitful hills:
Great cities rise, enduring works increase;
Glad homes are crowned with comfort and with care:
And brooding science finds new secrets out.
The glory of accomplishment is theirs,
The mission of the mighty enterprise —
To conquer nature and to master art.
The secret of eternal harmony —
The reconciliation of the world.

The Army's ranks grow larger, year by year —
Its dauntless power invincible becomes:
Naught turns nor swerves it from its onward course —
No persecuting jest, no argument,
No noisy talk of Honor — every man
And every woman in the Army knows
That Honor is a holy thing, too dear
To leave to the arbitrament of arms,
To fatal hazard of chance shot and shell.
And as they march they sing:

Lo! We are the Army of Life!
  We are clothed with the strength of the Sun,
We are marching to conquer strife,
  We carry nor sabre nor gun.

Bright blossoms immortal shall spring
  In the way that our feet have trod:
A guerdon of giving we bring —
  Good-will unto all men from God.

Lo! We are the Army of Life,
The terrible Army of Life,
The conquering Army of Life.

By Nature's laws made manifest to man,
All Death is but Negation — dark decay:
Life is the vital spark that brings forth life:
Death shall be swallowed up in Victory.

All Hail, O Conquering Army of the Dawn!

Distributed through
CLEARING HOUSE FOR LIMITATION OF ARMAMENT
3 West 29th Street, New York City
November, 1921

Suggestions to Volunteer Peace Workers

1. Influence those in your own home to realize that war is an anachronism in this stage of civilization, and get them to help in the crusade against it.

2. Ask your minister, your superintendent of schools, your school teachers, the officials in your town, and other people who have an opportunity of meeting groups of men and women, to co-operate in bringing this conviction to the public mind.

3. Get up public meetings in halls or private houses with competent speakers.

4. Get up parlor meetings, where someone will read one of the striking peace plays now available.

5. Encourage the "shut-ins" of your community to write to their friends on the peace question, and to help spread literature.

6. Have a peace meeting in your woman's club at least once a year.

7. Bring the subject before the business men of your community through some club or association.

8. Have May 18 appropriately observed in the schools of your town.

9. Get the school children to act some of the peace plays.

10. Keep your local paper supplied with correct information and interesting items on the New Internationalism.

11. Write your congressman your opinion on important bills before Congress which relate to war and peace.

12. Keep on hand supplies of the best pamphlets and books on the peace question, to lend to friends.

13. Get some friend to help you to put all the best books on the peace question into your Public Library.

14. Try to think out individual methods for helping on this great cause of Peace through Justice.

15. Try to get people to join one or more of the peace societies — as only in unity is strength.

16. For learning further ways of helping on the Cause, call at the headquarters of your State Peace Society.

Rose Forbes
(Mrs. J. Malcolm Forbes)

Milton, Massachusetts
February, 1915

*J598.925

[Reprinted with revisions from ZION'S HERALD of January 26, 1927]

The Mexican War and the Present Crisis

EDWIN D. MEAD

THE President has sent six additional war vessels with more than 4000 men to Nicaragua, to reenforce the forces we had already sent there, ostensibly to protect American lives and property. To many of us, this great armada seems utterly incommensurate with any reported menace. Every patriotic man believes that our citizens should everywhere be properly protected in their legitimate international rights. But no American life has been threatened in Nicaragua; and nothing seems more unlikely than that a political faction there, manifestly most anxious for our favor and support, should sanction anything sure to provoke the hostility of so powerful a neighbor.

Senator William E. Borah, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, has charged Washington politicians and American capitalists with large oil and mineral interests in Mexico with a systematic and persistent effort to involve the United States in a "shameless and cowardly war with Mexico." "The American people," he says plainly, "should understand that all this cry of Communism and destruction of property is an effort to justify war with Mexico. They talk Communism and Bolshevism, but what they mean is war."

It was before New Year's that Senator Borah said this. A fortnight later he had an interview with the President at the White House; and when he came away he said promptly and decisively that nothing which had been said had changed his view.

Coincident with this outspoken declaration by Senator Borah was the cabled assurance from President Sacasa of the Liberal Government in Nicaragua that there is in his party no anti-American sentiment whatever and that every possible step has been taken for the security of American life and property.

This message from Sacasa has been followed by full statements by both Sacasa and Diaz, published in the newspapers during the last week, of their respective views of the revolution, so that no necessary information is lacking. President Coolidge has sent his message to Congress defending the Administration for its intervention in Nicaragua. It cannot be said that this gave any important new information. It did make the grave charge that the Mexican Government had brought about the present situation in Nicaragua and was continuing it, in hostility to our interests. The temper in which the Mexican foreign minister, Señor Saenz, in his statement published the next day, brands the charge as groundless, is a notable witness to the self-restraint and pacific purposes of the Mexican Government. Our people, in the present inflamed state of the public mind, should seriously take to heart its solemn closing words: "If the American Government, that has striven so much for international peace and for arbitration to settle the difficulties among nations, should turn its back upon its principles, trying to impose strength upon right, it would assume an attitude absolutely inexplicable."

The President's message was followed by Secretary Kellogg's amazing statements to the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate. His defense for our course is the presentation of a great pile of quotations from the propaganda utterances of Communists in the United States, Mexico, and South America, as well as Russia.

I believe that there is too much sobriety and common sense at Washington and in the country, too keen a sense of justice and the obligations of international neighborhood, too much decent respect to the opinions of mankind, to let this insanity go much farther. But none of us can forget that eighty years ago we did let a similar insanity go so far as finally to plunge us into a "shameless and cowardly war with Mexico," for which we blush today. If the history were repeated today, it would be for reasons still more paltry and more despicable than the reasons then. Do we want to let the republic in the year 2000 look back to 1927 as we now look back to 1846?

Concerning our inglorious and infamous war with Mexico eighty years ago, General Grant, who as a young lieutenant in the regular army served in it, in his later life declared it "one of the most unjust wars ever waged by a stronger against a weaker people." "It was," he said, "a political war; our troops were sent into Mexico to provoke a fight." Zachary Taylor himself, who as an obedient soldier fought its battles and became its hero, viewed it just as Grant viewed it; and it was largely because men knew this that he was made President of the United States. Abraham Lincoln's speech in Congress on our folly and iniquity in the matter is well known. Not so well known is a letter of his in 1848 to an Illinois clergyman who had apologized for the war, in which letter Lincoln takes pains to review the details of the course of the Polk Administration leading up to the war, to show the groundlessness of the Administration claims that we were not the aggressors. "If these are facts," Lincoln concluded, "then I shall be obliged for a reference to any law of language, law of nations, law of morals, law of religion, any law human or divine, in which authority can be found for saying those facts constitute no aggression. Would you venture to consider those facts of no moment had they been committed by any nation on earth against the humblest of our people? Then I ask, is the precept 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them,' obsolete or of no application?"

Boston and Massachusetts knew in 1845 as well as in 1865 what the fields are in which a nation pays the penalties of its sins; and here was the center of the opposition. We do not forget the noble utterances of Giddings and Lincoln, of Clay and Calhoun; but the great body of the words that ring down through history in condemnation of the Mexican War and the policy that provoked it are Massachusetts words. It is in the writings of Channing and the speeches of John Quincy Adams that the process of the annexation of Texas finds its righteous exposure; and as the iniquitous war with Mexico went on, all that was virtuous and chivalric in the commonwealth combined to mourn the dishonor and impeach the crime. When we have named Daniel Webster and Charles Francis Adams, Charles Sumner and Henry Wilson, Dana and Hillard, Palfrey and Horace Mann, Samuel and Rockwood Hoar, Garrison, Phillips, and Theodore Parker, Longfellow, Lowell, Whittier, and Emerson, it is a roll of honor which sufficiently answers the smug contention that criticism must cease in war and that the patriot's doctrine then must be, "My country, right or wrong." May Boston and Massachusetts speak today in the bold tones of 1846.

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The blind partizans of the Administration are doing their utmost to encourage it in its hopeless consistency. Its critics, they proclaim, in the face of the mighty and country-wide protest from the great journals and the churches, are only a few "pacifists." The course of the Administration had been the true course for the real peace which it undoubtedly had at heart. A little shaking of the big stick and display of cruisers would remind Mexico what she was up against if she really opposed us; and Secretary Kellogg's Bolshevist scare was merely an anchor to windward for remote contingencies. That this foolish talk has bolstered up the President on his irreconcilable side appears from the Washington dispatches of Jan. 21. The President, says the dispatch, "today turned an exceedingly cold shoulder toward the senatorial suggestion that the United States and Mexico should arbitrate their differences. He reiterated with some emphasis that the question resolved itself simply to whether the property of Americans should be confiscated, and he could not understand how any one in this country could see that there was more than one side to the question. On one side stood the United States and on the other, Mexico." This refusal to admit that there can be more than "one side" in an international dispute has been the curse of the world. If our case is so clear, why should we hesitate to send it to arbitration? Secretary Kellogg, who at first had welcomed Senator Robinson's resolution, now adopted by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by a vote of 12 to 3, and then by the Senate itself, says today merely that he is "willing" to consider it.

Both the United States and Mexico are members of the Hague Arbitration Court. Why do they not refer their disputes to that tribunal? The President of Mexico has declared his willingness to do this. Why was not our nation, which is the stronger of the two and thus under paramount obligation, the first to make the proposal? Elihu Root, our wisest living

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Happily, there are assurances that the people are finally waking to the danger and the wrong into which they have been betrayed by a long course of obtuseness. The incredibly foolish fulmination of Secretary Kellogg startled the intelligence of the country as the President's message had not done. The reaction of the ablest newspapers was almost revolutionary. Seldom in the history of the American press has such enlightened, righteous, robust, and salutary work been done as that in such papers as *The New York Times*, the New York *World*, and *The Springfield Republican* in the days immediately following Secretary Kellogg's explosion. Several of these powerful articles have been reprinted in a pamphlet by the Foreign Policy Association and thousands of copies sent to all parts of the country. Mass meetings have been arranged in New York, Washington, and Boston, and similar meetings will follow everywhere. A resolution calling for peaceful settlement has been introduced in the Massachusetts legislature, where the similar pronouncement adopted against the old Mexican War in 1846 was written by Charles Sumner.

The professors and students of the Union Theological Seminary, our greatest school of religion, have united in a manifesto declaring that the support of religious men would not be given to any policy of war; and the other seminaries will say Amen, — the Berkeley Divinity School has already done so. The resolute declaration of the president and faculty of Brown University reflects the sentiment of American scholarship; and the ringing speech of President Butler of Columbia University will be applauded in every university in the country. The protest against the government's policy by the 101 professors of history and politics in the various universities is representative. Church federations and individual pulpit utterances everywhere are again proving impressively the strong new devotion of the churches to their public duty, and that there is today far more real statesmanship, as well as conscience, in the pulpit than in the Senate.

Yet in the Senate one great and noble word has been spoken, the speech of Senator Borah, following Secretary Kellogg's address before the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate. Once before Senator Borah rendered monumental service to the cause of peace: for it was his persistent and untiring agitation, at first against overwhelming opposition in Congress, which finally compelled the calling of the Washington Conference of 1921 for the reduction of naval armaments. But never before has he done the country and the world such noble and beneficent service as in his powerful speech following Secretary Kellogg's statement, in which by his searching survey of our relations with Mexico and Central America and his appeal to the fundamental principles of the republic and of international justice he called a halt to the levity and the disgrace of the course which the Administration is pursuing.

These things have given the country a chance to recover itself; and signs multiply that we are on the eve of such a mighty expression of public opinion and of the public conscience as will effectually remind our ill-trained and insensitive political servants that the people are the rulers of the republic and that the people will be heard. A fortnight ago it would have been difficult to get such arbitration resolutions through the Senate as have just been passed.

The President told the newspaper men last week that he doubted if the American people realized the real issue. The people evidently realize the real issue much better than the politicians. What is the real issue? The Administration thinks it is the prevention of Mexico from reforming her land-laws lest it prejudice a few American investments; rather than permit this it would pursue a policy involving risk of war. The people believe this oil question is a secondary matter and that the thing of real moment is the prevention of any possibility of war and the cultivation of friendship and cooperation with our Mexican neighbors. They do not believe that the President is just in speaking of the purpose of the Mexican government as "confiscation." They fear that the Administration, in its obsession by that idea, is blind to the damage its policy is doing us in South America and Europe. They wonder if it realizes the significance of the hot condemnation of our course by the great mass meeting of the Rio Janeiro students, and the execration of the united South American Press. The whole spirit of the Pan-American Union is jeopardized by the bastard new "Monroe doctrine," which would make Monroe and Jefferson turn in their graves, that although Europe may never interfere in Latin America we may interfere whenever our commercial interests dictate it.

Edwin L. James, the able European correspondent of the New York *Times*, cables that the course of our government has caused more discussion in Europe than any action here since the rejection of the Versailles treaty. It seems there the oppression of a weaker people for our own benefit; and it fortifies the European nations in their own imperialistic schemes. They think that at last they "have Uncle Sam's number." But "millions of people in Europe," says Mr. James, "who up to recent days had really believed the United States promised a new world leadership, are disappointed and disturbed."

If this means little to Washington politicians, it means much to the American people. With them it is a very "real issue," and a momentous one; and they doubt whether the government realizes it. That is the meaning of the great popular uprising of the last fornight. "A nation," says the New York *World* truly, "by the sheer force of its own public opinion has restrained its own government." At this hour the press, the churches and the scholars of the country speak for the people as the government does not. It is not extravagant to say that the New York *Times* and *World*, to mention simply the country's two leading journals, have, with their great body of trained men, completer knowledge and clearer grasp of the situation than the State department and the White House. They know, and the best mind of the country knows, that we are in danger of tragical disaster from the same blindness which pronounced the proposal of our entrance into the League of Nations "a closed incident," and hindered our joining the World Court except with "loaded dice" in the way of finical reservations that embarrassed the rest of civilization. Surely, surely, there is "a more excellent way" than that which we have taken in our foreign policy concerning the League of Nations and the World Court, and concerning Japan and Mexico. It is not in what the politicians have done in these matters, but in what the people have done, in Belgian relief, in Russian relief, and in the Near East relief, that the true America has expressed itself.

Walter H. Page, our ambassador at London during the World War, wrote in 1913: "Was there ever greater need of unselfish working in world problems by first-class minds? The vast energy that now spends itself in maintaining armies and navies must find a new outlet. The present order must change; it keeps back self-government and the progress of man. Nobody can lead in such a new era but the United States. May there not come such a chance in Mexico, — to keep out bandits, yellow fever, malaria, hookworm, — all to make the country healthful, safe for life and investments, and for orderly self-government at last?" He would have added surely that we should cooperate on a broad scale in helping our less fortunate southern neighbor. Here is beckoning indeed to some Rockefeller Foundation, some Carnegie Foundation, and some Herbert Hoover; as well as to public generosity. The cost would be trifling compared with the cost of possible war, and it would make war impossible, since friendship is not the soil for war. We remember how Franklin, with his strong humanitarian commonsense, enforced the same truth.

Instead, while Mexico has been in the throes of reconstruction, wrestling with numberless domestic problems under every disadvantage, seeking for the reform of antiquated land laws and hoary old social abuses in ways which command the sympathy of all liberal men, our government has shown no sympathy, no helpfulness, as President Calles said with feeling to Mr. Herring and the visiting American clergymen and journalists a fortnight ago, but only a spirit of criticism, fault-finding and the cold shoulder, harping solely upon technical legal points touching oil and mineral claims affecting a few hundred rich American investors and adventurers. How small this number finally proves to be is shown by the dispatch of the Associated Press from Mexico City last week that of 147 oil companies operating in Mexico, all but 22 have accepted the new petroleum law, and the department of industry hoped that the resistance of this remnant would disappear little by little, the department seeking to show the utmost consideration for the various companies to afford them justice and protect their rights. In behalf of these few oil investors the government has been so preoccupied that it has seemingly looked on almost with indifference while the country was drifting towards a war which would command the unanimous reprobation of South America and Europe and involve incalculable tragedy to the two peoples. The drift culminated in the President's painful and perplexing message and Secretary Kellogg's nightmare about Bolshevism—a Bolshevism with which he was utterly unable to associate the Mexican government and people, against whom he was seeking to stir up passion. The hour has struck for a new mind and a new heart. "It is a very perilous thing," said Woodrow Wilson, "to determine the foreign policy of a nation in the terms of material interests."

Boston, January 25.

3528.325

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EDWIN D. MEAD

THE President has sent six additional war vessels with more than 4000 men to Nicaragua, to reenforce the forces we had already sent there, ostensibly to protect American lives and property. To many of us, this great armada seems utterly incommensurate with any reported menace. Every patriotic man believes that our citizens should everywhere be properly protected in their legitimate international rights. But no American life has been threatened in Nicaragua; and nothing seems more unlikely than that a political faction there, manifestly most anxious for our favor and support, should sanction anything sure to provoke the hostility of so powerful a neighbor.

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The professors and students of the Union Theological Seminary, our greatest school of religion, have united in a manifesto declaring that the support of religious men would not be given to any policy of war; and the other seminaries will say Amen, — the Berkeley Divinity School has already done so. The resolute declaration of the president and faculty of Brown University reflects the sentiment of American scholarship; and the ringing speech of President Butler of Columbia University will be applauded in every university in the country. The protest against the government's policy by the 101 professors of history and politics in the various universities is representative. Church federations and individual pulpit utterances everywhere are again proving impressively the strong new devotion of the churches to their public duty, and that there is today far more real statesmanship, as well as conscience, in the pulpit than in the Senate.

Yet in the Senate one great and noble word has been spoken, the speech of Senator Borah, following Secretary Kellogg's address before the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate. Once before Senator Borah rendered monumental service to the cause of peace: for it was his persistent and untiring agitation, at first against overwhelming opposition in Congress, which finally compelled the calling of the Washington Conference of 1921 for the reduction of naval armaments. But never before has he done the country and the world such noble and beneficent service as in his powerful speech following Secretary Kellogg's statement, in which by his searching survey of our relations with Mexico and Central America and his appeal to the fundamental principles of the republic and of international justice he called a halt to the levity and the disgrace of the course which the Administration is pursuing.

These things have given the country a chance to recover itself; and signs multiply that we are on the eve of such a mighty expression of public opinion and of the public conscience as will effectually remind our ill-trained and insensitive political servants that the people are the rulers of the republic and that the people will be heard. A fortnight ago it would have been difficult to get such arbitration resolutions through the Senate as have just been passed. The President told the newspaper men last week that he doubted if the American people realized the real issue. The people evidently realize the real issue much better than the politicians. What is the real issue? The Administration thinks it is the prevention of Mexico from reforming her land-laws lest it prejudice a few American investments; rather than permit this it would pursue a policy involving risk of war. The people believe this oil question is a secondary matter and that the thing of real moment is the prevention of any possibility of war and the cultivation of friendship and cooperation with our Mexican neighbors. They do not believe that the President is just in speaking of the purpose of the Mexican government as "confiscation." They fear that the Administration, in its obsession by that idea, is blind to the damage its policy is doing us in South America and Europe. They wonder if it realizes the significance of the hot condemnation of our course by the great mass meeting of the Rio Janeiro students, and the execration of the united South American Press. The whole spirit of the Pan-American Union is jeopardized by the bastard new "Monroe doctrine," which would make Monroe and Jefferson turn in their graves, that although Europe may never interfere in Latin America we may interfere whenever our commercial interests dictate it.

Edwin L. James, the able European correspondent of the New York *Times*, cables that the course of our government has caused more discussion in Europe than any action here since the rejection of the Versailles treaty. It seems there the oppression of a weaker people for our own benefit; and it fortifies the European nations in their own imperialistic schemes. They think that at last they "have Uncle Sam's number." But "millions of people in Europe," says Mr. James, "who up to recent days had really believed the United States promised a new world leadership, are disappointed and disturbed."

If this means little to Washington politicians, it means much to the American people. With them it is a very "real issue," and a momentous one; and they doubt whether the government realizes it. That is the meaning of the great popular uprising of the last fornight. "A nation," says the New York *World* truly, "by the sheer force of its own public opinion has restrained its own government." At this hour the press, the churches and the scholars of the country speak for the people as the government does not. It is not extravagant to say that the New York *Times* and *World*, to mention simply the country's two leading journals, have, with their great body of trained men, completer knowledge and clearer grasp of the situation than the State department and the White House. They know, and the best mind of the country knows, that we are in danger of tragical disaster from the same blindness which pronounced the proposal of our entrance into the League of Nations "a closed incident," and hindered our joining the World Court except with "loaded dice" in the way of finical reservations that embarrassed the rest of civilization. Surely, surely, there is "a more excellent way" than that which we have taken in our foreign policy concerning the League of Nations and the World Court, and concerning Japan and Mexico. It is not in what the politicians have done in these matters, but in what the people have done, in Belgian relief, in Russian relief, and in the Near East relief, that the true America has expressed itself.

Walter H. Page, our ambassador at London during the World War, wrote in 1913: "Was there ever greater need of unselfish working in world problems by first-class minds? The vast energy that now spends itself in maintaining armies and navies must find a new outlet. The present order must change; it keeps back self-government and the progress of man. Nobody can lead in such a new era but the United States. May there not come such a chance in Mexico, — to keep out bandits, yellow fever, malaria, hookworm, — all to make the country healthful, safe for life and investments, and for orderly self-government at last?" He would have added surely that we should cooperate on a broad scale in helping our less fortunate southern neighbor. Here is beckoning indeed to some Rockefeller Foundation, some Carnegie Foundation, and some Herbert Hoover; as well as to public generosity. The cost would be trifling compared with the cost of possible war, and it would make war impossible, since friendship is not the soil for war. We remember how Franklin, with his strong humanitarian commonsense, enforced the same truth.

Instead, while Mexico has been in the throes of reconstruction, wrestling with numberless domestic problems under every disadvantage, seeking for the reform of antiquated land laws and hoary old social abuses in ways which command the sympathy of all liberal men, our government has shown no sympathy, no helpfulness, as President Calles said with feeling to Mr. Herring and the visiting American clergymen and journalists a fortnight ago, but only a spirit of criticism, fault-finding and the cold shoulder, harping solely upon technical legal points touching oil and mineral claims affecting a few hundred rich American investors and adventurers. How small this number finally proves to be is shown by the dispatch of the Associated Press from Mexico City last week that of 147 oil companies operating in Mexico, all but 22 have accepted the new petroleum law, and the department of industry hoped that the resistance of this remnant would disappear little by little, the department seeking to show the utmost consideration for the various companies to afford them justice and protect their rights. In behalf of these few oil investors the government has been so preoccupied that it has seemingly looked on almost with indifference while the country was drifting towards a war which would command the unanimous reprobation of South America and Europe and involve incalculable tragedy to the two peoples. The drift culminated in the President's painful and perplexing message and Secretary Kellogg's nightmare about Bolshevism—a Bolshevism with which he was utterly unable to associate the Mexican government and people, against whom he was seeking to stir up passion. The hour has struck for a new mind and a new heart. "It is a very perilous thing," said Woodrow Wilson, "to determine the foreign policy of a nation in the terms of material interests."

Boston, January 25.

*7578.325

The Treaty Rights of Aliens

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1. The Government of the United States is bound by numerous treaties respecting the rights of aliens. For example, the treaty of 1871 with Italy contains the following reciprocal pledges:

"The citizens of each of the high contracting parties shall receive in the States and Territories of the other, the most constant protection and security for their persons and property, and shall enjoy in this respect the same rights and privileges as are or may be granted to the natives, on their submitting themselves to the conditions imposed upon the natives."

2. The personal and property rights of aliens have been repeatedly violated, and as a result, the friendly relations existing between the United States and foreign countries have been jeopardized.

"At Rock Springs, Wyoming, on November 30, 1885, there was an armed attack by one hundred men on a Chinese settlement in a mining town, in which all the houses were burnt, and in which twenty-eight Chinamen lost their lives, sixteen were wounded, and all their property was destroyed.

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"In a similar attack in Squak Valley, Washington,* three Chinamen were killed and four wounded.

"At Orofino, in Idaho, five Chinese were killed.

"At Anaconda, in Montana, four Chinamen were killed.

"At Snake River, Oregon, ten Chinamen were killed.

"In Juneau, Alaska, one hundred Chinese were expelled by lawless violence from their homes and the Territory.

"In an official note of February 15, 1886, riots were reported at Bloomfield, Redding, Boulder Creek, Eureka, and other towns in California, involving murder, arson, and robbery, and it was added that thousands of Chinese had been driven from their homes.

"Nine Italians were lynched in New Orleans in 1891.

"In August, 1895, one Mexican was lynched in California.

"In October, 1895, one Mexican was lynched in Texas.

"In 1895 three Italians were lynched at Walsenberg, Colorado.

"In 1896 three Italians were lynched at Hahnville, Louisiana.

"In 1899 three Italians were lynched at Tallulah, Louisiana.

"In 1901 three Italians were lynched at Erin, Mississippi.

"In 1910 one Italian was lynched in Florida."

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*From a list given by ex-President Taft in his book, "The United States and Peace" (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914)

A typical case was that which occurred in New Orleans in 1891. "The trouble began with the* murder of the chief of police of that city, and popular belief attributed the crime to Italians connected with a branch of the secret organization of the Mafia. . . . Twenty-two Italians were indicted . . . and nine were tried, all of whom were acquitted or remanded to another trial. Popular opinion again held that the acquittal was due to bribery by agents of the Mafia, and a citizens' committee determined to prevent what was believed to be a miscarriage of justice. A mob was organized, and the Italians were taken from jail and lynched. Rudini, the minister of foreign affairs, immediately directed that the Italian minister at Washington demand from the government of the United States judicial proceedings and reparation. To these demands, insistently repeated, . . . Blaine replied that the federal government could not of itself instigate criminal proceedings; that the indictments must be made by the municipal authorities under state law. . . . This interpretation of federal and state relations, by which the United States appeared to escape responsibility, was not acceptable to the Italian government, and Baron Fava was recalled. As the American minister was also withdrawn from the Italian Court, diplomatic negotiations be-

* "National Problems," by Professor Davis R. Dewey (The American Nation Series, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1907)

tween the two countries were carried on by subordinates. . . . The whole affair was a lesson in the complications arising from the inability of the treaty-making power, through the relations of the federal government to the several States, to carry out its treaty obligations as it expected them to be observed by other powers towards American citizens."

3. It is evident that the Government of the United States is unable adequately to protect the treaty rights of aliens owing to the lack of legislation permitting the federal courts to take jurisdiction in such cases. President Harrison, just after the Mafia case, said:

"It would, I believe, be entirely competent for Congress to make offenses against the treaty rights of foreigners domiciled in the United States cognizable in the federal courts. This has not, however, been done, and the federal officers and courts have no power in such cases to intervene either for the protection of a foreign citizen or for the punishment of his slayers."

President McKinley, in his annual message of December 5, 1899, used these words:

"For the fourth time in the present decade question has arisen with the Government of Italy in regard to the lynching of Italian subjects. The latest of these deplorable events occurred at Tallulah, Louisiana, whereby five unfortunates of

Italian origin were taken from jail and hanged. . . . . The recurrence of these distressing manifestations of blind mob fury directed at dependents or natives of a foreign country suggests that the contingency has arisen for action by Congress in the direction of conferring upon the federal courts jurisdiction in this class of international cases where the ultimate responsibility of the Federal Government may be involved."

President Roosevelt, in his annual message of December, 1906, said:

"One of the greatest embarrassments attending the performance of our international obligations is the fact that the statutes of the United States are entirely inadequate. They fail to give to the national government sufficiently ample power, through United States courts and by the use of the army and navy, to protect aliens in the rights secured to them under solemn treaties which are the law of the land. I, therefore, earnestly recommend that the criminal and civil statutes of the United States be so amended and added to as to enable the President, acting for the United States Government, which is responsible in our international relations, to enforce the rights of aliens under treaties. There should be no particle of doubt as to the power of the national government completely to perform and enforce its own obligations to other nations. The mob of a single city may at any time perform acts of lawless violence against some class of foreigners which would plunge us into war. That city by itself would be powerless

to make defense against the foreign power thus assaulted, and if independent of this government, it would never venture to perform or permit the performance of the acts complained of. The entire power and the whole duty to protect the offending city or the offending community lies in the hands of the United States Government. It is unthinkable that we should continue a policy under which a given locality may be allowed to commit a crime against a friendly nation, and the United States Government limited, not to prevention of the commission of the crime, but, in the last resort, to defending the people who have committed it against the consequences of their own wrongdoing."

President Taft, in his inaugural address, March 4, 1909, said:

"By proper legislation we may, and ought to, place in the hands of the federal executive the means of enforcing the treaty rights of such aliens in the courts of the Federal Government. It puts our government in a pusillanimous position to make definite engagements to protect aliens and then to excuse the failure to perform those engagements by an explanation that the duty to keep them is in States or cities not within our control. If we would promise, we must put ourselves in a position to perform our promise. We cannot permit the possible failure of justice, due to local prejudice in any State or municipal government, to expose us to the risk of a war which might be avoided if federal jurisdiction was as-

serted by suitable legislation by Congress and carried out by proper proceedings instituted by the executive in the courts of the national government."

4. Hon. John Jacob Rogers introduced, on February 6, 1917, the following bill, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives:

Punishing conspiracy to injure, oppress, threaten, or intimidate any alien in the exercise of any right under any treaty of the United States.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That if two or more persons conspire to injure, oppress, threaten or intimidate any alien in the free exercise or enjoyment of any right secured to him under any treaty of the United States, or because of his having exercised the same, they shall be fined not more than $5,000 or imprisoned not more than ten years, or both.

This would be in the nature of an amendment to the following section of the Federal Penal Code (§ 5508, U. S. Rev. Sts.):

"If two or more persons conspire to injure, oppress, threaten or intimidate any citizen in the free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the

United States or because of his having so exercised the same, they shall be fined," etc.

5. We believe that this bill should be passed. It is fundamentally right. "Where there is responsibility, there ought to be power." It would be effective as a measure of "preparedness" against war, because it would lessen the liability of serious controversies with foreign governments respecting the protection of the rights of their nationals in this country. It would demonstrate that the United States proposes to keep sacred its international obligations, respect for which is of supreme importance if a reign of international law and justice is ever to be realized. It would be a practical step, possible for us to take at this time, in the direction of better international relations.

If you are in favor of such action, we urge that you write to the Representative in Congress from your district in regard to it.

MASSACHUSETTS PEACE SOCIETY
Pemberton Building, Boston

May 1, 1917.

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Universal Military Service

By Oswald Garrison Villard

UNIVERSAL MILITARY SERVICE

By OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

Within the year a very startling change has taken place in the preparedness movement which burst upon us with such amazing unexpectedness in 1915. Although appropriations of staggering proportions—the greatest ever made in a Christian nation in time of peace—have been made for army and navy, we are now told that that is not enough and that universal military service is what we must have to render us safe from invasion. More than that, this undreamed of un-American institution—compulsory military training, which it is averred Australia was on the point of throwing off just before the war, is now held up to us as being both a cure-all for all our ills and that most beautiful of things—a perfect democratic institution.

Do we wish to defend our country? We have but to adopt the system of training every boy to be a soldier, and the problem is solved. Do we wish to become industrially efficient? Then let us forget all about vocational training, but give every American a year under arms, and presto! we shall outdo Germany in scientific efficiency and management. Is our youth lawless and undisciplined? Universal compulsory service will end that once for all. Is our democracy halting? It is the tonic of a democratic army that we need in which all men shall pay for the privileges of citizenship by a year of preparation for poison gas and of learning how to murder other human beings. Our melting-pot is a failure? Then let us pour into it the iron of militarism, and it will fuse every element at once. Finally, if we need an American soul—and the war has suddenly taught us that this glorious country lacks a soul—it is the remedy of universal military service that is to supply our spiritual needs and give us the ability to feel as one, to think as one, to steer towards our destiny as of one mind, imperialistically.

It is all so alluringly, so entrancingly easy, the wonder is that we have never thought of it before. Why have not our young Americans thronged our recruiting offices demanding to be enlisted? Why is it that we have seen pass through Ellis Island thousands upon thousands who were fleeing conscription abroad, many with self-mutilated hands. Why is it that we have not noted that the hundreds of thousands of graduates of our regular army were far more efficient than the ordinary men in civil life?

First, let us examine the assertion that conscription is a really democratic institution because it makes rich and poor sleep in the same tents. Now, will any one claim that universal service has democratized Germany? There we find caste after caste even within the army. The men who can pass a university examination are specially favored by being permitted to

serve one year, while those whose fathers were too poor to give them this schooling must serve three. Again, there are all sorts of anti-democratic tendencies within the service, some regiments being the abiding place of men of highest title and others of noble men of lesser rank. Here, as in the French and American armies, the very first thing that you stumble upon is the fact that an army as such is a military hierarchy—it is so described in the military text-books that I studied when taking a military course at Harvard. In Germany, in fact, the autocracy rules the army, and the aristocracy is fortressed by it. More than one debate in the Reichstag has been enlivened by the bitter attacks against the favoritism shown to the Imperial Guards and to other fashionable regiments. The spirit of arrogance and aristocracy which the military life, with its dueling, its mediaeval code of honor, fosters, is about as anti-democratic as anything in the world. When men, merely by reason of the coat they wear, deem themselves sacrosanct and especially privileged, even to the extent of running through civilians by whom they fancy themselves insulted, or by preparing to turn their machine-guns upon their civilian fellow-townsmen, as Colonel Reuter did in Zabern, it is obviously absurd to contend that the system of which they are the products smacks, save in the remotest, of anything democratic.

Indeed, one would like to see any German recruit who might be so innocent as to believe that the German army was a democratic affair five minutes after any expression to that effect had reached a non-commissioned officer's ears. When anyone speaks to me of the democracy of universal military service, there arise before me the unutterable cruelties of non-commissioned officers and some of the officers—visions of the thousands of men coming to our shores to avoid the barracks, with their open immoralities, their bitter hardships, the loss of three years of so many working lives. The "Red Rosa," Rosa Luxembourg, with her 10,000 authenticated instances of cruelties to German soldiers, inflicted by their own countrymen behind the screen of official authority, explained to us why many young Germans emigrated before becoming of military age. In speaking of the case of one soldier horribly abused at Metz, the "Red Rosa" declared: "It is certainly one of those dramas which are enacted day in and day out in German barracks, although the groans of the actors never reach our ears." At once the German army prosecuted her, and she was imprisoned for telling the truth. And those who believe that serving with the colors makes men more loyal to their rulers are respectfully referred to the fact that in Germany there has grown up a party of three millions of voters absolutely opposed to the existing form of government and society. Now, you may say that this fact and the similar one that France has actually had Socialistic ministries at the helm, has had nothing to do with universal service. To which I reply that I am as much entitled to claim this a result of universal service as its advocates have to assert that this is responsible for the Prussian efficiency, which we are asked, but I for one refuse, either to worship or to bend the knee to. Is it altogether a coincidence that in America and Great Britain, where there is no universal service, the Socialists have the smallest foothold?

As a matter of fact, Prussian efficiency in the German army is but one result of an efficiency that drills mentally the youth of the land long before they reach the army. It is in the schools and universities of the empire that efficiency is to be found first of all. I speak with some knowledge because I went to a German school myself and have had excellent opportunities to see for myself just what universal service means. I know, moreover, from official records that no less than ten thousand three hundred young Germans have committed suicide in the last thirty years, or at the rate of one a day while undergoing universal service. I know that its whole tendency, whether in France or in Germany, is to reduce men to a dead level, to make men cease thinking for themselves and to compel them to think as others wish them to think. I know that it does not train the physically unfit or build up the weak; these are not taken into the service at all. I assert, without fear of denial, that the purpose of universal service is to turn out killers, not workers, and that if the efficiency of civil life profits by it that is accidental or incidental. Any German officer would laugh you out of court if you were to suggest that he gave one thought to turning out else than the ablest killer of human beings he could possibly create.

If it is universal military service which renders Germany so efficient, then why is it that France is not equally efficient, or Russia, or Servia, or Belgium, or Holland, or all the rest? Has anybody ever asserted that universal service has done anything to ennoble Russia or to civilize or to render more modern this most backward and reactionary of all the nations? No, the one pre-eminent, incontestable, irrefutable thing that it has done for Russia is to keep its tyrant safely on his throne. Universal service, I believe, is the best instrument ever devised for keeping down the democratic tendencies of a people instead of exalting them, and of insuring permanence to Kaisers and kings. Deny it, if you can. Europe is there to prove my words.

But I hear: Why talk about Germany? Why not talk about our country where there are no kings and tyrants? Well, one must talk about Germany because the whole devilish idea of making men slaves to militarism was invented there, and we have a right to note that as a result of that very system we have in Germany today the most hated nation on earth. Note that, those of you who would in any degree pattern after her ways! But how about Australia and the conscription of boys there? Well, for one thing, in fifteen years that compulsory service has sent into court or jail no less than 22,000 Australian boys for refusal to serve or for minor infractions of discipline. And there, thank God, universal war service has just been defeated by a majority vote of 200,000 in war-time in the face of every possible appeal to patriotism. There the statement is persistently made in labor union and other circles that the training of boys will cease as soon as this war is over. There, too, they now realize that military drill does not necessarily mean a military bearing after the drill is over, and they, too, know that the Germans, the greatest of the world's militarists, had never thought of training their boys for war until

they entered the army. On the contrary, they have seen that the carrying of guns means physical injury to growing boys and that what they needed was gymnastics to fit them not only for the duties of life, but, if you please, for military service also.

As for Switzerland, there is no comparison between a little mountain country of four millions and our own great republic. But in one respect, the Swiss system does set an admirable example to the United States; it allows no general to exist save after the declaration of war. Its highest officer is a colonel. No major-generals parade the country urging "preparedness"; no brigadiers bewail the terrible fate that will overtake Switzerland if her standing force is not doubled at once. Yet even in Switzerland, if report be true, there is an anti-army party, people who complain that their military business has become ominous ever since so many of the younger officers have been serving in the German army and become imbued with the spirit of the Prussian General Staff. There, too, men have been sent to jail for refusing to serve.

Where Switzerland is so small, we have one hundred millions of people; we have neighbors on our borders whom we could easily crush if we chose. To the south of us a score of republics fear every military move we make. Since it is an historic fact that even before the war in Europe the menace of our rapidly growing fleet was urged in the Reichstag, in the British and Japanese Parliaments, as the reason for further increase of their naval armaments, any introduction of universal military servitude in the Western world would inevitably send a chill over the entire American continent and be viewed with alarm by the rest of the world—notably in Canada, which would be bound to follow suit for dread of us.

But, assuming that we are going to think of nobody else, and to blind our eyes to the obvious effects abroad of our arming,—what does universal service mean? If it is to be for one year, fully nine hundred thousand young men will be annually withdrawn from productive labor; if it is to be for two years, and on the German model, our standing army would be at least a million, four hundred thousand, or double that of Germany in 1914. It would mean so vast a machinery of control and discipline and so many permanent officers that no other department could compare with it in expense or in the multitude of its permanent employes. Has anyone in America who is advocating universal service yet computed the cost, direct or indirect, to the nation—it cost $140,000,000 to maintain an army of 100,000 in 1915, and we are spending in 1916-17, for 123,000 men, $372,000,000, who cannot be recruited? If so, I have not seen it. Even on the dilettante Swiss and Australian basis, it would be stupendous. If carried out under federal supervision, it would enormously increase our most favored class of citizens, —our military and naval servants—and their pension rolls. Abroad the conscripts receive only a few cents a day for their service, which is practically unpaid (in Turkey, even in war time, the soldier gets but twenty-five cents a month). Would our American youth stand for this when our National Guard has just now, by skillful political influence, succeeded in getting itself

on the federal payroll—the first time that men have been so paid, yet remained important political factors in civil life?

Does anybody who reads these words believe that the South, which will not let a colored man drill in a militia company, or in many places own a shot-gun or revolver, believe that its consent could be obtained to making a soldier out of every colored boy? Have you thought of what this putting our sons into barracks would mean for the moral health of the community? It was a Republican Secretary of War, who said that our American army is, morally speaking, the worst by statistics of any civilized army in the world. He might have added that it was far inferior even to the Chinese army in this respect. Do you believe that the same army authorities would do better if they had all our sons to safeguard? Read what Père Forbes, what Desmoulins, what Francois Coppée said about the immorality in the French army as far back as 1900, and how they wished to wipe out militarism there, and see if you really wish to even run the risk of repeating these conditions here.

Why not consider whether military training does inculcate the kind of discipline we all wish for our youth? I maintain that there is a far higher and better type of obedience than the military, for I do not value an obedience drilled into men by a brute force that creates repugnance and hatred for authority and not love or affection for it. Only the other day a teacher in one of our best known New England schools told me that they have more trouble with boys that come to them from military schools than from any others. They are constantly trying to break the rules when no one is looking. I have in my employ a man who served in the German army and qualified as a reserve lieutenant. Then he spent about ten years in our coast artillery, rising to the highest non-commissioned rank. The engine room over which he now presides is so abominably dirty and carelessly managed in its externals if I do not inspect it, that I am on the point of discharging him, until I realize that he is the victim of military training which goes on the theory that you obtain efficiency only by constantly inspecting or by taking men unawares, as at night on post. It teaches less that the responsibility lies upon you and much more that it is upon someone else just a little higher up.

Perhaps you are saying that the very lack of men willing to serve necessitates conscription. Well, if Americans do not wish to serve voluntarily in time of peace, how will they feel about compulsion? We know how they felt about it in New York City in 1863, just when the Confederacy had reached its high-water mark. Could they have voted on it then, the voters of this city at least would have done precisely what the Australians have. It will be idle to call attention to the alleged equality which universal service imposes; in our land-grant colleges, until this fear of getting into a war with Germany overtook us, the most unpopular course was the compulsory freshman drilling required by Congress—the most unpopular with one exception—compulsory attendance at prayers. As soon as a Freshman became a Sophomore, his interest in military affairs vanished, just as military men

in Massachusetts have been testifying that drill in schools did a positive harm to the recruiting prospects of the militia. Should not those who believe that compulsory universal training will mean a greater sense of responsibility toward the Government soberly ask themselves whether if a man has done his bit under compulsion he will not throw down his gun with a feeling that he is freed from any further claim for civic or other duties because he has given a whole precious year of his life in payment of his debt to the State?

But, you ask again, what is this country to do to protect itself? The first and foremost thing is so determinedly to shape its foreign policies and to be just and fair towards others, to insist upon a league of peace and an international court so as to remove any possibility of war. You say that the first of these is impossible, fanciful and theoretical. Behold, the history of this country confutes you, for it is beyond question that this republic has never had a foreign war that was not of its own seeking. What America has done in keeping out of war it can do again. Not by doing injustice, as we are to the Japanese; not by ignoring or belittling their just grievances against us; not by letting those grievances grow until they and the menace of our navy, now twice as large as Japan's, drive them into hostilities; but by being friendly and just as for more than a century we have lived at peace with France,—noble, brave-spirited, glorious France,—and England, our neighbor to the North.

Of course, what this all means is entire recasting of our national life and ideals, social and political. Everything industrial is to be subordinated to preparing our youth for fight. What could be a greater change for us? Not even if you were to change this republic over to a monarchy. Every aspect of our political and social life would have to be recast and remodeled, all because of this new, craven fear that we cannot preserve the liberty that is so dear to us and the institutions that have not been attacked in 130 years, by any of the devices of civilization; that they can only be safeguarded by devices for human slaughter. In other words, we are to put our faith not in things spiritual, but purely in the doctrine of force, upon which any combination of nations might beat us even if we were everyone of us armed and trained to the German standards.

Finally, we come to the most important argument of all against conscription by whatever name it be disguised. It means the very subordination of conscience, of freedom of conscience, it means the limitation of individual and personal liberty—and this in a country whose Pilgrim founders were conscientious objectors against compulsory religion, whose ranks have been recruited for 75 years by hundreds of thousands of objectors to military service who came here to escape the very conscription we are now asked to enforce. Universal servitude, whether German or Swiss or Australian, makes directly against the American ideal, the glorious American spirit of free-born individuality, for it inculcates blind obedience to the will of others, subordination to those who are masters not necessarily because of superior wisdom or fitness, but because of the accidents of rank. To many Ameri-

cans this compulsion would act as poison precisely as it is to some of the finest spirits in Europe. Many of them would never consent to it. Here am I, for one, who cannot help saying that I would rather have my sons grow up under another flag than have them become unwilling military conscripts in the country to whose service along the lines of independent journalism I may claim, I hope, to be giving all that is good within me; to whose advancement as an exemplar of peaceful liberty and enlightenment I have nothing I would not sacrifice.

But there's a higher allegiance today than any one can owe to one's country; it is to the family of nations; to humanity itself, which is today fleeced and bled, blinded and deluded by nothing so much as militarism. The spirit of human brotherhood, the millions of martyr dead in Europe, dictate above all else opposition to militarism at every turn and particularly to its most dangerous manifestation, universal conscription.

No, to lead the world aright, the United States ought not to be debating today whether it prefers the voluntary military system or universal conscription, but how rapidly it can induce the other nations by precept, by example, by enlightened leadership, to limit all armaments to the dimensions of police forces. Fortunately, the European struggle bids fair to prove the futility of war as it has never been proved before. Fortunately, there is evidence in every land that the world is to be a different place when the soldiers return from the trenches. The reaction, when it comes, will have its echoes here, and will, it is to be hoped, find men marveling how any Americans could possibly have espoused that which is the chief prop of kings, czars and kaisers and their militarists, and even for a moment have turned their backs upon the voluntary system which breeds enthusiastic followers of the flag, where conscription produces deserters, bounty-jumpers and mock-patriots.

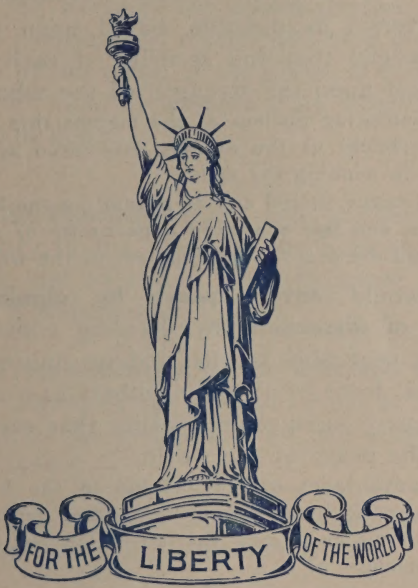
For copies of this pamphlet, address

THE MASSACHUSETTS BRANCH OF THE WOMAN'S PEACE PARTY,

421 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.

VICTORY—DON'T WASTE IT

A LEAGUE OF FREE NATIONS



VICTORY PROGRAM

LEAGUE OF FREE NATIONS
ASSOCIATION OF MASSACHUSETTS
40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass.
Tel. Haymarket 4840

VICTORY PROGRAM

Adopted at a meeting of the Executive Committee held in New York, November 23, 1918, as the Official platform of the League to Enforce Peace, superseding the proposals adopted at the organization of the League in Philadelphia, June 17, 1915.

THE War now happily brought to a close has been above all **a war to end war.**

But in order **to ensure the fruits of victory** and to prevent the recurrence of such a catastrophe there should be formed

A LEAGUE OF FREE NATIONS

as universal as possible, based upon treaty and pledged that the security of each state shall rest upon the strength of the whole.

The initiating nucleus of the membership of the League should be the nations associated as belligerents in winning the war.

The League should aim at promoting the **liberty, progress, and fair economic opportunity** of all nations, and the orderly development of the world.

It should **ensure peace by eliminating causes of dissension,** by deciding controversies by peaceable means, and by uniting the potential force of all the members as a standing menace against any nation that seeks to upset the peace of the world.

The advantages of membership in the League, both economically and from the point of view of security, should be so clear that all nations will desire to be members of it.

For this purpose it is necessary to create —

1. For the decision of justiciable questions, an impartial tribunal whose jurisdiction shall not depend upon the assent of the parties to the controversy; provision to be made for enforcing its decisions.

2. For questions that are not justiciable in their character, **a Council of Conciliation,** as mediator, which shall hear, consider, and make recommendations; and failing acquiescence by the parties concerned, the League shall determine what action, if any, shall be taken.

3. **An administrative organization** for the conduct of affairs of common interest, the protection and care of backward regions and internationalized places, and such matters as have been jointly administered before and during the war.

We hold that this object must be attained by methods and through machinery that will ensure both stability and progress; preventing, on the one hand, any crystalization of the *status quo* that will defeat the forces of healthy growth and changes, and providing, on the other hand, a way by which progress can be secured and necessary change effected without recourse to war.

4. **A representative Congress** to formulate and codify rules of international law, to inspect the work of the administrative bodies and to consider any matter affecting the tranquility of the world or the progress or betterment of human relations. Its deliberations should be public.

5. **An Executive Body,** able to speak with authority in the name of the nations represented, and to act in case the peace of the world is endangered.

The representation of the different nations in the organs of the League should be in proportion to the responsibilities and obligations they assume.

The rules of international law should not be defeated for lack of unanimity.

A resort to force by any nation should be prevented by a solemn agreement that any aggression will be met immediately by such an overwhelming **economic and military force** that it will not be attempted.

No member of the League should make any other offensive or defensive treaty or alliance, and **all treaties** of whatever nature made by any member of the League **should at once be made public.**

Such a League must be formed at the time of the definite peace or the opportunity MAY BE LOST FOREVER.

LEAGUE OF FREE NATIONS
ASSOCIATION OF MASSACHUSETTS

Telephone: Haymarket 4840

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A. Lawrence Lowell	J. Randolph Coolidge, Jr.
James Mott Hallowell	Horace M. Kallen
Joseph Walker	John Farwell Moors

Your coöperation is requested. The two Leagues are conducting a joint campaign. Membership in one of them in Massachusetts confers membership in the other. Send your name for enrollment to the Secretary of the League of Free Nations Association.

40 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston

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Do We Want Rifle Practice in the Public Schools?

ANSWERS by Justice Hughes, President Eliot, President Nicholas Murray Butler, President David Starr Jordan, Professor Charles Zueblin, Jane Addams, Andrew Carnegie, Edward Everett Hale, and others.

PEACE ASSOCIATION OF FRIENDS
20 SOUTH TWELFTH STREET
PHILADELPHIA

5M. 1914. 2 ED.; 4 REPRINT.

DO WE WANT RIFLE PRACTICE IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS?

THE proposal to introduce rifle practice into our public schools has been made recently with such seriousness and from such high quarters as to demand attention from all interested in the progress and welfare of our schools.

The following pages contain the opinions of some of the most prominent educators and leaders of thought in the United States in regard to this proposal. These opinions are mostly from replies to a recent letter asking for an expression on the subject.

The advocates of systematic rifle practice for boys as part of the public school curriculum urge that a nation of trained marksmen is a valuable preparation for war. They assume that training a nation for the practice of war is of greater importance than training a nation for the practice of peace, thus seeming to ignore the broader pedagogical and practical aspects of the question.

The views of the eminent men and women who have contributed to this pamphlet are presented for the deliberate consideration of those to whom the management of our schools is entrusted.

JUSTICE CHARLES E. HUGHES

From a speech delivered in New York City, 1907.

"We can no longer look to war for the development of either national or individual character. The heroics of war have been replaced by mathematical calculations. If it was ever anything else, it is now unmitigated horror, exhibiting chiefly fiendish aspects of ingenuity and scientific skill in destruction. Under our modern conditions of civilization the supposed beneficent results of war in the development of courage and stamina must in any conceivable event be shared by so few of our teeming populations that even the most sanguinary must realize that the time has gone by when, by any stretch of imagination, it can be regarded as a general disciplinary agent. And in the controversies of peace and in the bloodless struggles for the maintenance of truth and justice in our personal and civic relations must be found the arena of the future in which character may find severer tests than ever were afforded by historic battlefield."

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER,
President of Columbia University.

"I beg to say that I am, of course, opposed to the introduction of rifle practice into the program of studies and exercises for the public schools. The proposal is so absurd that it would hardly seem necessary to give any reason for opposing it."

DAVID STARR JORDAN,
Chancellor of Leland Stanford Junior University.

"I do not think that accurate shooting necessarily makes for militarism. I do not, however, believe in the introduction of rifle practice in the public school curriculum."

CHARLES W. ELIOT,
President Emeritus of Harvard University.

"Rifle practice seems to me unsuitable for school exercise, because the pupils are not old enough for it, even if it were a desirable form of bodily training. Military drill, quite apart from rifle practice, seems to me one of the poorest forms of bodily exercise, very inferior to most gymnasium exercises, and to all free sports. There is too much routine and automatic action in it, and too much repression of individual freedom. The only good part of it is the setting-up drill, which can easily be made a gymnastic exercise without military accompaniments. Rifle practice is, in my judgment, only fit for an elective exercise at the college or technical school age. At that time it interests profitably some young men who feel the hunting instinct or who mean to serve in the militia. Even then it is a difficult exercise to maintain, because it requires the use of an expensive and perhaps distant range.

"You will observe that I am opposed to rifle practice because it seems to me, on general pedagogic principles, unsuitable and untimely in the public schools."

HENRY CHURCHILL KING,
President of Oberlin College.

"I should be sorry to see rifle practice introduced into the public schools of the country. I think the evils would largely outweigh the advantages."

ISAAC SHARPLESS,
President of Haverford College.

"I should deplore the introduction of rifle practice or any other practice which would tend to develop a military spirit in the public schools of the country. The tendencies of the age

are toward industrial and international peace, and any block in this progress is a serious menace to the ultimate prosperity and standards of the country.

"I was somewhat surprised and quite delighted to find, in a recent visit at Cambridge University, England, that these sentiments were largely shared by educated Englishmen and that the tendency to discourage rifle practice was quite marked."

PROFESSOR SAMUEL T. DUTTON,
Teachers College, Columbia University.

"I am decidedly opposed to introducing rifle practice into city public or private schools. I believe there are other forms of physical and mental training which are better for young people and that the use of a rifle under any circumstances by children should be a matter to be controlled by parents only.

"There are several objections to the introduction of rifle practice into schools. One is that the use of dangerous weapons in any kind of sport does not need to be stimulated. It is attended with a certain element of danger and in many ways needs to be restrained rather than encouraged. Secondly, to introduce this form of activity implies that as a nation we are likely to go to war. No sane person believes that under present conditions there is any need of war. A sufficient army and navy for police duty can be provided, and this, supplemented by the state militia, is enough."

PROFESSOR JOHN DEWEY,
Columbia University.

"It would be a long step backward in the traditions of the American people and of American education to introduce rifle practice into our public schools. Aside from the general objections from the standpoint of civilization, humanity and

moral progress, which ought to be absolutely final, the objections from the standpoint of school administration and discipline are most serious. It would introduce another distracting factor where high school boys are already over distracted and stimulated, and would increase the evil force of the exciting and distracting conditions that already, especially in our cities, are more than powerful enough. It is undemocratic, barbaric and scholastically wholly unwise."

PROFESSOR CHARLES ZUEBLIN,
University of Chicago.

"Rifle practice in the public schools would be peculiarly abhorrent to me. I hope our schools may instil ideals of peace. As disarmament seems at present utopian, I think the Swiss military system, demanding one year of each able-bodied man, might be utilized to develop skill of marksmanship of mature men, whose main activities would be useful work for the government. But athletics and manual training are infinitely preferable in the schools."

JANE ADDAMS,
Hull-House, Chicago.

"I am, of course, shocked at any proposition to introduce rifle practice into the public schools.

"The increasing number of accidents and murders due to the totally unnecessary and illegal 'carrying of concealed weapons' makes it difficult to understand why familiarity with fire arms should be encouraged. If war is to continue, at least let us insist that the use of fire arms shall be confined to the soldier as strictly as the surgeon's knife is limited to the man professionally prepared to use it."

PHILANDER P. CLAXTON,
United States Commissioner of Education, Washington, D. C.

"I do not think we want rifle practice in the public schools of the United States except in those that are known as military schools. It may be valuable for boys to gain skill in marksmanship, and it is no doubt still important that a large number of our citizens should be able to do effective military service in time of invasion. The public schools, however, are not the place in which to give this training and preparation."

CAROLINE HAZARD,
President of Wellesley College.

"I shall be very sorry to have rifle practice, or anything which involves the use of arms, introduced into our public schools. The modern custom of having toy pistols as playthings for young boys seems to me a most injurious one, and if it should be carried farther, and practice in fire arms included as part of the school education, it seems to me a decided step would be taken in the wrong direction.

"We are better situated than any country in the world almost, to maintain peace with our neighbors, and the thought of war and strife should not be made a familiar one to our young people."

MARY E. WOOLLEY,
President of Mount Holyoke College.

"You are quite right in thinking that I believe that the introduction of rifle practice into our school system would be a backward step, and a real menace to the progress of the peace movement. I cannot see that there is anything to be said in favor of its introduction, while I feel that the strongest arguments may be urged against it.

"It seems to me, first, a waste of money, when the schools of the country are often handicapped by the lack of suitable buildings, sufficient equipment and adequate salaries for the teachers. Secondly, I believe that it is a waste of time. There is constant complaint that students are overcrowded with work and have not time for recreation and physical exercise. Rifle practice certainly would not give the best sort of physical exercise, or the kind of recreation which is desirable. Its influence in promoting a spirit of warfare, rather than of peace, goes without saying."

LUCIA AMES MEAD,
Boston.

"So far as I know, no nation has yet used its people's taxes to teach school boys the art of killing. The training has no pedagogic value. It would cost money, sorely needed to teach the use of the tools of industry, to prepare for the perennial fight against pauperism, disease and crime.

"Rifle shooting in the schools would be an unprecedented measure, implying some new national danger to justify it. No such danger exists except in the minds of yellow journalists and some military men. For 119 years we have had only five years of war with foreign powers, and were invaded only in 1812. We no longer fear England, for we leave our northern frontier unguarded. We have no quarrel with any nation and our real enemies are those within our midst. Teach the power of organized ostracism as a substitute for guns; a nation that feeds Europe ninety days a year can always bring a force to bear far greater than a navy. Neutralize our Philippines, and we shall need no more guns to defend our western shores; establish peace budgets, and with the wise expenditure of one dollar for conciliation for every thousand spent on war, we can substitute methods for winning friends for methods of killing supposititious enemies."

NATHAN C. SCHAEFFER,
Superintendent of Public Instruction in Pennsylvania.

Extract from his Inaugural Address as President of the National Education Association, Los Angeles, 1907.

"Peace has become so great a shibboleth that the introduction of rifle practice into the public schools is now advocated as a peace measure. The experience of our recent wars, it is held, has pointed out that, while there is no difficulty in case of war in getting all the volunteers that the country requires, and they can be given a reasonable amount of drill in a few weeks, it takes them a long time to learn to shoot, and that unless they can shoot accurately they are of little value as soldiers. If, however, the young men who are graduating from our high schools in the different states should be skilled riflemen, the country can rest content with a small standing army, knowing that in case of war it can put into the field at short notice a force of volunteers whose skill in rifle shooting will make them fully the equal of any army which may be brought against them. The system is therefore a great factor for national peace. As a teacher from the state which William Penn founded, I must put a big interrogation point after this theory. The fact that boys at the age of thirteen can learn to shoot with marvelous accuracy should be correlated with the fact that at the same age, and even earlier, boys can be taught all sorts of break-neck acrobatics; no one would, on account of the skill which may thus be acquired, be justified in advocating the introduction of either acrobatics or rifle practice into the curriculum of our public schools. There is a limitation to the kinds of skill which a human being may acquire, and the development of skill in these directions interferes seriously with the development of skill in other and more useful lines. The development of skill in shooting is desirable on the part of those who join the army or the state constabulary; but if during a strike every striker were a skilled rifleman, the difficulties in maintaining order would be infinitely multiplied."

MRS. HARRY HASTINGS,
New York City.

"The brutalizing effect of this rifle practice, if it becomes general, is only a question of time; its antagonism to the Peace Cause in indisputable."

WILLIAM F. SLOCUM,
President of Colorado College.

"Rifle practice in public schools seems to me very unwise and distinctly objectionable. Everything that tends in the minds of our young people to prepare them for the killing of human beings is against movements for peace and leads toward reversion to barbarism. I see nothing whatever to be gained by this and a great deal that is most unfortunate from either an educational or a moral point of view."

EDMUND A. JONES,
State Commissioner of Common Schools, Columbus, Ohio.

"I have just returned from the Peace Conference in New York, and you may naturally infer that I am not much in favor of military instruction in our public schools. I can readily see that some advantages may result to our boys in an erect and manly bearing from a military drill in marching, etc., but I do not believe it is advisable to place rifles in the hands of boys of thirteen years and over in our public schools. I served in the civil war and was wounded in the defense of my country at that time, but I believe we have reached a time in our civilization when international difficulties can be settled by arbitration without the horrors and sacrifices of war."

MASON S. STONE,
Superintendent of Public Instruction in Vermont.

"I wish to state that we advise peace rather than war, and while we are in favor of physical training, nevertheless we are not enthusiastic over military drill in the public schools."

FRANCIS G. BLAIR,
Superintendent of Public Instruction in Illinois.

"I hope sincerely that no such thing is contemplated." (He refers to arrangement for target shooting in the public schools by the national government.)

GEO. H. MARTIN,
State Board of Education, Boston, Mass.

"I am entirely opposed to any further development of the military spirit among school boys."

J. H. FUQUA, Sr.,
Superintendent of Public Instruction in Kentucky.

"I don't think our authorities would favor such a move (i. e. the introduction of rifle practice), as we desire to teach the principles of peace, and not encourage in the youth a sentiment for war."

ANDREW CARNEGIE,
New York City.

"The introduction of rifle practice into the public schools would be a step backward. What ought to be taught is that war is savagery, unworthy of civilized man."

JOHN H. CONVERSE
Philadelphia.

"Believing, as I do, that the education of children, as supported by public taxation, should be confined as far as possible to essentials, I am not in favor of any special features such as instruction in rifle practice in our public schools."

EDWARD EVERETT HALE,
Washington, D. C.

"I am quite sure that the public schools fail in their duty unless the boys and girls are trained in respect to their superiors, in obedience to those in authority, in courtesy in address, in kindness to all. The New Testament sums up such training when it says 'The wisdom from above is first pure.'

Personal Purity is the foundation.

2. Next. This 'wisdom is peaceable.'

Rifle practice is certainly not peaceable.

3. This 'wisdom is gentle.'

"If you care for what the Apostle said, he meant, that the gentleman is one who abstains somewhat from demanding all his rights.

"The gentleman is more glad to give than to receive."

JOHN W. FOSTER,
Former Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

"I should regard any recommendation for the introduction of rifle practice into the public schools of the country as an unjustifiable and wicked act, whether issued by the War Department or any other authority.

"The natural tendency of the youth of our country to military exercises is great enough already, and it is cruel to stimulate in them the art of killing their fellow-men."

CHARLES E. JEFFERSON,
Minister of Broadway Tabernacle, New York.

" 'To keep the peace we must prepare for war.' Some one said that long ago, and men have repeated it as tho it were a word from the mouth of God. Its hollowness is evident to any one who will look into it. The fact is that to keep the peace we must prepare for peace. If you want war, then prepare for war, multiply your guns, burnish them and make them shine, practice with them, keep the air filled with the reverberations of the roar of cannon. Swing your fleet from one ocean to another just when hearts are most irritated. Fill your newspapers with accounts of what your ships are doing, crowd your magazines with pictures of torpedo boats and destroyers. Set all the young men of the country thinking and talking about war, and then some day war will come. It is inevitable! If a nation does not want to fight it must put up its sword. It is amazing that there is an intelligent man on the earth who cannot see this."

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Suggestions to Volunteer Peace Workers

1. Influence those in your own home to realize that war is an anachronism in this stage of civilization, and get them to help in the crusade against it.

2. Ask your minister, your superintendent of schools, your school teachers, the officials in your town, and other people who have an opportunity of meeting groups of men and women, to co-operate in bringing this conviction to the public mind.

3. Get up public meetings in halls or private houses with competent speakers.

4. Get up parlor meetings, where someone will read one of the striking peace plays now available.

5. Encourage the "shut-ins" of your community to write to their friends on the peace question, and to help spread literature.

6. Have a peace meeting in your woman's club at least once a year.

7. Bring the subject before the business men of your community through some club or association.

8. Have May 18 appropriately observed in the schools of your town.

9. Get the school children to act some of the peace plays.

10. Keep your local paper supplied with correct information and interesting items on the New Internationalism.

11. Write your congressman your opinion on important bills before Congress which relate to war and peace.

12. Keep on hand supplies of the best pamphlets and books on the peace question, to lend to friends.

13. Get some friend to help you to put all the best books on the peace question into your Public Library.

14. Try to think out individual methods for helping on this great cause of Peace through Justice.

15. Try to get people to join one or more of the peace societies — as only in unity is strength.

16. For learning further ways of helping on the Cause, call at the headquarters of your State Peace Society.

Rose Forbes
(Mrs. J. Malcolm Forbes)

Milton, Massachusetts
February, 1915

A CALL TO PATRIOTIC SERVICE

A CALL TO PATRIOTIC SERVICE

To the Teachers of the United States:

We find ourselves today in war, a war encircling the greater part of civilized mankind. Whatever may be our view of the processes which have brought the world to this point, we have now to face the fact that the action of the nations is focussed on this gigantic conflict and that our own country is now involved in it.

We recognize that our Government has been loath to join the struggle and has entered into it only after long and searching deliberation. The will of the majority of Congress has declared war and it is the duty of all Americans to accept this mandate. The voice of law commands loyal and earnest service, and American patriotism will respond to the call. Service is the privilege of each and every citizen, and the measure of service is always the nation's need.

We enter upon this war, as stated by President Wilson, with "a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step . . . . and of the grave responsibilities which it involves." We hope with him that we have made "clear to all the world what our motives and objects are," and we trust that during the war we shall remain faithful to the high traditions of America. To keep our minds and our hearts clear, let us refer often, as often as may be necessary, to the words of the President, who has struck the key-note of a new spirit, even in the tragedy of war. "Just because we fight without rancor and without selfish object, seeking nothing for ourselves but what we shall wish to share with all free peoples, we shall, I feel confident, conduct our operations as belligerents without passion and ourselves observe with proud punctilio the principles of right and of fair play we profess to be fighting for."

President Wilson challenges American patriotism in his plea "to conduct ourselves as belligerents in a high spirit of right and fairness because we act without animus." We shall have occasion, again and again, during the "fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us" to prove that our hearts are right and our traditions true. There will be none of the old passions of war. Our friendships need not be disturbed, and as the President says, we shall have an opportunity to prove this "in our daily attitude and actions toward the millions of men and women of German birth and native sympathy who live among us and share our life, ... who are in fact loyal to their neighbors and to the

Government in the hour of test." Consistent with all this, there will be an interchange of good-will, regardless of race or nationality. A cult of hatred has no place in free America, for tolerance is the first principle of democracy.

Let us scorn to hate. In the midst of the conflict, which is waged for international freedom, let us reassert our belief in law, the absolute prerequisite for a democratic world. While we fight, let us prepare for peace. President Wilson, in his great speech to the Senate on January 22, gave this note to the world. "The statesmen of the world," he said, "must plan for peace, and nations must adjust and accommodate their policy to it, as they have planned for war and made ready for pitiless contest and rivalry." During the last two and a half years, leaders of thought, wherever to be found, have pointed the way, and there exists today substantial agreement on many of the essentials necessary for the avoidance of war in the future. A judicial union of the nations and a permanent international conference have become familiar axioms in the plans for a durable peace.

Our entry into the war gives a new significance to this epoch-making speech of the President, when he stunned the world with his frank statement of the way and upon what terms the war should be ended. The principles enunciated he calls American principles, American policies, and yet he says, "They are the principles and policies of forward-looking men and women everywhere of every modern nation, of every enlightened community. They are the principles of mankind and must prevail."

With these high words before us, it becomes the patriotic duty of American citizens to study and to encourage the study of those plans put forward to achieve a definite concert of the Powers and a just war settlement. Let us keep this before our minds, for even though we achieve military success, we shall not be victorious unless our preparations for peace, backed by the voice of the people, come into full fruition at the close of the war.

What is the special service which teachers may render in this war? Anger, hate of other nations, should be kept from the school-room. The schools should maintain a civic and moral stability among the youth of the land. This is the opportunity to inspire anew a love for American institutions and American ideals. Civic service, appropriate to youth, imbued with devotion to the nation's need, would constitute a material support to the country in this time of national crisis. The school children of the United States could, for example, through home and school gardens, make a substantial offering to the problem of food production during the war. This and other forms of youthful service, consciously entered upon for the nation's good,

would develop a sane and logical patriotism among our young people—a mighty bulwark for the welfare of any nation.

We shall not be true to our young citizens, however, if we withhold from them the hope of a new world order. If we are sincere in our plans for peace, we shall impart to those who will determine the life of the future the knowledge of those processes which we, according to our judgment, deem wise and practical. Nay, more, we shall inspire the youth of today with a vision of a different world. Truly, the next great forward step of humanity must begin in the schools.

Our efforts in this direction should not be interrupted. The observance of the Eighteenth of May, Peace Day, or International Day, which has been the program of the schools of this country and of other countries for over a decade, is of peculiar importance this year when we, through the voice of our President, are professedly waging war for international freedom and justice. We should teach the young people the way to freedom and justice. It is most fitting that the anniversary of the opening of the First Hague Conference, the starting point and the center of international law and order, should be celebrated in the schools this year. The observance of Peace Day offers an opportunity to point out the value of arbitration, conciliation and judicial settlement. The exercises might well recite the successes of the Arbitration Court at The Hague, established by the First Hague Conference. It is timely to call attention to the fifteen cases of disputes settled effectively by this arbitration tribunal, which was indeed fully competent to have settled the initial dispute in the present world conflict. Our young people should know of the proposed World Court, accepted in principle at the Second Hague Conference, and which is, among all the factors entering into a permanent peace plan, the one universally accepted. A Peace Day exercise this year offers a great opportunity to take note of these solid foundations of law and order.

On those who administer education in this critical time rests the responsibility of preserving and advancing those ideals for which all nations should strive and of establishing an unbroken unity of youthful civic service and devotion to the nation's welfare. May we in our hour of test still be able to maintain the American ideal of democracy and may the teachers of America continue to be the consecrated servants of the democratic ideal. God grant that on the pages of the world's history, the United States will stand out as a nation which remained true to its purpose in the service of humanity.

Faithfully yours,

FANNIE FERN ANDREWS.

Boston, Mass., April 10, 1917.

Compulsory Military Service

By LUCIA AMES MEAD

[Reprinted from The Public, Chicago]

Scarcely more than a generation ago, Germans were aghast at the introduction of conscription. Today, with character altered, they have become docile parts of a perfect machine, while in free America the National Security League is beginning a wide campaign to compel conscription—a proposition which three years ago would have seemed unthinkable. Men as far apart politically as Dr. Chas. W. Eliot and Col. Roosevelt unite in urging the system of the Swiss citizen army. An increasing number of prominent men are saying, "It is the only democratic method. All must serve in the army as all pay taxes."

There is now a solemn obligation on all patriots to study the arguments which threaten to overturn American ideals and presently to alter seriously American influence. Said President Nicholas Murray Butler anent the great increase of armaments: "The situation that now confronts us is one in which we are invited not to maintain the traditional American policy but to depart from it and to depart from it in the face of the most impressive and emphatic lesson that history records that the traditional American policy has been right."

Dr. Eliot enforces his demand for a revolutionary policy by two assumptions. One is that there is no hope of establishing lasting peace through any treaty making which should include the Central Monarchies. "Their acts since July, 1911," he avers, "proves beyond a doubt that no reliance is to be placed on any pledges or treaties signed by them." He makes no allowance for possible electoral reforms which are already proposed in Germany and he ignores one profoundly important fact.

This is that, if the Central Powers were admitted to a League of Nations to Enforce Peace and protected against attack by joint support, they would have every incentive to wait the required time before going to war until their case had been submitted to a trial or investigation. It is one thing for a strong nation to break a treaty when sorely tempted and quite another to do so when it has pledged itself to a new world-policy in which temptation is largely removed. Granted that no change of heart may come; nevertheless, self-interest would work in a diametrically opposite way from that which guided Germany in August, 1914. Had she belonged to such a League and known then that if Russia should attack her without delay and reference to a court, Great Britain and France would be bound by solemn compact to come to her aid, and she would never have entered upon the "preventive war" the results of which have so surprised her.

As Dr. Eliot has previously maintained that danger to us from "either a European or an Oriental invasion is practically infinitesimal," he can make no strong plea for a citizen army as a military necessity. This would be our fifth line of defense, our oceans being the first. Russia surely would have counted 3,500 miles of water between her and Germany as equal to the defense of two million armed men. The current saying that "the ocean has become a pond" applies only to the wireless and cable. The transportation of even 100,000 soldiers from Hamburg and Bremen would require 100 troop ships with hundreds of fuel ships, munition ships, hospital ships and a body of fighting ships large enough to sink the British navy and the American navy, which latter soon promises to be second in size. The enemy would have to face mines, submarines and fortifications which Assistant Secretary Franklin D. Roosevelt declares make "a navy almost unnecessary if all we want is to defend our coasts." It will be remembered that the finest navy in the world could make no landing at Gallipoli and has not been able to bombard a German town, and that in the Boer war it had to carry 250,000 troops to master a handful of peasants, and required over two years to do that.

Our country began all its three foreign wars, and has never been attacked even when its navy was almost a minus quantity. The fact that it has no old boundary lines to settle or racial animosities to overcome counts enormously as an invisible national defense, and so do its thirty-one treaties of delay before hostilities, and its unguarded Canadian frontier. Our country in non-military defense is supreme among the nations. All this is carefully ignored by the National Security League and its co-workers.

Dr. Eliot's second assumption, and that of all advocates of the Swiss system, is that the results in Switzerland can be duplicated here. Australians assumed that rabbits imported into their country would be as harmless as in England. They learned the contrary by sad experience. Switzerland, with a population equal to that of Massachusetts, and an area one-third that of New York State, could never, like our country, be looked on with apprehension. The psychology of her young men, habituated since the days of Tell to self-defense against enemies an inch across her border, would be totally different from that of our young men suddenly forced to submit to a revolutionary policy They would be convinced that the world war had put us in acute danger instead of enhancing our resources and safety in face of a crippled, impoverished Europe. Universal compulsory military training would presently give us 9,300,000 men trained to fight, and these would be deemed a menace by South America and Asia. If the best protected nation is compelled in self-defense to take this unprecedented step, how much more must others strain every nerve to follow suit?

(over)

The nation's thought would be focused on improbable foreign foes, and away from a world court, a League of Nations and all constructive substitutes for war. It would continue its apathy as to those preventable causes of death which in our midst have sent a huge army of innocents—a million and a quarter citizens—to untimely death since this war began.

Conscription is demanded primarily because we can secure annually only about 50,000 volunteers. Young men refuse to enlist, therefore all must be compelled to. Let all who consider this a conclusive argument carefully study the plan of the "Invincible Army," issued by the Society of Constructive Defense, 50 Church street, New York. This is a plan for gradually superseding the present army and militia, and supplying a trained volunteer force enlisted for two or three years which shall spend five-sixths of their working time in constructive work under army engineers, on road building, irrigation, etc. This would harden muscles and give as much out door life as trench digging or "hikes." One-sixth of the time would be given to regular military drill. Test advertisements have shown that a large number of able young men would enlist in this constructive work who do not want to mark time at army posts.

If a great force of trained soldiers is demanded, this Invisible Army seems to be far superior in conception to any other.

To win consent to universal service it is asserted is good on general principles. It would "teach hygiene and acquaintance with instruments of precision." So do proper boys' camps and training with carpenters' tools. "Such waste as has occurred at the beginning of past wars would be prevented." We ourselves began our three foreign wars, all of which were unnecessary; and, as in the nature of the case, the South as much as the North would have been helped by better preparation before our Civil war, this argument fails. It is above all things claimed that compulsory service "promotes democracy." The officer must have long training. In all lands a gulf is fixed between officer and private. The Swiss Socialists complain that this is true even in Switzerland. Australia, which is reconsidering its policy after recent experience, has rejected conscription. The Dreyfus and Zabern incidents and the treatment of colored cadets in our military schools are significant. Rich and poor may bunk in the same tent, but the rich man's family suffers no such loss as his poor comrade's does. The government needs the taxes of the 9,300,000 who could be conscripted. It does not need their fighting service. The analogy between taxes and service is sophistical.

"Universal service promotes unity." No, it only promotes outer uniformity. Austria's militarism has never unified her seventeen different nationalities. Our Slavs, Greeks, Armenians and Italians in folk dances on Chicago playgrounds, in social centers and in public schools, gain a wholesome unity that comes from common interests. In a few years we obliterate the age-long, inherited hatred of aliens toward each other. Give three years more public schooling to the average child and one compulsory year in a public school to the private school child, teach history and civics as they should be taught, and we shall in childhood years create far more permanent unity than by forcing men from business to practice target-shooting together.

The vaunted value of military discipline is seen only in war; then men's minds as well as bodies are conscripted, and it is not theirs to reason why. The soldier returned to civic life is no more chaste, temperate or self-controlled than other men. Republican government implies initiative, self-control and independent thought—precisely what military compulsion vitiates.

The nations are yearning for a new rational order; they will be very war-sick when the final exhaustion comes. What could do more to frustrate all hope of peace than the theory that it will be "possible only when there is power strong enough to cope with the Central Powers" for which we art told there must be "a limited alliance of competent nations" as, in the words of Dr. Eliot, a "federation and parliament of the world would be too complicated, vast and slow." His proposals are in line with the dangerous proposal at the recent Paris conference for an exclusion of the Central Powers from any League of Nations. Co-operation is the sole antidote for war poison. The longer it is postponed, when war once ends, the more certain is a future world war.

The increasing number of Americans who are placing chief reliance on military force is breeding the very conditions that will create hostile coalitions against which there can be no adequate defense. America's national policy may at this critical time change world policies for a century to come. The hope of a reconstruction of international relationships will be indefinitely postponed if strong, safe America stupidly imitates a policy suited only to a tiny, exposed nation whose aggression no one fears.

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The Effects of Military Drill on Boys

DUDLEY A. SARGENT, M. D.,
Director of the Hemenway Gymnasium, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

To select at once a system of exercise that will do no harm to any one, and yet be beneficial to all, is a difficult task, yet we shall come nearer doing the greatest good to the greatest number if we follow what may be termed the physiological method. As near as I have been able to ascertain them, the essential requisites of a good exercise may be summed up in the following suggestions:

1. The person should be sufficiently interested in the exercise to give it his attention in order to secure the necessary volitional power to start the movement. Any exercise executed in a lifeless way is of little benefit to nerve or muscles in a healthy condition.

2. There should be a weight or resistance to overcome in order to bring out the working force of the muscle, the theory being that the muscles were not created merely to move the parts to which they are attached, but to do service and help man bear his burdens.

3. The exercise must be performed with sufficient vigor and rapidity to engage the energetic contraction of the muscles employed. When this is done, old tissue is broken down, and its place is supplied with new material in increased quantity, thus augmenting the size and strength of the muscles. The rapidity of the movement puts a limit to the weight used, and the alternate contraction and relaxation of the muscles assist the circulation of the blood in the parts employed.

4. As many muscles as possible must be brought into action in order to secure a full-orbed and harmonious development of the whole body. . . .

5. A sufficient number of muscles should be called into action at one time to stimulate the action of the heart and lungs, and increase the circulation and respiration. This is one of the most important considerations to bear in mind in regard to exercise. . . .

The chief advantage of exercises that give employment to many muscles at one time is that by increasing the respiration and quickening the circulation, they improve the health and strength of all parts of the body.

6. As a "latent period" precedes the contraction of the muscle, so a momentary period of rest should, as far as possible, precede movement in exercise. This is best secured where there is an alternation in the move-

ments, as in walking, running, rowing, etc. All tetanized movements, such as holding weights, standing in a constricted position, etc., tend to impair the tone of the muscles by interfering with the nutrition of both muscles and nerves.

7. The exercises of the young should be of such a composite nature as to bring about the co-operation and co-ordination of the muscles. This involves principally the training of the central nerve system. All gymnastic sports and athletic games that require skill, dexterity, coolness, courage, and presence of mind, are included in this list, and are exceedingly valuable to any system of physical training, as adjuncts in the development of character.

My principal objection to military drill as a physical exercise is that it does not to any extent meet the physiological demands of the body as set forth in the seven observations just referred to. In other words: It is not sufficient interest as a means of physical development to arouse any moral earnestness and enthusiasm on the part of the boys. The exercise of the manual is not performed with sufficient force and rapidity to engage the energetic contraction of the muscles employed. It is essentially a one-sided exercise, bringing into excessive action the elevators of the right scapula, the deltoid, biceps, flexors of the fore-arm, wrist and fingers of the right side, while the other muscles, excepting the legs on parade days, do not get sufficient employment to keep them in good condition. It does not increase the respiration and quicken the circulation to a sufficient extent to secure the constitutional benefits that should accrue from exercise.

During the drill the clothing is buttoned close around the chest, and natural respiration is hindered. The muscles are not alternately contracted and relaxed, but are tetanized or kept in a state of prolonged tension. This, as we have seen, not only impairs the tone of the muscles used, but it also puts an additional strain upon the brain and nervous system at a time when both should be as much relieved as possible. Finally, the mere exercise of the manual of arms does not give sufficient breadth and scope of movement to secure the co-operation of the muscles, and as a training for the central nerve system, it is of little or no value.

Coolness, courage, presence of mind, and that rapid and responsible exercise of judgment in emergencies, so valuable to the man of business, as well as to the soldier, are not developed by the drill itself, though I will admit that other moral attributes, such as obedience, patience, fortitude, and forbearance, may be brought to a high degree of perfection. The community at large have long entertained the idea that there was something about military drill that made young men erect, or, as the committee have been pleased to term it, giving them a graceful and manly bearing.

I dislike to take from the drill one of the strongest attributes that has

commended it to parents and teachers, but unless I have been misled in my observations, there is nothing in the drill itself that tends to make one erect or graceful. On the other hand, I am prepared to maintain that it tends to make him stiff and angular in his movements, as well as to droop and round his shoulders.

This fact was long since brought to the attention of military authorities, and a set of calisthenic exercises or free gymnastics have been incorporated into all of the treatises on military tactics, to correct the tendency. I refer to what is familiarly known as the "setting-up" drill. . . .

In reference to the gracefulness that is thought to characterize the movements of young cadets, I can only say it is not the outcome of drilling and marching. The soldier is trained to square corners, straight platoons, and angular movements. Curves and embellishments are not encouraged in speech or in action. If you would account for the graceful poise of our National cadets, you must visit West Point in summer, and see them for one or two hours a day in charge of the dancing master.

Having considered at length what the drill does *not* do for the boys let me invite your attention to a brief consideration of some of the things that it does do. . . .

Those who have had the pleasure of examining school boys, or of looking over their measurements or photographs, will bear me out in saying that the strong and well developed boys are largely in the minority.

The pupils attending our public and private schools represent nearly every phase and condition in life. Some are well nurtured, others are not. Some have favorable hygienic surroundings at home, others are subjected to unhealthy influences. All bear the stamp of a good or bad inheritance, and the strong and weak points of the parents show themselves in the physique as readily as they do in mental characteristics. . . .

My attention was long since called to what I think may be termed the prevailing weakness or defects in the school boy's and student's physique.

These are a drooping of the head, flatness of the chest, narrowness of the waist and an exaggeration of the normal or physiological curves of the spine, and I might add to this number, though it is not quite so common in boys as in girls, lateral curvature of the spine. These defects, I say, are so apparent, that it does not take a practised eye to detect them. They attract the attention at once of any one who cares to examine the figures. . . .

Personally, I do not put particular stress upon these malformations, if they can be discovered in time. Nearly all of them can be corrected by judicious exercise. If allowed to increase, however, they invariably lead to spinal disease, or to some functional disturbance of the heart, stomach, or lungs, followed sooner or later by structural changes in these important organs.

Whatever the original cause of these physical defects may be, the immediate cause is a weakness of the supporting muscles.

After the body has once acquired a bias in the wrong direction many exercises otherwise beneficial are likely to be injurious. Among this number are horseback riding, rowing, lawn tennis and military drill. . . .

After taking the most favorable view possible of military drill as a physical exercise, we are led to conclude that its constrained positions, and closely localized movements do not afford the essential requisites for developing the muscles, and improving the respiration and circulation, and thereby improving the general health and condition of the system. We must further conclude that in case of any malformation, local weakness or constitutional debility, the drill tends, by its strain upon the nerves and prolonged tension on the muscles, to increase the defects rather than to relieve them.

Finally, if the ultimate object of the drill was to prepare young men for the life and duties of a soldier, we should be forced to conclude that the drill itself would still be defective as a means of developing the chief requisites for men in that profession.

This defect, we are pleased to state, is recognized by the great military nations of Europe, and measures are taken to give all the recruits from three to twelve months' gymnastic training to develop them as *men*, before they are expected to conform to the requirements of the soldier.—*Extract from article in Boston Medical and Surgical Journal.*

Drilling School-Boys for Soldiers

In the face of testimony from experts like Dudley A. Sargent, M. D., Director of the Harvard Gymnasium, Col. Thomas F. Edmands and others, one wonders at the insistent agitation to introduce military training into our public schools. Not only does this drill, where it has been tried, fail to develop the students physically, being poorly adapted to meet the physiological demands of the body, but it also fails to impart the qualities requisite for a soldier. Col. Edmands goes so far as to say, "The modern drill regulations are by no means adapted for work in schools under any circumstances. They need a man's brains and muscles."

There seems little doubt that one of the results of military drill in schools is to awaken the idea that patriotism and war are in some way vitally related. This, with the war sentiment that is fostered and the pride and bluster that go with it on the part of young lads should be its sufficient condemnation.

Francis H. Rowley, *Our Dumb Animals.*

Copies of this leaflet may be obtained from Woman's Peace Party, 116 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago. Price 40 cents per hundred, postpaid.

Educational Experts *on* Military Training *for* American School Boys

CHARLES W. ELIOT
JOHN H. FINLEY
G. STANLEY HALL
CHARLES F. THWING
JOHN DEWEY
PAUL MONROE
JAMES H. VAN SICKLE
AND OTHERS

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From College and University Presidents

CHARLES W. ELIOT
President Emeritus Harvard University

My present opinion about military training for school boys is, first, that what is called military drill is not a good form of physical exercise for boys between fourteen and eighteen; secondly, that the useful part of such military drill as is now given in a few private and public schools is the "setting-up" drill, and that this "setting-up" drill ought to be given to every boy during his school life, but in the form of calisthenic exercises, having no military purpose in view; and thirdly, that training in the real work of a soldier, that is, marching under a heavy load, digging as rapidly as possible in the ground, and using effectively rifles, machine guns, hand grenades, bayonets, short swords, heavy and light artillery, and motor vehicles, including aeroplanes, should not be begun before the twentieth year.

The Swiss, who know as well as any people in Europe how to organize and maintain an effective army, do not begin real military training until the twentieth year, except that they encourage practice with the rifle for boys and young men organized into rifle clubs, and provided by the government with ammunition and ranges.

For these reasons I am opposed to military training for school boys.

JOHN H. FINLEY
President University of the State of New York; State Commissioner of Education

Against military training in our schools I have protested and would continue to protest, not because I object to the drill in itself (for I do not), but because I think we ought not to make that which implies a perpetuation of international hatreds and brutish warfare a purposeful feature of the education of our children. I can, though with difficulty, conceive of conditions which might make such emergency training necessary; but I cannot bring myself to believe that we are to let our whole system of education reach its acme in recrudescent savagery or in preparation for it.

WILLIAM H. P. FAUNCE
President Brown University

It seems to me most unfortunate to put the burden of military training upon the schoolboys of America. Certainly if boys are to have such training, the wage-earners should be included as well as those who are at school. But we all know that very few of the nations now at war have ever imposed military training upon boys in school. They have given such training after school days are over. The physical results of military training for boys are certainly not equal to those achieved by other forms of physical education, and the social and ethical results are likely to be disquieting. Even military authorities would far prefer to have the boys in a summer camp than to have them for a few minutes each day of the school year. I stand with Charles W. Eliot and John H. Finley in deprecating hastily undertaken experiments with school children.

ROBERT J. ALEY
President University of Maine, and President National Education Association, 1916-1917

Most military countries in the world have not found it necessary to train their school boys as soldiers. In view of this experience, it is difficult to see why we should be urged to make military training part of the curriculum of American secondary education.

We do not want military training given to our schoolboys, because better bodies may be produced by proper physical training and directed school sports, and because these formative years should be devoted to the development of a spirit of internationalism which shall make war and preparation for war ultimately unnecessary.

WILLIAM T. FOSTER
President Reed College, Portland, Ore.

After three years of typical military training in a public high school and subsequent study of the problems of the physical development of adolescent boys, I am convinced that military drill is not only wasteful but actually harmful for boys of high school age and altogether a poor substitute for a scientifically devised plan of gymnastics and wholesome sport.

HARRY A. GARFIELD
President Williams College

I do not favor military drill in the colleges. As a means of cultivating alertness of mind and self-control athletic games are superior to military drill. Any one of the regular games played at our colleges requires a wider range of mental activity, a greater degree of accuracy, and far more quickness than is required in military drill.

Military drill is out of harmony with the aims of college. The aim of the college is to train men for citizenship by discovering and developing the best and highest intellectual powers of each, to the end that each may make the largest contribution to the common welfare. The aim of military drill, as above stated, is to train men in the use of a particular implement, to the end that citizens may defend their country by force of arms. But defence of country is not confined to force of arms. Our first line of defence is enlightened citizenship. Our second line of defence is enlightened civilization, and so is our third. Civilization has interposed many lines between its outer boundaries and the first line of military force, and it is the supreme task of the college to bulwark these advanced positions of civilization. Therefore, I say, let our colleges keep to their great tasks, and let our young men learn the art of the soldier where it can be better taught than in our colleges.

ARTHUR T. HADLEY
President Yale University

I believe that the military training of young men of high school age should be of the kind which is given in Switzerland: training in gymnastics, in orderly movement of large bodies, and in hygiene of camp life; and that lessons in the actual use of arms should be postponed until a later period. While I am compelled to believe that general military training is a necessity for the maintenance of popular government and the ideals which go with it, I am confident that lessons in the actual use of arms should come in the later stages of that training instead of the earlier ones.

G. STANLEY HALL
President Clark University; Author of "Adolescence," "Youth," etc.

I am opposed to military training for boys in this country under present conditions, because it is not the best for them for physical exercise. It is more professional than cultural. I have never seen it where it seemed to me to be very successful. I do not value the military spirit which they are supposed to get.

DAVID STARR JORDAN
Chancellor Leland Stanford, Jr., University; President N. E. A., 1915

I am totally opposed to the introduction of military training in any form in the high schools or grammar schools of America. To voluntary training, I am opposed as a waste of time that might be better used. It is not true that the conventional military drill is superior to the drill of a well-ordered gymnasium. Every expert teaches the contrary. Some features of drill may be better than no gymnasium, or military training itself may be interpreted as ordinary gymnastic work. But the ethical value is lost when it leads to the use of arms and to preparation for killing. There is moral damage in the association of killing or preparation for killing with "patriotism." No word has been more cheaply degraded in these times than the word patriotism. Love of country which is genuine brings harm to no one.

If we wish to develop a nation of free men we must work for the discipline from within, the self-control and the self-direction, which it is the aim of military discipline to destroy.

HENRY CHURCHILL KING
President Oberlin College

I still feel decidedly that it would be a distinct mistake to introduce military training into our public schools. Even from the point of view of preparedness, I believe that all-round physical training would be better, and it seems to me it would be a calamity to keep the military idea perpetually in the minds of our young people of public school age.

ALEXANDER MEIKLEJOHN
President Amherst College

I wonder if available evidence shows that military training does, in our American life, give better results in terms of obedience, discipline, precision, the sense of order and of obligation, than does non-military training. Are the graduates of our military schools better boys than those who come from other schools? As against that suggestion I would put in evidence the statement that apparently the overwhelming majority of our schoolmasters have been opposed to military teaching.

Are our soldiers and sailors better men, better citizens, in the ordinary relationships of life than are other men? I would not deny it, but I should hesitate to found a universal scheme of training upon it.

The plain truth is that there is not one of the virtues under discussion which can not by proper teaching be as well developed in connection with the teaching of other subjects as under the guise of military training. If those subjects are not giving the virtues as well as we have a right to expect, then they are not properly taught.

SAMUEL C. MITCHELL
President Delaware College

I am opposed to the introduction of military training into our schools. Unquestionably, there are many causes that account for the explosion in Europe at the present time, but no sane man doubts that the chief cause was militarism. A nation had become obsessed with the idea that it could hack its way to world dominion. In contrast to the methods that led to this catastrophe in Europe, America should seek to make her children constructive citizens, sound in body, pacific in purpose and responsive to the demands of human brotherhood. We do not wish to encourage the wolf and tiger in the heart of the child, but rather to strengthen his will for the common good and to train his intellect to appreciate truth and spiritual values in life. True preparedness will aid to promote sobriety, abolish the slum, mitigate child labor, banish ignorance, further the

cause of public health and bring peace between warring classes of society and the nations of the world.

ISAAC SHARPLESS
President Haverford College

Military training in high schools is objectionable for the following reasons:

(1) It would be an interruption to the general work of the school, and would divert student attention from its serious intellectual functions and be very costly.

(2) It is not the best form of physical exercise.

(3) Its inculcation of unquestioning obedience to men is not the best discipline for civil life.

(4) It is not desirable for military purposes. European countries do not permit it to exist as a part of educational life. A recent German writer opposes its introduction in these words: "Behind the heroism of trenches and assaulting parties stands the old German thoroughness. * * * If these military exercises become a pretext for the boys to neglect their school tasks, or other daily duties, they will surely prove a poor way of inculcating fortitude under shell fire."

(5) The military spirit is opposed to the best traditions of our American democracy and the standards of Christian morality.

WILLIAM F. SLOCUM
Ex-President of Colorado College

Everything that tends in the minds of our young people to prepare them for the killing of human beings is against movements for peace and leads toward reversion to barbarism. I see nothing whatever to be gained by this and a great deal that is most unfortunate from either an educational or a moral point of view.

JOSEPH SWAIN
President Swarthmore College; President N. E. A., 1914

I oppose military training in the public schools for two reasons:

First, because experience shows that well-selected exercises in the gymnasium and various forms of athletic games furnish better physical training than military tactics.

Second, military training has a tendency to divert the attention of the boy from the main purpose of the school. It also emphasizes government by force rather than by justice and law. While some form of police force is now necessary for city, state and nation, a means should be devised to adequately provide it without injecting the military spirit into our public schools.

CHARLES F. THWING
President Western Reserve University

It is said that military training is good for schoolboys, for the claim is made that military training emphasizes mental alertness, value of bodily health, value of bodily gracefulness, obedience, promptness to duty, courage, the sense of communal life, co-operative service, subordination of self to a superior will, the spirit of enthusiasm and the conception of duty as of highest worth. Such values are of course of primary significance.

The chief elements of worth in these great human ideas and ideals can be secured, and usually better secured, by some other training than the military. Mental alertness is more effectively gained in the well-conducted recitation of a good school. Health and gracefulness belong more to the gymnastic director. Obedience and promptness are functions of the school teacher quite as much as of the drillmaster. Courage—the most common of all virtues—has a field each day in the home and on the street for its use and discipline. The sense of the community life is trained on the playing fields quite as well as in the camp. Self-sacrifice and duty are the habit of the noble boy, as they are of the gentleman. The home and the school cultivate them better than can the recruiting officer.

There are better ways, therefore, than the military for bringing up and out these schoolboys in their self-development, for their glad devotion to national and human welfare.

BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER
President University of California

I am in favor of some such system of universal military service as that existing in Switzerland. Military drill for four weeks in each of two suc-

cessive years after the age of eighteen is reached seems to me to be sufficient, except for an occasional call to arms for a brief period, like a week or ten days once in five years. This leaves, as you see, no place in the scheme for the drilling of schoolboys, and I am inclined to think that it is not best that military service should be carried down into the grade schools.

Other Eminent Authorities on Education

PHILANDER P. CLAXTON
U. S. Commissioner of Education

For peace or war the country needs both men and women, sound in body and mind, with high ideals, strong purposes and good will, and possessed of the physical health and strength and the control of muscle and nerve that will enable them to make their ideals, purposes and will effective for their own and the public good. To this end every public school and every other agency of education should make the care of the health of children, the establishment of health and of right health habits, their first duty. All schools should provide such means of physical culture through outdoor and indoor games and exercises as will result in the best possible control of the body and all its members. I do not believe that military drill in our public schools is the best means to this end, and I feel quite certain that rifle practice in the schools is undesirable. There is so much else that is better for all purposes that can be provided at much less cost.

ELLWOOD P. CUBBERLEY
Professor of Education, Leland Stanford, Jr., University

My chief objection to military training as such for schoolboys is that it is physically dangerous and often results in permanent physical injury, while, on the constructive side, it offers little that is of any educational value to boys or of much use to us from a national preparedness point of view. I believe in preparedness, and in universal service after the Swiss plan, but this belongs to the post high school age.

JOHN DEWEY
Professor of Philosophy, Columbia University; Author of "The School and Society," "Schools of Tomorrow," "Democracy and Education," etc.

I am opposed to military training in our public schools for many reasons, among which are:

1. Experts in physical training are agreed that such exercises are far from the best form of physical training for youth of this age.

2. The usual experience of military schools (for pupils of this age) shows that the rigid discipline of this part of the training is accompanied by relaxed discipline in everything else, students not feeling full responsibility when not immediately under the direction of others.

3. The drill is not of sufficient importance to be a factor in any military sense. Germany never resorts to this method.

4. It puts an additional burden on education and a premium on release from schooling. If youths of from 14 to 18 are to have special training it should be given to those who have left school. They need looking after most, and this method does not penalize those who remain at school by imposing upon them from outside a non-educational activity bearing no relation to the rest of their school work.

SAMUEL T. DUTTON
Professor Emeritus of School Administration, Teachers College, Columbia University

Were the United States to become committed to military training for boys, it would make her to appear more militaristic than any other great nation. To force military drill upon schoolboys would crowd out other and better forms of physical training. It would violate the best medical opinion. It would foster in young minds the idea that war is expected or necessary. It would present to the world the lamentable spectacle of the most democratic nation on earth doing what not one of the great military nations of Europe has done. It would tend to thwart the central aims of modern education, namely, to develop the largest bodily freedom as well as the highest degree of self-direction and initiative. If more

money is available for education, let it be spent for industrial education, which is needed, and not for military drill, which is not needed and which is out of place in the training of young boys.

IRA W. HOWERTH
Professor of Education, University of California

The introduction of the military idea in the schools through compulsory military training will defeat the realization and true object of efficiency, and will inculcate and encourage inflated and pernicious notions of national superiority, false conceptions of patriotism and a distorted view of the relation of soldiering to social welfare. We need to get away from the idea that service of country is confined to or chiefly concerned with the military life.

CHARLES HUGHES JOHNSTON
Professor of Secondary Education, University of Illinois; Editor "Educational Administration and Supervision"

Neither military science nor formal military exercises can successfully be superimposed or plastered upon our developing system of secondary education. High school boys who are acquiring physical and mental control through a conscious educative process of personality development, in its broadest and best sense, will automatically make a nation unconquerable. Vital unpreparedness is physical and mental and moral in a much more profound sense than it is technical.

EDMUND A. JONES
State Commissioner of Common Schools, Columbus, O.

I am not much in favor of military instruction in our public schools. I can readily see that some advantages may result to our boys in an erect and manly bearing from a military drill in marching, etc., but I do not believe it is advisable to place rifles in the hands of boys of thirteen years and over in our public schools. I served in the civil war and was wounded in the defense of my country at that time, but I believe we have reached a time in our civilization when international difficulties can be settled by arbitration without the horrors and sacrifices of war.

PAUL MONROE
Professor History of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University; Editor-in-Chief "A Cyclopedia of Education"

Military training in the schools is advocated for a variety of reasons, none of which is convincing.

First, it is argued that it is extremely valuable as a means of physical education, and yet even specialists in this field will give evidence that it is inferior to the other forms of physical training which have been developed.

Second, it is argued that military training is desirable for the purpose of developing patriotism, but even the militarists will recognize that the military spirit alone is one of the lowest forms of patriotism and is apt to do quite as much harm as good, even though military activities may be unavoidable at times.

Third, it is argued that we are living in an age of militancy which is apt to continue and that every citizen should be prepared to perform his duties to the government should military defence be essential. To this I would answer that investigations that have been made, as well as observations, show that a very small part of military training which can be given in the school functions at all in modern warfare. The investigations made at Boston, where they do have military training, indicate that at least 98 per cent of the activities under the caption of military training do not function in modern warfare.

Fourth, it is argued that military training offers a specific form of co-operative exercises which would introduce much of the desired social spirit into the school. To my mind, this argument, so far as it relates to group activity, sense of discipline, comradery, motivation by common objects, and so on, is the strongest argument, and that to a considerable extent could be gotten from these features especially in schools where the spirit is so largely individualistic as our own. Nevertheless, I believe this same object could be accomplished through means which are very much more desirable and commendable in themselves.

NATHAN C. SCHAEFFER
State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Pennsylvania

The study of war, the military drill during the most impressionable periods of adolescent life, leaves in the subconscious depths of the soul the materials for wars and the worst that human nature is capable of. If we would avoid plunging the land of the stars and stripes into another hell, let us keep military drill out of the public schools.

DAVID EUGENE SMITH
Professor of Mathematics, Teachers College, Columbia University

War is a barbarism which all men should hate, and we are not going to foster this hatred by devoting part of their school life to preparing for it, even under the guise of preparing against it. Real preparedness for national safety is not coming through this channel.

DAVID SNEDDEN
Teachers College, Columbia University

Military drill in schools is sometimes asserted to be a valuable means of school discipline, and it is also contended that the youth thus trained has instilled a special sense of honor. These are doubtful claims as yet, and need examination. * * * The largest need of the urban youth, probably, on the side of physical development, is a great deal of varied and relatively spontaneous physical activity. A large part of the military training now found in schools is always a "getting ready" for extensive plays, real exertion and expression, which, however, never comes. The activities of the Boy Scouts may be much better, as contributions to needed physical development, at this stage, than of the Manual of Arms.

EDWARD L. THORNDIKE
Professor of Educational Psychology, Teachers College, Columbia University

I am opposed to military training of the traditional variety for schoolboys, because it seems foolish as a preparation for either war or peace.

JAMES H. VAN SICKLE
Superintendent of Schools, Springfield, Mass.

Where adequate physical training has been introduced the recent agitation for military training

for boys in the public schools seems likely to have little effect. Military drill cannot compete with games in the cultivation of such desirable traits as initiative, resourcefulness, co-operation and group-loyalty, and it is of doubtful value from the hygienic standpoint. Military drill assumes maturity, strength and endurance that are very unevenly distributed in any group of high school boys. A system of uniform exercise for young and old, weak and strong, mature and immature, defective and sound, violates all recognized principles of physical training; and boards of education have no right to impose it upon the young boys under their care. It is their duty, however, to provide a graded system of physical training, with exercises suited to the varying degrees of the physical capacity of the pupils.

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON
Late Principal of Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

I cannot see my way clear to indorse any proposition that has for its object the training of college students for military service. It seems to me far better and wiser to train them to use their influence to promote peace and friendship and love. Constantly training young men for war and the constant thought of war and preparation for war is what, in my opinion, has brought about the miserable conditions that now exist in Europe. This country certainly ought not to make the same mistake.

GEORGE A. COE
Professor of Religious Education, Union Theological Seminary; Author of "Education in Religion and Morals," etc.

1. The present demand for military training in the schools does not proceed from any reasoned plan for maintaining permanent peace, but from such false assumptions as that peace is impracticable, or that armies and navies are the proper agents for determining our position among the nations.

2. Under these conditions, any military training now introduced into the schools will be militaristic. It will imbue the children with the false

and fatal standards to which the present world-tragedy is due.

3. We should train the children with reference to international conduct, but solely from the standpoint of the ethical principles that properly control the conduct of both individuals and nations.

SHAILER MATHEWS

President Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America; Dean Divinity School, University of Chicago; Editor "The Biblical World"

Militarism is not only a system, it is an attitude of mind. It is a survival of days when men failed to see the might of the Spirit of Jesus and the good sense of love. Doing one another injustice, both intentionally and in ignorance of the laws of social welfare, they felt the need of soldiers to defend and enforce their policies. Thus history revolved in a vicious circle. Bad internationalism demanded military establishments, and military establishments diverted attention from Christian ideals in national policies.

To my mind military training in schools will serve to consolidate this same attitude of mind in growing generations. Military training cannot fail to make impressionable lives feel the justice of militarism as a spiritual attitude toward other nations. It will divert attention from ideals of justice and friendship in the same proportion as it is defended and enforced. Pride and suspicion are indispensable accompaniments of military preparation. Why should boys and girls be given such lessons? As far as real military preparation is concerned, military training in schools is of no real value; but as developing a bent of mind, an accustomedness to military thinking and a respect for war, it is liable to be a psychological suggestion which will make sanity and justice more difficult in all dealings of future public opinions with international relations.

Schools should look to the future and not to the past. If preparation for war must ever come, let it come as a consciously confessed evil, rather than as an expression of attitudes engendered and justified in the midst of a formative educa-

tional process. Boys and girls should be taught that war can be averted by giving justice, and that fighting is a survival of a lower civilization, rather than an expression of truest patriotism.

MARY E. WOOLLEY
President Mount Holyoke College

"Military Training for Schoolboys; Do We Want It?" No. Why not? First, because we believe that better physical and disciplinary results may be secured by another form of training. Physical instructors are by no means agreed that military training is physically good for boys of average school age.

Second, because we believe that the psychological influence is harmful. Our duty is to educate the coming generation to a more civilized Christian conception of internationalism, not to emphasize militarism by making military training a part of our educational system.

A. E. WINSHIP
Editor Journal of Education, Boston, Mass.

There is a vital objection to the introduction of military training into the schools at this time. It will be introduced, if at all, because of the European War, the worst in all history. It will always be associated with that war. It will always be regarded as one of its results, as one of the lessons which Europe has taught America. It will never have an educational flavor. It will only be a war echo.

J. McKEEN CATTELL
Professor of Psychology in Columbia University; Editor of "Science," "The Scientific Monthly" and "School and Society"

I concur without reservation in the statement made in the declaration of principles adopted by the National Education Association which reads: "The association deplores any attempt to militarize this country. It again declares against the establishment of compulsory military training in the schools, on the ground that this is reactionary and inconsistent with American ideals and standards." I wish that this resolution might be placed before every teacher in the country.

SEAL OF MASSACHUSETTS

"By the sword she seeks peace; under liberty, order."

The Imperialism of Ideas.

WILLIAM WARE LOCKE.

The next great war shall be against conditions and not men.

Our visions are the boundaries of our fate,
Within whose magic circle we may sleep,
But dreams are only dreams, and, soon or late,
The thought must turn to action, small or great,
Would we those boundaries win or visions keep.

The clang of arms which rang in days of old,
Resounding still within the minds of men,
Awakes the spirit of the warrior bold
Which occupies our heart when tales are told
That bring the hero-lives to earth again.

Though blood still flows in streams for some great cause,
Inflamed by national pride and racial hate,
The time shall come when our most glorious wars
Shall be against conditions, and our laws
Redeem the time and bless the growing state.

We mourn the comrades lost, the leaders slain,
The many thousands who have bravely died,
But as their visions live and we maintain
Their faithful efforts, nought has been in vain,
For death itself shall fight upon our side.

On the Voyage.

WILLIAM WARE LOCKE.

There are three pathways of escape from a world of discord and confusion, the love of art, the joys of a good comradeship, and the sense of an infinite and eternal order.

DOWN THE HARBOR.

The orchestra plays selections from "Faust" as we sail down the bay, but for a while the people are more interesting to me than the music. Each one has his own story to tell, as good as a novel. That swarthy Armenian merchant, that group of vaudeville actors, that woman in black with two little children, all have a part in a wonderful drama. They come from many countries, have various occupations. Where are they going after this journey is over?

Through all the confusion the steward and porters, brass buttoned, in blue uniforms, move hurriedly hither and thither. One of them raps at a stateroom door to answer a summons. Soon he returns with refreshments. He departs with a courteous bow and a satisfied smile. Perhaps a good dinner will be the best solution of my troubles also.

Ah! but the music,—that is a beautiful air; where have I heard it? I do not look at the programme, but close my eyes,—and listen. As by a magical charm, again on my wedding journey, suddenly I am transported to the Opera House in Paris, brilliant with color and lights and crowded with people. From fortunate seats with the gods in the Olympian heights of the theatre, I can look down on men of all nations. In the box on the left of the stage is the grand Shah of Persia. The President of the Republic sits by his side, while in the opposite box a group of American Beauties is sharing the honors.

That is the frame or the setting containing a wonderful picture showing the desperate struggles of man, the tender devotion of woman, and then the joyous assurance of the glorious future, all the heights and depths of emotion expressed by the music. Art is the greatest magician. Goethe is greater than Midas. All the material world is translated into the realm of the spirit. Why do the people break in with their clatter and vain applause?

The lights shine clear from the shore where the boat will soon make the landing. What a bustle and noise! Why are those gaily clad girls out there on the pier in the evening, surrounded by lively young men who are dressed in the height of the fashion? The note of good comradeship sounds from the group, a strain of wonderful music composed of love and enjoyment.

Through the discordant notes of the fishermen's horns comes the sound of laughter and the merry chatter of girls. Soon a carriage drives rapidly up to the pier, escorted by heralds with banners and trumpets. Showers of confetti and rice are hurled as the couple descends in confusion and tries to run through the gantlet. Blessings upon that policeman! Gladly would I have given a five-dollar bill had he been at my wedding. The bridegroom, saved from his friends, pushes his way through the crowd and hurriedly runs up the gangway.

Rattle and bang go the trunks on the two-wheeled trucks, trunk after trunk and truck after truck pursuing each other. Rushing and pushing, coming and going, two lines of stevedores whirl round the corners and dash up the plankway. They seem like so many blue-legged ants running in and out of an ant-hill, or like shuttles in a machine that is weaving some wonderful fabric. All have blue overalls and are stripped to the shirt or have light linen jumpers. See that tall man run and jump in the air when his truck has been emptied, and that fat little jolly-faced man who keeps the rest jolly.

There is no joy in the world like the joy of having a comrade. Happy and rich is the man who knows the value of friendship. The lonely task is hard even in art and science, and selfish pleasures grow dull, even the keenest and brightest. Those husky roustabouts who are punching each other in fun now that their labor is over, they know one secret of life. Long after wiser acts are forgotten, they will remember the jokes of a comrade, the friendly nonsense that has such a depth of meaning.

All are on board now and why are we waiting? There comes a trunk that is tied up with ribbons and a valise with a satin shoe on the handle. The bride and the groom come on deck and stand at the railing. Again sound the horns and the laughter, the kindly farewells and the message, "Be good to her, old man; you may not get another."

Under the peaceful stars, the light of the town slowly fading, I stand alone in the darkness on the upper deck of the steamer. There is no noise but the swishing song of the waters and the deep-toned throb of the engine. All the sharp lines of the shore, wharves, chimneys, and headlands are gathered up in the twilight. Here is the music of silence, the sense of an infinite order, the rhythm eternal.

Under the peaceful stars, on the other side of the world, men are fighting each other. There, in the carnage of battle, men are lying with upturned faces, but the stamp of death is upon them, and the mark of a horse's hoof or the deep, dark slashes of crimson. The rising moon is red with the bloody reflection, bloody and hot at the sight of the flames and the carnage, a great conflagration of war spreading from country to country. Is there no Christian nation, after two thousand years, to stand for the gospel of peace?

Under the peaceful stars, steadily gazing in silence, other battles are fought without havoc of battle or bloodshed; in the dark city streets there is the cry of the children, and brutal noise of carousal, and in the still darker homes the weary struggle and heartache. Is all this sorrow and strife an inevitable part of the great plan of life? What is the end of it all? Have we no goal as a guide in the journey?

Under the peaceful stars, all alone in the moonlight but for the silent helmsman standing above me, from the upper deck of the vessel forward I gaze through the distance. The forces urging me onward, the dangers which threaten my journey, both are beyond my control. I love the stars too fondly to be fearful about the night, but the mysterious future—what do I know of to-morrow? All that I ever have done is but a ripple of water; all that I ever have thought, only a passing reflection. Soon I shall be forgotten, a drop in the infinite ocean.

Under the peaceful stars, here on the deck of the steamer, nothing is heard but the swishing song of the waters and the deep-toned throb of the engine; but from the vast gray silence comes the sound of music eternal, the song which the stars sang together when earth was created, the music of spheres as they steadfastly whirl in their orbits.

MILITARY DRILL IN SCHOOLS

By W. Evans Darby, LL.D., London.

That system of education is most preferable which develops the greater number of faculties and which does so most thoroughly. The aim of education should be to make good and useful citizens. But a man is not a good citizen who is only partially developed, who, whatever his intellectual powers may be, collapses in the midst of his labors for lack of bodily stamina, and gets thrust to the wall by stronger competitors, because of his physical weakness. Success in life depends as much upon physical strength as intellectual force. The stability and strength of a nation depend as much upon the physical, as upon the mental condition of its people.

It is now generally recognized that no system of education is complete, unless it provides for the development of the bodily powers as well as the mental faculties. Physical training is avowedly of as much importance as intellectual culture. For the real welfare and efficiency of the individual, the two should go hand in hand.

In connection with the most modern and approved educational systems and appliances, it is advocated that children should be instructed in the elements of physiology and hygiene and be taught the rules for the preservation of health, such as the use of good food, water and air, proper exercise, sleep and clothing; and that while they are taught these theoretically, they should be made to understand them practically, by having properly ventilated and sanitary class-rooms and schools, as well as by the attention given to the position and physical welfare of the children themselves during school hours and in their school work. All this is as it should be, and such physical education cannot fail to have a perceptible and beneficial influence upon the whole after life.

In addition to this, it is maintained that the children should be taught a sound system of exercise; their muscles should be developed; their bodily functions stimulated, so as to result in health and vigor; and they should have the sound mind in a healthy body which is the best equipment for life. It has been advocated that in order to secure adequate results, there should be a director of physical exercises, who should inspect schools and report as to whether the system was being properly administered.

Excellent theory, and if nothing more were aimed at, there could be only general acquiescence and unqualified praise.

Unfortunately the practice is vitiated by the prevailing militarism, which is the most prominent feature of the times in which we live. Military ideas and requirements would make the elementary school a place of primary education for the army, and assume that for the desiderated physical culture, military drill is indispensable.

In Germany, Austria, France and Russia, a national system of physical culture has been adopted. That, however, is avowedly a part of the national system of military training, even when it is itself least military in character. It is the result of cruel experiences gained in war, and of the continual rivalry of the nations, which are maintained in the existing state of armed peace. It is a necessity of the constant preparations for fresh conflicts, which is the natural result of war and the war spirit, and has, unfortunately, come to be the normal condition of the European nations.

M. Gambetta, in 1871, after the Franco-German war, attributed the defeat of France and the loss of Alsace and Lorraine to the physical superiority of the German soldiery. A national system of physical training of the young—for it is in youth such training is most beneficial—followed, as a matter of course, from that belief.

In Great Britain, the assumption that military drill is the indispensable form of physical culture appears to be as widespread as on the Continent, although here it is not accompanied by a national system; for happily as yet, universal compulsory military service does not exist among us.

It is well known that in the large public schools cadet corps are enrolled, with officers regularly appointed by government authority. And though, theoretically, service in these corps is not compulsory, practically it is; and parents have had to face the alternative of allowing their boys to learn the art of soldiery, or to withdraw them altogether from the schools. Last year a number of these cadet corps from well-known public schools took part in the Aldershot manœuvres, and the public press was jubilant over the fact that the boys conducted themselves almost as well as the regulars. Parish authorities and a quasi-christian philanthropy, in its homes, training ships, and other institutions, frequently train young lads directly for the army or navy; but pauper boys can hardly help themselves, and the naval and military training is a part of the philanthropy. Besides all this, however, there is an almost universal idea that the mil-

itary drill instructor is indispensable in every school curriculum. In elementary schools, even in ladies' and private seminaries, the drill sergeant, generally an old soldier, or the local government official, is as much a part of the teaching staff as the head master or mistress. The government, astate enough in taking care of its military establishments, has stationed a number of drill instructors throughout the country, whose services are always available, and whose occupation oscillates between the training of the youth belonging to volunteer or military corps in the military art, and the education of the children in our day-schools in the rudiments of same art.

What the military authorities desiderate, was indicated by General Lord Wolseley, from his position one of the most representative military officers of the day, in a recent speech which attracted some notice. According to the *Times*, 10th February, 1890, "he regretted that when universal education was started in England, every Board School had not had attached to it some sort of military organization, or some military instructor, entrusted with the duty of drilling, and thus to foster amongst them a spirit of military discipline."

He was addressing a reputedly religious body, and this, probably, made him consider the drill sergeant a disguised missionary, for he is reported to have continued: "The essence and foundation of such discipline was obedience to those placed in authority, of whatever kind. Obedience to one to whom they could look as their commanding officer was the first step towards reverence, and reverence was the first step towards faith; and no country from which faith was eliminated, could, in his opinion, be great, powerful, or even lasting." According to his lordship, the greatness, power and permanence of a nation, and in some sense its religious life, were enhanced by military drill—an hypothesis contradicted by the lessons of history and the essential nature of faith.

Another military authority, Colonel G. M. Onslow, in a lecture delivered a short time ago in the offices of the London School Board, before a very different audience, on the necessity of physical culture and recreation for children in Elementary Schools, took a far more rational and tenable position, while he showed that Lord Wolseley's desideratum was to a large extent actual fact. His words are important, not merely from the military character and position of the lecturer, but because they go to the very heart of the question. In the course of an able discussion of his subject he said that, "In the Elementary Education Act of 1870, he saw no mention of physical

exercises, but provision was made for boys to have military drill two hours a week. But why should the drill be military? He looked upon this two hours a week as time wasted. There should be a general system of exercises. In the same Act the girls were not even allowed military drill, but practical cookery was mentioned. If it was thought that military drill would benefit the boys' physique, why were the girls left out, and made to put up with cookery? Physical instruction was quite as necessary for girls as for boys. The bodily strength of future generations of Englishmen depended as much upon the stamina of the women as upon that of the men; for if the boys were to become the fathers, the girls were to become the mothers, of the future generations."

The lecturer claimed that physical education, theoretical and practical, should be made compulsory throughout the country; that it should be State-directed, and conducted on a scientific and rational principle; that it should be recognized as an important part of a child's education; and he showed how physical culture and recreation are essential for the physical and moral well-being of the youth of both sexes, and what national benefits would accrue therefrom. But he nevertheless urged the very important and crucial question, Why should the drill be military?

Our reply, advisedly and emphatically is, that it should not be military, and for the following among other reasons:

1. Because as a method of physical training military drill is both inadequate and injurious.

Experiments, which were conducted in a public school, with a view to ascertain the relative value of gymnastics and of mere drill, showed that the average results yielded by the former were more than three times as great as those yielded by drill alone. Relatively, therefore, this method of physical culture is inferior. Military drill is defective, inasmuch as it does not to any extent meet the physiological demands of the body. Its effect upon boys is not salutary. It does not, as the community at large have believed, make a youth erect, or give him a graceful and manly bearing. On the contrary, it tends to make him stiff and angular in his movements, as well as to droop and round his shoulders.

This fact has long been recognized by the military authorities; and a set of calisthenic exercises or free gymnatics, known as the setting up of drill, has been adopted to correct the tendency, and is incorpo-

rated in all treaties on military training. Upton, in his "Manual of United States Army Infantry Tactics," says: "As the importance of 'setting up' cannot be over-estimated, the exercises must be often recurred to, and all soldiers will be frequently practised therein."

This is not the only expedient adopted to give the soldier his smart appearance and military figure. There is another method commonly known as "tailorizing," by which youthful soldiers may easily acquire a full chest, square shoulders and a straight back.

Dr. Dudley A. Sargeant, Director of the Hemenway Gymnasium, Harvard University, who is an acknowledged authority, adds: "In reference to the gracefulness that is thought to characterize the movement of young cadets, I can only say it is not the outcome of drilling and marching. The soldier is trained to square corners, straight platoons, and angular movements. Curves and embellishments are not encouraged, in speech, or in action. If you would account for the graceful poise of our National Cadets you must see them from one to two hours a day in charge of the dancing master."

It may be an unwelcome task to explode a fallacy which has commended that drill to parents and teachers, and which has given it the widespread popularity which attaches to it. But truth is always best, and this matter is so important that no part of the truth should be concealed.

Dr. Sargeant sums up his conclusion, in an admirable little brochure on the subject, in these striking words: "After taking the most favorable view possible of military drill as a physical exercise, we are led to conclude that its constrained positions and closely localized movements do not afford the essential requisites for developing the muscles, and improving the respiration and circulation and thereby improving the general health and condition of the system. We must further conclude that in case of any malformation, local weakness, or constitutional debility, the drill tends, by its strain upon the nerves and prolonged tension on the muscles, to increase the defects rather than to relieve them.

"Finally, if the ultimate object of the drill was to prepare young men for the life and duties of a soldier, we should be forced to conclude that the drill itself would still be defective as a means of developing the chief requisites for men in that profession.

"This defect, we are pleased to state, is recognized by the great military nations of Europe, and measures are taken to give all the

recruits from three to twelve months' gymnastic training to develop them as men, before they are expected to conform to the requirements of the soldier."

2. Because the moral effects of the drill are not all that have been claimed for it.

The Boys' Brigade movement, the new military development in the Christian Churches of Great Britain, professes to use military organization and drill as a means of moral culture. This profession challenges close investigation. In its constitution it states that "military organization and drill shall be used as a means of securing the interest of the boys, binding them together in the work of the Brigade, and promoting among them such habits as the Brigade is designed to form." These habits are then defined to be, "discipline and obedience," which shall be enforced by all "the officers." The result of "military organization and drill" therefore is disciplined obedience. This may seem a good thing, until it is asked, to what authority? To any authority whatsoever. It is assumed that obedience is in itself good, without any regard to the kind of authority. That, however, is the convenient creed of the despot, which has been always destructive of freedom. In moral culture it can have no place. For moral culture aims at making men self-disciplined, self-governed, not automata moved by the will of another. For a moral being, the only obedience that is admissible and that can be aimed at in religious and moral culture is obedience to moral authority, to right, to conscience, to the divine imperative of duty, and Christianity teaches, to Christ the Lord of the conscience, the true interpreter of duty. Military drill and discipline aim at producing flexible automata, obedient to the will of the commanding officer, and its success is measured by the flexibility of the machine. It is bondage, not freedom. Moral hypnotism it may be; moral culture it is not. Physical strength and plasticity do not mean moral force and independence; and the excellence of manhood lies in these. Even were the "obedience" all that is claimed for it, there are other attributes of character; and these are overlooked. Dr. Sargeant says again: "Coolness, courage, presence of mind, and that rapid and responsible exercise of judgment in emergencies, so valuable to the man of business, as well as to the soldier, are not developed by the drill itself, though I will admit that other moral attributes, such as obedience, patience, fortitude, and forbearance," all passive in character, it will be perceived, "may be brought to a high degree of perfection."

As a means of moral culture, therefore, military drill is defective, for it develops some attributes of character, to the neglect, if not actually at the expense, of others equally necessary.

3. Because military drill is inseparable from its purpose and associations.

It is drill and discipline, with a definite purpose, from which it cannot be dissociated. If it were possible to eliminate the purpose of the drill which gives it character and the associations which spring out of that purpose, the character of the drill would be changed. The definite object of the drill is to impart and develop skill and facility in slaying men. But killing one's fellow-men is rightly considered murder. The musket and sword, or its substitute, come to be necessary parts of the drill. The Boys' Brigade has its dummy, or real, rifles and military accoutrements, and these are purely instruments of killing. In drilling children by military discipline, there is implanted in them the spirit born of the character and associations of the drill, the spirit of the soldier, who is trained to kill and to destroy; there is developed in them the war spirit, the spirit of murder. It is vain to expect that the drill can be used and the moral influence of its associations be escaped. Military drill, therefore, of necessity favors and fosters ideas and practices which belong to the brute and barbaric side of human nature, rather than to the cultured and civilized, the development of which is the object sought in the very existence of the school. It familiarizes the young with the idea of the taking of human life. It takes for granted a series of terrible fallacies that war cannot be dispensed with, that the natural state of man is hostility to his fellow-man. It sanctions and assumes the militarism of which it is a part and for which it is training. Disguise it as we may, the simple fact is "that the primary object of establishing military drill in our schools and colleges is a professional one, that is, to give instruction in military tactics to educated young men, in order that they may be of service to the country or community in the case of war," and to prepare the rank and file of future armies, in the primary and elementary schools of the land.

The end condemns the means.

4. Because military drill may be dispensed with in physical training.

It is by no means necessary; its quality is doubtful; and, under the most favorable circumstances, it has to be supplemented. For the purpose of physical development there is no necessity to teach boys

soldierly duties and the use of the rifle. There are all the appliances of calisthenics and gymnastics; and the proper use of them has been developed into a science; there are the various games which promote physical force and freedom; and there are the various industrial arts which are themselves a means of physical training. It is encouraging to observe that the governments are awakening to a recognition of these facts. Recently, a letter appeared in the leading London newspapers, signed by a score or more of the members of the London School Board, appealing for funds to encourage physical exercises in elementary schools. "The Educational Department," they say, "by its Code of this year, at length recognizes the need of physical exercises for the children in the public elementary schools, and allows instruction in swimming at the public baths to be counted as school attendance."

This is a step in the right direction. What is required is that physical training shall be free from all moral taint, and that it shall be adapted to its purpose.

The *Daily News*, commenting on the purpose of this appeal, intimates that one object of the promoters is to assist school clubs for cricket, football, tennis, and other invigorating games. It then continues:

"It is in the comparative absence of regular organized play that our elementary schools, both Board and voluntary, are most seriously at fault. No higher kind of school is now considered complete without abundant provision for play, and in some great public schools the games are encouraged to an almost absurd extreme. Every one knows the famous saying attributed to the Duke of Wellington, that his battles were won in the playing fields of Eton; but school games not only tend to develop the dash and vigor of our race, they are a great factor in the formation of that *esprit de corps*, without which a school is sadly incomplete."—*Daily News, July 4th*, 1890.

By all means let mind and body be developed to the utmost, but let it never be forgotten that there is a higher purpose in all this culture than mere destruction; that the human race has richer possibilities than can be reached on fields of conquest, or by wasting its energies in mutual conflict; and that the dash and vigor and *esprit de corps* developed by school games and physical exercises may find higher spheres of action than the battlefield, and a fitter outlet and more beneficent achievements than any that can be covered by the term "MILITARY."

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

The United States and World Unity.

A great movement is upon us. It has suddenly begun to assume vast dimensions, and uncontrollable speed. The people are awaking to it, and responding. It has passed out of the minds of the dreamers into the hands of the statesmen and doers. It has been called the Peace Movement. But it has gone even beyond peace in its enthusiasm. Peace has become only a consequent of something greater and more positive. It has become not merely the peaceful relationship of nations, but the political organizations of the world through courts and parliaments for the common welfare of the united nations.

The peace movement today means not only the cessation of wars, but the establishment of some sort of political unity among nations that have ceased to make war. Or one might say that peace, the cessation of war, will only follow a new world unity. In this new peace movement, this enthusiastic outreach of the people for a reign of law, in this awakening of the world to a brighter vision, in this sudden kindling of new international sentiments, in this growing dream of brotherhood, in this attempt at a world organization, some nation must lead the other nations, just as in a movement among men some one man must be its prophet.

The one nation that can lead—whose duty it is to lead,—yes, who must lead, unless she fail of her own high destiny, is the United States. Everything in her past, present and future is assertion of this fact.

(a) She is remote from other nations, and has been able to work out her destiny unhindered and unhampered by those dreads and suspicions and fears that continually hover over the interlocked European nations. By her very locality she is the one unmilitary nation of the world. Count Apponyi in his recent visit to America, in calling upon her to lead referred to the fact that she had no international memories to hinder her. She has had no entangling alliances with other nations that close her lips when she would speak. She, by her very isolation, has been the long enemy of none and the long friend of all. The very distance of the seas has enabled her to put her money into that educa-

tion and culture that looks toward justice and prosperity and goodwill as her national security, rather than militarism. Militarism has never had the predominant hold upon her that it has upon all the states of Europe. She has been able to go by a new way to a new nationalism. She has been trained as was the Hebrew seer, by her very isolation, to say bold things.

(b) All her past compels her to be the leader of the new Peace Movement. Indeed, it is she that has brought it upon the world. Practically all her great statesmen, from Samuel Adams to President Taft, have been ardent advocates of the substitution of law for war. All her prophets and her poets have sung of a better and a nobler way than the way of war. She has had peace societies for a century. Her peace literature far surpasses that of other nations. Americans first organized world peace congresses. It was an American who bade two nations cease their warfare. The United States has led in the signing of arbitration treaties. Mr. Root signed twenty-four while Secretary of State. It was the United States which sent the first case to The Hague Court; it was the United States which secured its permanency; it was her delegates who introduced the great and important bills. The United States has created the first Peace Commission. And now it is a President of the United States who is the first to offer an unlimited arbitration treaty to the great powers of the world. The United States must lead, if only to be true to herself, and true to the world upon which she has launched the very movement itself.

(c) The United States has the temperament and the disposition that fits her to preach peace to the world. We would not be boastful, but facts are facts. Some other nations have set out and trodden weaker nations under foot and subjected them, through much brutality and bloodshed. Some nations have governed great colonies by means of iron and force. Some nations have wrested land from other nations for themselves. Some nations have suppressed the national aspirations of conquered peoples, and tried to conform them to a hated mould. Some nations have behind them records of ruthless exploits all over Europe, wherein many thousands have been slaughtered. Some nations today are eager to acquire new lands for colonization, and one wonders if they would stop at war in their desires. From all this the United States is practically free. She has set out on no wars for conquest of territory. When territory came into her possession by accident of war, she freed one nation immediately, and has it in her purpose to free the other at the right time. She has never desired to go

forth to war. Her temperament is not warlike. A Napoleon of today meets with little response. When some one of his temperament arises to declaim against arbitration as the way of weaklings, the silence that greets him is significant. Our temperament is industrial and commercial, rather than warlike. The nation shows no disposition—it never occurs to her people—to make war for more territory. The President of the United States was right, when he said at the third National Peace Congress at Baltimore, "This country does not desire any more territory." The temperament of this nation peculiarly qualifies her to lead.

(d) America has a political idealism that entitles her to play the part of prophet. It may seem strange to associate idealism with America. Most people refer to her materialism. And her idealism has not yet found much expression in art, literature or music. But no nation has manifested so superb a *political idealism,* say what one will, as has the United States. She has dared to trust herself to extremest democracy, as has no other nation. Her trial of liberty has always been bold and fearless. Her conception of freedom is the highest the world has known. In no other nation is such freedom of speech and press allowed. In no other nation are personal liberty and individual rights more respected, although existing in a social democracy. In all this way the United States has led. All the world has watched her bold experiment of democracy, and followed after, acknowledging her leadership, from Great Britain* eastward to Japan. It was natural that that ardent leader of democracy, Walter Walsh, should have cried out, in a moment of alarm: "If you fail us here, the hope of Europe is gone." Is it not for a nation that has thus led the world in national idealism, in democracy of states, to lead it in international idealism and the new democracy of nations? This she is doing, we believe. And, as a matter of fact, the world is looking to her to do this, as we shall see. And only last year Walter Walsh again used these same words regarding militarism:

"If the United States swerves from her high idealism of a great nation trusting to justice and fair dealing to all peoples, and, following in the steps of the effete nations of the Old World, addresses herself to militarism, it will dash the high hopes of every prophetic soul in Europe."†

*W. T. Stead, in his book, "The United States of the World," frankly says that the future of all other governments will be patterned on the United States.

†Extempore from an address in the Normal College of the City of New York, and often repeated during Dr. Walsh's tour under auspices of World Peace Foundation.

(e) Her unique and remarkable experience fits her, above all other nations, to lead in the movement for the peaceable dwelling together of all races and nationalities. She has demonstrated that it can be done. The statesmen have always been doubting what the seers have always taught—that the Creator has made all nations one, to dwell together on the face of the earth. "Can the different nations dwell together in peace?" they have asked. The United States has answered that question during the last fifty years, once and forever. For here every nation has dwelt together and become one people—a prophecy of how the world may some time become one. The United States has taught the world forever the lesson of the practicability of international brotherhood, a prophecy of the brotherhood she must now make real in Europe and Asia, as well as in her own borders. This truth so impressed the late Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, the Honorable David J. Brewer, that he attributed it to the direct leadership of providence. He said:

"There was a purpose that this Republic should lead in the great cause of the peaceful settlement of international disputes. This is a composite nation. You go to Germany and Germans control. There are a few others dwelling there, but it is a German nation. You go to Japan, and while it welcomes foreigners to dwell in its borders, yet it is a Japanese nation. But this Republic was settled, not by one race alone, but by Englishmen and Germans and Frenchmen and Swedes. Indeed, every nation on the face of the globe has sent some of its bravest and strongest and brainiest to help fashion this Republic, and out of these composite races is being formed this nation, which of all on the face of the globe most fully represents the brotherhood of man. And where there is that brotherhood there will be no fighting. It seems to me that one of the lessons we may draw from history is that the Almighty has, in the counsels of eternity, a purpose that this Republic shall stand in the front of all the great nations on the earth as leader in the cause of universal peace."*

(f) The fact that the United States is politically constituted of forty-eight states, which manage to live together with not even the possibility of war between them, makes her supremely capable of pointing the way to Europe. As Edward Everett Hale said, in 1895: "The United States of America is the oldest, as it is the largest and most successful, peace society which the world has ever known." These states are really little nations (sometimes big ones, for several of our states are greater than some nations), with parliaments and executives of their own, and with unlimited authority touching matters affecting the state alone. In the last one hundred years there have been between thirty and forty disputes between these states, which, if these states

*Mohonk Addresses, by David J. Brewer, P. 126.

had not created a Supreme Court of states would have been certainly adjusted by war.* Thus, by her very political constitution, she has shown the world how to get peace among fifty nations by creating a national parliament to make law for all the states together, and a Court where all disputes may be settled, and laws binding them to this Court, which are practically treaties of arbitration. Indeed, practically all writers who outline a federation of the world use the United States as model. The organized world will be the United States of the World, with an *inter*national parliament, an *inter*national court, and *inter*national law and treaties—and who knows but, some day, a President of the United Nations?

(g) And a last reason why the United States should lead is because *all the nations are looking to her.* She is the hope of the world. As we hinted, lovers of liberty in Europe have always felt that democracy was on trial in the United States. If it failed here, their hope for it in Europe would be dashed away. With the rise of the peace movement, the same feeling is now being expressed with regard to the new democracy of nations. The lovers of brotherhood and goodwill in Great Britain, Germany and France, are saying the same things. We quoted one of Britain's prophets. Sir William Randall Cremer has said almost the same words, as have our recent guests, J. Allen Baker, M.P., Dr. John Clifford and the Dean of Worcester. Three eminent visitors from Europe, Count Albert Apponyi of Hungary, Baron d'Estournelles de Constant of France, and Herr Licentiate F. Siegmund Schultze of Germany, came expressly to say these words. Count Apponyi, in a lecture in Carnegie Hall, February, 1911, after calling attention to the many things that hindered a strong peace sentiment growing rapidly in Europe, said he had come to tell America she must lead. (In every address he repeated this). He said:

"A classification of nations in this respect would show that, next to America, England is the country where the peace movement stands highest; France follows at some distance; in the rest of Europe the belief in peace and the possibility of permanent institutions to secure it is not yet a serious power in politics. Still we must have that force if anything is to be done . . . In this you Americans may efficiently help us . . . Highly as I rate the honor of having been called to address American audiences, I should think it more important work perhaps that Americans should come over to Europe and enlighten public opinion on a subject on which we have so much to learn from you."†

*Mohonk Addresses, by Edward Everett Hale, P. 2.
†Lectures in America by Count Albert Apponyi, P. 38.

Baron d'Estournelles de Constant closed every address in America with this appeal. Speaking at a farewell dinner in New York he said:

"I have found no such universal sentiment for peace anywhere as here. I have addressed many thousands in many states of your land, and they all said: We are with you. Here the old people, as well as the young, are interested in this great movement. It is not so in France. When I go home I shall tell them that here the young are old. My last words to you are that *you must lead. Only you can lead.* The peace of the world is with you. You will lead."

Speaking at a farewell luncheon at Sherry's, Dr. Siegmund Schultze said:

"I come to you in the United States as the man from Macedonia came to Paul, saying only: 'You must come over and help us.' We peace workers in Germany look to you. We have no Carnegies and Smileys there. We have some prophetic young men, though, and we look to you. You must not fail us."

How, then, shall the United States lead the world into the reign of peace?

How shall she, being best fitted, best preach the gospel of the new World Unity?

(a) First, by example. She must resist all attempts to lead her off in the direction the old nations have pursued,—that of resting their government on force and militarism, instead of free consent of the governed and democracy. Democracy and militarism are contradictory terms, for militarism puts the power in the head of the army. So far this country has been great and strong and free without any leaning toward that militarism which holds Germany and France, and even Great Britain, under its thumb. All Europe points to her as an example, of a great nation, strong, growing, flourishing, happy, free, because of true democracy. It encourages all the democratic impulses of Europe. It leads the advocates of republicanism to instance her as a land where the people prosper and are secure without the awful taxation militarism imposes, and without its tyranny and its other terrible economic wastes. The United States must continue to show the world that a nation can be great without having anything to do with armies and navies, except as they are needed for national police. Let us never go beyond that. She must have this sufficient armament, and in the present state of civilization it must be reasonably large, but she must show Europe that it is industry, education, farming, commerce, culture, the development of a high morale among her people, economic justice for all men, that she is directly concerned with, while

military matters are only an incidental consideration. She must develop an integrity and uprightness among her people, and put reliance in that, rather than in universal military service and vast navies.

(b) The United States can show how a nation can be a gentleman, as an individual can be. This will have more influence in the peace movement than all the writing and talking that have ever been done. It has twice happened, and astounded the world. Once was the relinquishing of Cuba, and the other was in remitting the great debt China owed her, as indemnity from the Boxer uprising. China owed the United States $14,000,000. The United States played the gentleman and remitted a large part of this sum. That one act is better defense to the United States from attack by China than a fleet of gunboats covering the whole Pacific. China simply *cannot* make war with the United States after that act. She is now sending five hundred students a year to this country on the interest of this money, putting them in all our colleges. This deed also attracted the attention of all other nations, and even the most warlike said: "That is better than war."*

Yes, this is a peace-making government, and others will follow. The United States must show justice to all nations, the weaker as well as the stronger. It has been her general attitude of justice to *all,* great and small, that gives her power. It is because Europe and Asia believe she intends justice, not at all because of her vast military prowess (it is not vast) that she can step in between Russia and Japan and say: "Put up your swords, and come, reason together." She should so practice this justice that in the future she can do this with any two nations, without either having the slightest suspicion that she has other motives than the securing of peace and justice. She should be the friend of the weaker nations. It has been her friendliness to the South American republics that has made her the protector and peace-maker for them all. It is the fact that her Secretary of State went to them and assured them that the United States desired only to befriend them, and the fact of the creation of the Pan-American Union by our nation, *offering all the republics a home* THAT MAKES IT POSSIBLE FOR HER TO INTERVENE NOW BEFORE ANY TWO NATIONS COME TO WAR. It is such words as these from Senator Root that make our nation ever safe from attack of South America, even though we had not a single gunboat:

"Let us pledge ourselves to aid one another in the full performance of the duty to humanity which that accepted declaration implies,

*When this event occurred a German paper was quite vexed that the German Government should have permitted the United States to be the *first* to do such a piece of international courtesy.

so that in time the weakest and most unfortunate of our republics may come to march with equal step by the side of the stronger and more fortunate. Let us help one another to show that for all the races of men the liberty for which we have fought and labored is the twin sister of justice and peace. Let us unite in creating and maintaining and making effective an all-American public opinion, whose power shall influence international conduct and prevent international wrong, and narrow the causes of war, and forever preserve our free lands from the burdens of such armaments as are massed behind the frontiers of Europe, and bring us ever nearer to the perfection of ordered liberty."*

(c) She must show Europe the new way, by her just treatment of all races within her borders. In Europe, with few exceptions, foreign races within the nation are despised and ill-treated, and held down by the army and by force and ignorance. Here is the opportunity of the United States to show a new attitude, the Christian, that of the strong toward the weak, the many toward the few. She has, curiously, been—both generous and mean in this regard. She freed the blacks, but has never given them full protection, opportunity or justice yet. Yet, on the other hand, she has thrown open her gates, with no restrictions, except those necessary to safeguard the health and morals of the nation, to millions from every land and of every race. To these she has extended the opportunity of citizenship, educating them free in her public schools. There has been little discrimination of either race or religion. She has bred a great, homogeneous nation out of the most diverse peoples ever brought together. She has shown how all these peoples can be persuaded to sink nationality and ancient prejudices in one common brotherhood of American citizenship. She has here the most unique opportunity any nation has ever had, and must pursue it unswervingly. One great cause of war is the arrogance of stronger nations towards the weak. The United States will show the attitude of friendliness instead of arrogance. In her colonial dependencies, as in the Phillippines, she will practice no exploitations, but only education, until she has raised them to the capacity of self-government. To make this spirit prevail in the world is her mission, and it is the spirit that fosters peace.

(d) It is easy, for the reasons given above, to make the people of the United States believe thoroughly in peace as the natural state of the world, and to make them ardent advocates of arbitration. This has been accomplished already, in a marked degree. Here peace societies are growing fast. Here large peace congresses are becoming

*Address of Secretary of State Elihu Root to the South American Republics.

frequent. Here the leading statesmen and business men are peace workers. Here a large peace literature is being produced. Here wealthy men are giving vast sums. All this should be accelerated. Everybody in this country should be converted. For every convert made here means more in Europe. A signal instance of this was recently seen among the Germans. The German-American Society passed strong resolutions favoring arbitration, thus committing the Germans of this country. It could not have been done in Germany. *But the act produced a remarkable impression in Germany.* Already the peace principles enunciated by the American-Scandinavian Society have attracted much attention in Scandinavian countries. And, above all, the United States should teach peace in the schools. Splendid work has been done here. But children growing to manhood imbued with the coming of peaceful bonds between nations instead of the military spirit will be a worldwide force for peace. The words of the great Horace Mann, uttered fifty years ago, are the words for our nation:

"The ministers of the gospel of peace may continue to preach peace, and still find themselves in the midst of war, or of all those passions by which war is engendered, unless the rising generation shall be educated to that strength and sobriety of intellect which shall dispel the insane illusions of martial glory, and unless they shall be trained to the habitual exercises of those sentiments of universal brotherhood for the race, which shall change the common heroism of battle into a horror and an abomination."

(e) Now let me make three final suggestions as to ways in which the United States can directly, as a Government, promote the peace cause. In two of these she has already made a beginning. In the other she should begin at once. She should begin the systematic and continuous practice of international hospitality. The visits of one group of men from one nation as guests of another group in another nation produced remarkable changes in international feeling. The exchange visits of editors, clergymen and workingmen between England and Germany are splendid corroboration of this. The Carnegie Endowment has already created a department for this work. But the government could do much more here than any group of individuals. The United States should invite the governing bodies of other nations to be her guests for a month at a time. Let her invite the Japanese Parliament this year. Let her send them all over the nation, showing them everything we have. Let her arrange for them to speak in every city and before all State Legislatures. It would do more to ward off that annual attack of Japan fever than four new battleships every year. Then let her do the same with other nations, inviting their

Parliaments, Cabinets, even their rulers, to conference together. She has already appointed a Peace Commission. When the other nations have appointed theirs, let the United States be first to invite them all to be her guests at Washington.

(f) She has led the world in arbitration. They were Americans—Franklin, Ladd, Channing, Burritt, Dodge, Garrison—who in the early days advocated it, when all the world was silent upon it. It was the delegates from the United States who insisted upon it at The Hague Conferences. The United States has signed arbitration treaties oftener than other nations. The signing of twenty-four arbitration treaties during Secretary Root's term of office far surpasses the record of any other nation. And finally President Taft's offering an unqualified treaty to the great powers of Britain and France puts the United States far in the lead. His own sincere advocacy of unlimited arbitration in every address he made has as greatly impressed the European powers as has the offering the treaties themselves. And now President Wilson and Secretary Bryan are assuming as splendid a leadership as did Mr. Taft. Already they have signed new treaties of arbitration with thirteen different nations, and Mr. Bryan says all nations will sign. And the President, in the attitude he has taken in the matter of adjusting the Colombia claims and in insisting that we keep faith with England on the question of the Panama tolls, has shown how the United States can be a gentleman.

It was the greatest international blunder of recent history when the Senate refused to ratify them. They are the logical fruit of one hundred years of our history. Practically every statesman and every journal agrees that the Senate acted counter to the wishes of the whole people of the United States. This nation believes in arbitration more than ever. It would stand before the nations discredited forever did it uphold the Senate's action. It would be breaking faith with civilization, for we offered the treaties. But we, the people of the United States, put this disgraceful political action of the Senate behind our backs, and say to Europe: "We intend to lead in this great movement of world unity in the future as in the past, and you must listen to our voice and not that of our non-representative Senate." As for us, we will make some Senate soon uphold these treaties, and then the United States must go and offer them to every nation of the forty-eight. The habit will spread rapidly. Already there are hints of England and France signing such a treaty. Others will surely sign. Let every true American *insist* that these treaties be signed, unamended,—and then shall the United States indeed have made the beginning of the end of war!

(g) But arbitration treaties, to gain the trust and confidence of the world, and to have permanent and binding power, must have back of them a permanent Supreme Court of Nations, where a bench of carefully selected and competent arbitrators, in whom the world has confidence as each nation has confidence in its highest judges, shall be perennially in session. As we saw in the beginning, our country is supremely fitted to lead here because she has tried the successful experiment of bringing forty-eight sovereign states to submit their disputes to a national tribunal. She has but to say to the world: "It works with states; it will also work with nations." But she should also lead here for the reason that she has already assumed that task. It was she who got the unanimous vote of all the nations for the Permanent Court at the second Hague Conference. It was she who proposed only last year a plan for the difficult and perplexing constituting of the Court. It should be the United States who should say to all the world: "Let us all get together now, and before the Third Hague Conference shall assemble, have plans so far formulated that this third parliament of the nations shall not adjourn before there is a Supreme Court of Nations established forever."

THE CHURCH PEACE UNION
70 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

Reprinted from The Child-Welfare Magazine, December, 1913.

How to Teach Children the Peace Story

By LUCIA AMES MEAD

The American School Peace League, which now has branches in nearly forty states, is the best organized body in the world to teach the rising generation of the new facts and conditions which are making nations more dependent on each other and future wars between nations unnecessary and absurd. Every child should be taught at home as well as in school what our new Twentieth Century conditions require. The following little talk is prepared in simple language for children who know little of history and geography so as to give mothers and teachers a suggestion of the way in which even children of eight or ten may get some comprehension of the great forces which are at work to promote world organization, a lessening of ruinous armaments and the substitution of war by law.

I suppose, children, that you have all heard of the cave-dwellers who lived when the world was young and how these dirty savages ate raw meat with their fingers and fought like dogs over a bone. In those days everyone fought except with those of their own blood. They lived on game and there was not enough to go around and one cannot blame them for acting like animals. After a while they learned that they could tame some animals and have herds of cattle or camels and flocks of sheep. Then there was more to eat and they did not fight so much. After a while they learned that they could raise wheat and rye and other things from the ground and could get more food if they settled down instead of roving around to hunt for pasture. They could raise food for themselves and their animals and they had more wealth when they worked than when they fought and stole from each other.

You remember I said they did not fight with the people of their own blood, that is, their own little tribe which was made up of more or less distant cousins. Each family knew that it could not get on quite alone, and must have help; therefore, inside the tribe people were generally peaceable. After they stopped fighting so much with their spears and arrows about food they sometimes fought about the boundary lines of their country or about who owned the wells or about some mean trick one village had played on another. Sometimes one side would get some advantage and sometimes neither side, but it never happened that both sides were better off for having fought.

Later on, there were better roads and canals and people began to ex-

change goods. One village, for instance, might have good land and could raise more grain and fruit than another village miles away where the land was only good for mining. The exchange of goods made everyone much better off. The people could not only have what they made themselves but all the different kinds of things that other people made. Then if a distant body of soldiers marched against one village and killed the people in it the other village suffered too. The faster people became dependent on each other by dividing up their labor so as to exchange what they had too much of for what they had not enough of, and the faster they got better boats and roads and, after many ages, telegraph and railroad connection, the more everyone was injured when any two fell out and went to war.

If a war had been fought between the Russians and Japanese when George Washington lived, we should not have heard anything about it for about six months afterward. Then a slow sailing vessel would have brought the news to New York and the little four-page newspapers of those days would have printed a few sentences about the horrible slaughter and how the brave Japanese won the great battle at Port Arthur. A rider would have carried the news on horse-back to Boston or Albany and only after some weeks would all the towns have learned of it.

A marvelous change has taken place since a hundred years ago. Then no one could travel or get news any quicker than Moses or Abraham could. Now, whatever happens in any country is read the next morning at every breakfast table and the things we eat and wear and use come from all over the globe. It is great fun to count up all the places from which everything on the dinner table has come and to think how many thousands of people all over the earth have been working for hundreds of years to get that ready.

In ancient times, a king who conquered another could carry off his slaves and rugs and herds and, although it was wicked, he could get something out of it. Now, all has changed and one nation cannot conquer another without losing more than it gains. War between nations now is not only wicked but the silliest thing in the world, partly because the nation can no longer gain by it, though of course a few men may make money by selling guns; almost all citizens suffer from a war for many years after it is over. If all armies and navies were to end to-day, the heaped up *war debts of the world would not be paid off before the school children to-day were great-grand-fathers.* Another reason why war now is so absurd is because there is a new and better way of settling quarrels between nations. It is much the same way that has

been used for ages to settle quarrels between angry people, that is, to let a judge settle it in a court, just as an umpire settles quarrels on the ball ground.

In 1898, when your big brother in the High School was a baby, something very wonderful happened. The king of Russia who is called a *Czar* had a bright idea. It was not a new idea at all. For hundreds of years wise men had thought the same thing, but the world had paid little attention. The Czar was in great trouble. He wanted a great many soldiers but did not know how to pay for them. He had a big country full of poor people and he could not tax them any more. They were so poor that the mothers often had to leave their babies when they went away all day to dig in the fields and sometimes they would tie some paste on the baby's wrist for it to suck during the hungry, lonesome hours. No matter how hungry or cold other people were, soldiers must be well fed and clothed. The Czar's bright idea was that if the other nations that were strong would only agree with him to have fewer soldiers they would all be just as safe and it would not cost nearly as much and his poor people need not starve. You see if one side had 100,000 men and the other side had 80,000 men and each should agree to send half of them home to do their work in factories and farms, the two nations could do exactly as well with 50,000 men and 40,000 men for soldiers.

The Czar told his chief official who is called "Prime Minister," to write a letter to twenty-six nations —all of those represented in his court—and ask them each to send delegates to a meeting to talk over this matter of having fewer soldiers and battleships. He had no South Americans at his court, but delegates from the United States and Mexico and China and Japan besides Europeans met on his birthday, May 18, 1899, in a great round hall in the Dutch Queen's little palace in Holland at the Hague. One hundred men with fifty secretaries came; some of these men were famous and important. The chief American was Ambassador Andrew D. White who was at Berlin.

Many of the delegates were almost ready to make fun of the conference and say it would be a fizzle. But Dr. White and a few others were bound to make it a success. They all worked behind locked doors, divided into three groups, each group working over a different problem. They ate lunch together and walked in the beautiful green park together, and had parties and banquets for each other in the evening. The more they became acquainted the more they liked each other. They usually talked in the French language. They worked together for about three

months while the world impatiently waited to see what they would do.

Once the Germans came very near spoiling it all and seemed to care nothing about what the others wanted until they learned how the Americans were cabling messages and sending piles of letters imploring the conference to find a way to stop war. A bishop in Texas wrote a special prayer to be prayed by all his churches every Sunday while the conference lasted. That opened the eyes of the German leaders. The Germans think a good deal of the United States, to which so many of their people had come. They finally agreed to work with the others and, at last, all of the delegates signed the agreements they had made and went home to ask their governments to stand by these agreements.

They had not been able to do what the Czar asked and all cut down the size of their armies and navies together, but they had agreed to make war less terrible for the people who do not fight and, wonderful to say, they had actually arranged for a Court of Arbitration for all the nations who wanted to take their quarrels to it. This was a little different from other kinds of courts. Ask your father to explain to you about police courts and Supreme Courts, etc., and what arbitration means.

This new Court was given a fine new building by Mr. Andrew Carnegie and each nation gave some beautiful thing to put in it or around it. The Court meets only once in a while, when two nations agree to carry a case to it. The first case the United States and Mexico took to it. At the Hague Court each side chooses two judges and the four choose a fifth. A dozen or more nations have now had cases arbitrated by this court. Bye and bye, there is to be another World court also, in which the judges will regularly come together every year and settle questions by law just as other courts do instead of arbitrating them. Your teacher will explain the difference between these two ways. Then the nations may choose which court to go to.

Besides providing a way to arbitrate quarrels after they had begun, the one hundred men who worked at the Hague that summer of 1899, provided for inquiring into the facts and giving time to "cool off." When Russia and Japan went to war, a Russian fleet went around through the North Sea and fired near twilight upon some English fishing vessels, thinking that they were Japanese torpedo boats. Some of the boats sank and men were instantly killed. At once all England was aflame with anger and there was talk of war against Russia. But France remembered the agreement at the Hague which allowed them to call a halt. It said, "Let us stop and find out the facts first before you

fight." So the fleet stopped and the Russians went to Paris and told their story to five admirals who were chosen to examine the matter and the surviving fishermen told their story, and it was found that the Russians had blundered and had not meant to kill anyone. They at once agreed to pay $300,000 to the widows and orphans.

A little later when the war had become an injury to other nations and ought to be stopped, President Roosevelt remembered that, besides arranging for arbitration and for inquiry about the facts before fighting, the Hague Conference had also decided that when two nations did go to war some other nation might ask them to send delegates to talk the trouble over and see if they could not arrange to stop. So he invited the Russians and Japanese diplomats to meet at Portsmouth, N. H., and to try to stop the terrible war, and they came and their governments agreed to stop fighting. Wasn't that a romantic and wonderful thing to do! To end a war in Asia by signing a treaty in New England!

In six years from the time when people shook their heads and said no one living would ever see a World Court, this very Court was opened and had tried a case, and one war had been prevented and another ended, just because the one hundred men from twenty-six countries had done such good work that summer of 1899. After eight years, in 1907, there was a Second Hague Conference. This time, not twenty-six, but forty-six nations were invited, including all the South Americans; 240 delegates met in a hall 600 years old called "The Hall of the Knights." Just think what a sight it was, almost all the nations of the earth coming together under one roof for the first time in all the world's history! Nothing like it was ever seen before. These men worked together for about four months, and all treated each other very politely, indeed, and went further in helping the nations to work together for the peace of the world. About 1916 there will be a Third World Conference and then, later, a thirteenth and thirtieth and so on. The world is getting organized.

One great thing now for all the nations to agree to is never to fight until some fair-minded outsiders have looked into the quarrel and seen just what the facts are and published them all over the world. That lets every one see who is in the wrong, and gives time to cool off and let the trouble be settled peaceably. It would go a long way toward stopping war.

The United States and Great Britain have had no war for about a hundred years. Every time they have had a quarrel they settled it in some peaceable way. This would

not have been easy if they had not both agreed after the last war to tear down their forts on the border line of Canada and take away all the battleships from the great lakes. It is a great deal easier not to fight after the things which remind one of war have been removed. This hundred years of peace is one of the most splendid things that ever happened between two great, strong neighbors. The United States was never attacked but began all the foreign wars it ever had and all of these might have been prevented. We have no enemies outside and are the safest nation in the world. All our enemies are at home. They wear no uniforms and carry no guns, but every year *forty times as many people are killed needlessly* as the British, Mexican, Spanish and Filipino soldiers killed in all our foreign wars. Can you tell who these enemies are?

The intelligent mother and teacher can of course greatly amplify this story, and tell it in installments, making it as graphic and picturesque as possible and linking with it the story of the Christ of the Andes. The great point to emphasize is the new interdependence of nations and that when one suffers all, sooner or later, are sure to suffer. We are in this age in a new sense "members one of another." Every child should learn the Golden Rule and the words of the Latin poet, "I count nothing human foreign to me" and from the nursery be helped to see that he is not first of all an American, but first of all a human being, a citizen of the world, a brother to every other child on earth.

All who wish further information about this or other aspects of the great world movement toward permanent peace may apply for free literature to the World Peace Foundation, 40 Mount Vernon St., Boston, Mass. No parent can properly guide children from the age of ten to eighteen who does not know far more than this slight outline conveys.

SUGGESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION AT MOTHERS' CLUBS

1. Which is better to give children, toy cannon and soldiers, and let them play at killing, or to give them toy fire-engines and aeroplanes, bells and drums which gratify the liking for noise and motion?

2. Are your children learning at school that English children are taught the history of the Revolution just as our children are and that they honor Washington as we do?

3. What books and pictures for children help them to be friendly with other races and people?

4. Are our local papers helping the peace cause? If not, how can we reach them?

5. Is the 18th of May, Peace Day, observed in our schools? If

not, how can we persuade the superintendent of schools to get the proper literature and arrange for it?

6. Do our ministers preach effective peace sermons?

7. Do our husbands know that our government spends two dollars out of every three in the national treasury in paying for past war and in preparing for future war?

8. What books are in our town library that make war attractive and what ones that make it unattractive and expose the fallacies of militarism? Does it have the "Friendship of the Nations," Gulliver, Ginn & Co., Boston, an illustrated book for children; "Pride of War," Jansen, Little and Brown, Boston, a graphic picture of the war in Tripoli; "Swords and Ploughshares" (illustrated), G. P. Putnam's Sons; "The Blood of the Nation," Jordan, World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston; "The Great Illusion," Norman Angell, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York City (translated into twenty languages)? If not, how can these be procured for the Library?

Asia's Appeal to America

(REVISED EDITION)

An Address

by

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ASIA'S APPEAL TO AMERICA.

Europe's catastrophe has suddenly shown how closely interwoven is the fabric of the modern world. The interlinking of the life and interests of the nations had advanced much further than was realized Even Asia begins to figure as a mighty factor in occidental affairs. Some regard it as ominous. We talk of the "yellow peril;" yet for decades, nay for centuries, Asiatics have resented an actual and progressively overwhelming "white peril."

On the one hand there is China. Not for a century has her outlook been so bright. An alien dynasty has been driven from the throne; the nation is pushing forward with remarkable insistence for modern forms of government; the opium curse has been substantially eradicated; vigorous efforts are being made to eliminate political graft; financial solvency seems now assured; occidental education is proceeding rapidly in many centers; and desire for reforms is widespread. If China can avoid further alien intrusion her future is decidedly hopeful. We may not, however, forget that China faces many serious problems. Her internal political problems are by no means settled. Complete stability and order are still to be achieved. Reactionary forces will offer serious obstacles. The traditions, ignorance and inertia of her masses cannot fail to delay her development. These, however, are considerations that should call for sympathetic help rather than for pessimistic criticism.

And there is Japan. Her heroic struggles to meet the new world-situation that confronted her when she came out of her long isolation called forth deep admiration in America. The brilliant ability of her students and national leaders and the whole-souled patriotism of her people have received full recognition and evoked high praise. Japan, however, has reached so high a development of power and ambition that some begin to fear and suspect her.

A NEW ERA IN HUMAN HISTORY.

The adoption by Japan and China of the mechanical, economic, social and political elements of occidental civilization constitutes the beginning of a new era in human history. The changes rapidly occurring in Asia demand our attention. At this juncture, therefore, it is well that we pause to consider the entire situation. What is the duty of America at this time in its relations to Asia? What responsibilities have we, if any? and, what is even more pertinent, what may we do to put and keep ourselves right with the Orient?

Both China and Japan are facing mighty problems. The early solution of those problems concerns, not themselves alone, but all the world. Our fate is in truth involved in theirs. The urgency accordingly of their appeal should command our earnest and sympathetic attention and secure our action. Our own national welfare through the long future, no less than our national character, are intimately involved in our response to that appeal.

China's appeal for justice and friendly treatment was made decades ago, but has been completely ignored by the statesmen and Christians of America. Japan's appeal is more recent. Will America heed it any better?

AMERICAN TREATMENT OF CHINA.

The story of our dealings with China is as a whole one of which we need not be ashamed. We have not seized her territory, bombarded her ports, extracted indemnities or pillaged her capitals as have other nations. On the contrary, we have helped preserve her from "partition" at a grave crisis in her relations with western lands. We returned a considerable part of her Boxer indemnity that came to us. We have stood for the open door and a square deal. Our consular courts have been models of probity and justice. The work of our missionaries in hospitals, education,

and in famine and flood relief has been highly appreciated.

In consequence of such factors the Chinese as a nation hold today a highly gratifying attitude of friendship toward us. So conspicuous has this friendship and preferential treatment become since the establishment of the Republic that other nations have begun to note it. In the reforms taking place in China, especially in her educational system, in her political and social reorganization, and in her moral and religious awakening, the influence of Americans is far beyond that exercised by any other people.

When we turn, however, to the story of what many Chinese have suffered here, our cheeks tingle with shame. The story would be incredible were it not overwhelmingly verified by ample documentary evidence. Treaties have pledged rights, immunities and protection. They have, nevertheless, been disregarded and even knowingly invaded; and this not only by private individuals, but by legislators, and administrative officials. Scores of Chinese have been murdered, hundreds wounded and thousands robbed by anti-Asiatic mobs, with no protection for the victims or punishment for the culprits. State legislatures, and even Congress, have enacted laws in contravention of treaty provisions. Men appointed to federal executive offices have at times administered those laws and regulations in offensive methods.

Let us consider briefly some of the details of the situation. It will be well to premise that all in all Chinese in America have not been treated badly. In general they have received police protection; their lives have been safe; they have been able to carry on successful business. So attractive to them is the opportunity of life here that they have stayed on and every year not a few succeed in smuggling their way into our land. The dark picture about to be sketched, accordingly, is not to be understood as describing the regular features of Chinese experience.

AMERICAN CHINESE TREATY PLEDGES.

Adequately to appreciate the full significance of our anti-Chinese legislation we must begin the story with a few quotations from treaties by which America invited Chinese to this country.

Article V. of the treaty of 1868 reads in part:

"The United States of America and the Emperor of China cordially recognize the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance and also the mutual advantage of the free migration and emigration of their citizens and subjects respectively . . . for purposes of curiosity, trade or as permanent residents."

But Article VI, after promising reciprocal "most favored nation" enjoyment of "privileges, immunities and exemptions," adds that this does not "confer naturalization" upon their respective citizens. This clause doubtless meant that the mere fact of residence in the other's land did not of itself alone carry citizenship in that land. For up till 1880 a few Chinese were granted naturalization in the United States. In harmony with the provisions of this treaty considerable Chinese immigration into the United States occurred during the seventh and eighth decades of the last century.

Anti-Chinese agitation soon developed in the Pacific Coast states. Growing violent in the seventies, it led to the sending of a Commission to China which negotiated the supplementary treaty of 1880.

The principal provisions of this treaty are as follows:

Article I provides that "the Government of the United States may regulate, limit or suspend such coming or residence of Chinese (laborers), but may not absolutely prohibit it. The limitation or suspension shall be reasonable and shall apply only to . . . laborers."

Article II provides that: "Chinese laborers who are now in the United States shall be allowed to go and come of their own free will and accord, and shall be

accorded all the rights, privileges, immunities, and exemptions which are accorded to citizens and subjects of the most favored nation."

Article III provides that in case of ill treatment the "Government of the United States will exert all its power to devise measures for their protection and to secure to them the same rights, privileges, immunities and exemptions as may be enjoyed by citizens or subjects of the most favored nation, and to which they are entitled by treaty."

Article IV provides that legislative measures dealing with Chinese shall be "communicated to the Government of China," and if found "to work hardship upon the subjects of China, consultations shall be held to the end that mutual and unqualified benefit may result."

DISREGARD OF TREATY PLEDGES.

In spite, however, of the complete cessation of Chinese labor immigration, and in spite of the promises of our Government to provide protection, **"and most favored nation treatment,"** the unjust treatment of Chinese did not cease. The outrages committed on the Chinese during the eighties were even more frightful and inexcusable than those of the preceding decade.

In his discussion of the question whether the Federal Government should protect aliens in their treaty rights, Ex-President William H. Taft, cites the cases of fifty Chinamen who suffered death at the hands of American mobs in our Western States, and of one hundred and twenty others, many of whom were wounded and robbed of all their property. The list does not profess to be complete. All these outrages have occurred since 1885.

"In an official note of February 15, 1886, riots were reported at Bloomfield, Redding, Boulder Creek, Eureka and other towns in California, involving murder, arson and robbery, and it was added that thousands of Chinese had been driven from their homes."

None of the criminals were punished in spite of the article in the treaty which expressly provides that in case "Chinese laborers meet with ill treatment at the hands of other persons, the Government of the United States will exert all its power to devise measures for their protection and secure to them the same rights, privileges, immunities, and exemptions as may be enjoyed by citizens or subjects of the most favored nation and to which they are entitled by treaty." Congress, it is true, has voted indemnities for families of those murdered, but financial remuneration can hardly be supposed to take the place of justice or to be a substitute for observance of treaty pledges.

It is sometimes said that Italians and other aliens suffered similarly from mob violence and they too were not protected, nor were the criminals punished, and that therefore China cannot complain of exceptional treatment. But is it not obvious that failure of the United States to fulfill its treaty pledges to Italy and other countries in no wise justifies similar failure toward China? Does it not rather show that the United States is culpable for failure to make adequate provision for the faithful performance of its treaty pledges? This moral and legal defect has become most conspicuous in our relations with China, but its culpability is in no wise lessened—rather it is aggravated—as soon as it becomes clear that the defect is entirely due to the failure of Congress to take the needed action. For provision for such action is made by the Constitution of the United States.

ANTI- CHINESE LEGISLATION.

The failure of Congress seems inexcusable, for it found time to enact not only the first general exclusion law in harmony with the treaty with China, but also several supplementary laws, of which important clauses are admittedly in contravention to the treaty.

The Scott Law of 1888 and the Geary Law of 1892 are still in force, though the essential injustice of some of their provisions and their disregard of Chinese

treaty rights are now recognized. They are producing constant anti-American feeling among Chinese legitimately in America. Even in cosmopolitan New York and in Boston, Chinese sometimes suffer from the acts of federal officers who supervise Chinese residents in the United States, acts, moveover which are required by the laws and administrative regulations dealing with the Chinese.

With regard to the Scott Law, Senator Sherman said that it was "one of the most vicious laws that have passed in my time in Congress." It was passed as a "mere political race between the two houses . . . in the face of a Presidential election." Senator Dawes sarcastically referred to keeping the treaties as long as we had a mind to. The law was "a rank unblushing repudiation of every treaty obligation . . . unwarranted by any existing danger—a violation such as the United States would not dare to commit toward any warlike nation of Europe."

With regard to the Geary Law, Professor Coolidge makes the following statement:

> "Meanwhile the Chinese Minister at Washington, the Consul-General at San Francisco and the Yamen at Peking were also protesting against the act. The Chinese Minister had steadily protested ever since the Scott Act against the plain violation of treaty; just preceeding the Geary Act, he wrote six letters to Mr. Blaine only two of which were so much as acknowledged. He now declared that the Geary Act was worse than the Scott Act, for it not only violated every single article of the treaty of 1880 but also denied bail, required white witnesses, allowed arrest without warrant and put the burden of proof on the Chinese. He quoted our own statement on the harsh and hasty character of the act, not required by any existing emergency, whose political motive was well understood both in China and the United States. In his final protest he said: 'The statute of 1892 is a violation

of every principle of justice, equity, reason and fairdealing between two friendly powers.'"

THE SUPREME COURT.

Not unnaturally, both the Chinese, and Americans interested in maintaining right relations with China, looked to the Supreme Court to declare unconstitutional such laws as contravene treaties—for are not treaties "the supreme law of the land"? The Chinese accordingly brought forward a test case dealing with certain provisions of the Scott Act (1888).

Judge Field, who pronounced the judgment of the court, said: "It must be conceded that the Act of 1888 is in contravention of the treaty of 1868 and of the supplemental treaty of 1880, but it is not on that account invalid. . . . It (a treaty) can be deemed . . . only the equivalent of a legislative act, to be repealed or modified at the pleasure of Congress. . . . It is the last expression of sovereign will and must control." "The question whether our government was justified in disregarding its engagements with another nation is not one for the determination of the courts. . . . This court is not a censor of the morals of the other departments of the government."

This made it clear that a treaty is not the "supreme law of the land" except as Congress makes it so. Congress can, without violation of the Constitution, repeal or amend any part of a treaty even without securing the consent of the other party to the treaty, and even without conference. Treaties are declared by this decision to have no binding power upon Congress. The Supreme Court declined to take note of the moral obligations of treaty pledges. Disappointing though it may be, this is unquestionably correct law. Aliens deprived by Congress of rights promised by treaties may not appeal to the Supreme Court for the enforcement of those rights. The Administration can indeed use the entire military force of the country to make a foreign nation observe its treaty obligations to us, but

according to the interpretation of our Constitution, neither the Administration nor the Supreme Court can hold Congress to the observance of our treaty pledges. The President has of course the power to veto an act of Congress, but experience shows that even Presidents do not always regard treaties as binding, for the treaty-ignoring laws have been signed by the Presidents then in office. This makes it clear that the moral obligations of our nation must be carefully safeguarded by the people themselves. We must hold our representatives in Congress to their moral responsibilities in international as in all other relations. This is a matter of moral energy——not of law.

AN OMINOUS SITUATION.

Dr. Bernhard Dernberg, defending Germany's invasion of Belgium on the ground of necessity, argues that the United States takes the same attitude toward treaties as does Germany, and cites this very decision of the Supreme Court rendered by Judge Field. If we maintain that the United States was justified in its disregard of our treaty with China, what right have we to condemn Germany for its diregard of its treaty with Belgium? The degree of the consequences indeed differ enormously, but are not the moral issues identical?

CONGRESS CONTRAVENES TREATIES.

In 1904 Congress again contravened the treaty with China. The treaty (1880) states that "The United States may regulate, limit, or suspend such coming or residence (of Chinese labor immigration) but may not absolutely prohibit it. The limitation or suspension shall be reasonable."

In harmony with these explicit provisions, Congress provided in 1882, in 1892 and again in 1902 for the temporary suspension of Chinese labor immigration for periods of ten years each. By 1894, however, so many of the laws and treasury regulations dealing with the Chinese had become so manifestly violations of the treaty that a new one was prepared in Washington

to meet the difficulty, embodying the principle features of the anti-Chinese legislation. It proved, however, so obnoxious to the Chinese Government that at the first opportunity, namely at the expiration (1904) of the ten-year period for which the treaty itself provided, China denounced the treaty. The relations of the two countries therefore fell back onto the treaty of 1880, which had been neither rejected nor amended. In spite, however, of its provisions quoted above, Congress then enacted that "all laws regulating, suspending or prohibiting the coming of Chinese persons—are hereby reenacted, extended and continued without modification, limitation or condition", thus again plainly contravening the treaty.

THE FOOTBALL OF PARTY POLITICS.

The history of anti-Chinese legislation, as it has been carried through Congress under the pressure of legislators from the Pacific Coast states, from the eighth decade of the last century even down to the present, and the way in which the Asiatic problem has been made the "football of party politics" are ill omens for the future relations of America with the Orient. Eight times in fourteen years anti-Chinese agitation on the Pacific Coast secured increasingly drastic and obnoxious legislation in Congress. "All but one of these measures was passed on the eve of an election under political pressure for avowed political purposes." That legislation contravened plain provisions of the treaties, to say nothing of the spirit, and disregarded courteous protests of Chinese ministers and ambassadors. China sent in a "stream of dignified and ineffectual protests". The Chinese Minister even charged us with duplicity in negotiating the treaty of 1880. "Mr. Bayard assured him that the President would veto any legislation which might be passed in violation of the treaty."

If the faithful observance of treaties between the nations of Europe constitutes the very foundation of

civilization, as we are now vehemently told—and this is said to be the real reason why Great Britain is in the war—is not the faithful observance of treaties with Asiatics the foundation of right relations with them? In other words, do not treaties ratified by Congress have moral aspects which should place them on a higher level of authority than the ordinary acts of Congress? Disregard by Congress of this fundamental principle for the maintenance of right international relations is fraught with ominous consequences. Congress of course has the right to abrogate a treaty, but there is a right way and also a wrong way to do it. Is it any more right for a nation to abrogate an inconvenient treaty by simply passing laws in contravention to certain of its pledges than it is for an individual who has made a promise to another individual giving *quid pro quo* suddenly and without conference to ignore that promise? Is it conceivable that Congress would have treated China as it has, had she been equipped as Japan is today, with the instruments of occidental civilization?

Now when China becomes equipped with a daily press and adequate world news, when her national organization becomes better unified, more efficient and better equipped, when her self-consciousness is more perfectly developed, and when she learns that Chinese entering America have often suffered ignominious treatment, that Chinese lawfully here are deprived of rights guaranteed by long standing treaties, and that privileges granted as a matter of course to individuals of other nations are refused to Chinese on exclusively racial grounds, is it not as certain as the sunrise that Chinese friendship for America will wane and serious possibilities develop?

Although China's appeal to us comes along many other lines also, I shall not dwell upon them. It is enough for the moment to note that there are such.

Let us turn next to American-Japanese relations.

AMERICAN TREATMENT OF JAPAN.

For half a century that treatment was above reproach, and, being in marked contrast to that of other lands, called forth a gratitude toward, friendship for, and confidence in, America that Americans cannot easily realize. I must not do more than refer to our helpful diplomacy and our welcome to her students, giving them every facility, not only in our schools and colleges, but in our factories and industries.

The mutual attitude, however, of our two countries has begun to change. Tension more or less exists between us today. Papers in both countries frequently assert in startling headlines that war is certain. Multitudes in both lands accept these statements without question, and are developing mutual suspicion, distrust, and animosity. False stories are widely circulated in each land about the other, which are readily believed.

What is the cause of the new situation? And what should we do to remedy it? Let us briefly study Japan's problem.

Japan first came in contact with the white nations of Europe about 1650. For sixty years they had free opportunity. Under the instruction of Roman Catholic missionaries, many hundred thousand Japanese became Christians. Then Japan took fright at the white man's methods and ambitions. She closed her doors, drove out the missionaries and merchants, exterminated the Christian religion, and till 1853 lived a life of almost complete national seclusion. No Japanese were allowed to go abroad nor were foreigners allowed to enter her land.

THE WHITE PERIL

All this was done to escape the occidental flood, which, during the intervening three hundred years, has engulfed the peoples of North, Central and South America, and large parts of Africa, Asia and Australia. China was forced by the so-called opium wars to give

to white peoples, not only privileges for the abominable opium trade, but possession of ports for military and naval bases. Japan, unable longer to resist the encroachment of foreigners, in 1854 made treaties. After nearly a score of years of inner turmoil and a revolution, she frankly accepted the new world-situation created by the white nations, and undertook to learn their methods in order to meet them on a basis of equality. She has learned and is now equipped with "civilization," with bayonets, bullets and battleships.

RENEWED AGGRESSIONS IN CHINA.

In the nineties, the "powers" of Europe, having completed their "division of Africa," began to look with greedy eyes on China. In 1896, Germany, Russia and France compelled Japan to return Port Arthur to China in order to maintain, as they stated in their deceitful diplomacy, the integrity of China, and provide for the permanent peace of the Far East. Then in 1897-1898, Germany took Kiao-Chao as indemnity for the killing of two German missionaries. Russia took Port Arthur to keep up the balance, England took Wei-hai-wei and France, Kwanchau. In each case, the impotent Manchu Government made treaties with the aggressive "friendly powers," giving them increasing concessions and privileges. But the people got anxious. These occidental aggressions led (1900) to the "Boxer Uprising." China's common people sought to turn the white man out and keep "China for the Chinese."

But it was too late. Six "civilized" armies marched up to Peking, and, to teach China a lesson regarding the sacredness of treaties and the white man's "rights," they saddled upon China an indemnity of 450,000,000 taels which at the protocol rate of exchange equals $332,900,000, far exceeding the actual costs. Poor China!

Then, according to mutual agreement, all the allies withdrew their troops stationed in and around Peking. Difficulties soon began, however, to develop with re-

gard to the situation in Manchuria and Korea. Russia, ignoring her promise of April, 1902, to withdraw her troops from Manchuria, began instead to send in thousands more. Japan got anxious. Negotiations between Russia and Japan were slow and fruitless. Russia dallied and delayed, meanwhile increasing her forces, completing her Siberian railroad, and gaining diplomatic and other footholds in Korea. That policy produced the war with Japan.

THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR

Japan felt that the complete possession by Russia of Manchuria, Mongolia and Korea threatened her very existence as an independent nation. The "partition of China" also, she felt, would be a mere question of time. But Japan's earnest grasp at "civilization" had been so far successful that single-handed, though indirectly supported by her alliance with Great Britain, she beat back the bear from the north, and for the time being saved, not only herself, but also China from the further encroachments of the nations of Europe, and from that increasing white supremacy that had swept over all of South Asia from Messopotamia to Cochin China and in North Asia from European Russia to Alaska. In the meantime, however, Japan's own problems were deepening.

JAPAN'S PLIGHT

Her population of 50,000,000, living on islands of less than 140,000 square miles (357 to the square mile), is growing at the rate of 700,000 annually. (California, with a population of 2,500,000, possesses 160,000 square miles. England's population is 356, while China proper averages less than 250 to the square mile.) Japan's mountainous islands are not naturally fertile nor possessed of any considerable mineral resources. Japanese emigration to America, Canada, New Zealand, Australia or Africa, all sparsely peopled and possessed of vast natural resources, has become impossible because these lands are held by white nations and are declared to be "white man's lands." Japan's debt of

over $1,000,000,000 was incurred in resisting the "white peril," and her annual expense for army and navy with which to protect herself from the aggressive peoples of Europe is $160,000,000 annually. Japan's aggregate national wealth is only about $30,000,000,000, while that of Great Britain is placed at some $80,000,000,000 and that of the United States at $187,000,000,000. Such is a bare outline of Japan's plight.

In the course of the history sketched above, Japanese laborers were invited first to Hawaii and later to California. At first they were welcomed. But with increasing numbers in California difficulties developed. In 1907 the situation became so acute that Japan, fearing the consequences and desiring by every honorable means to retain America's friendship and show her gratitude, entered upon the "Gentlemen's Agreement," by which no additional Japanese labor immigration to the United States should be allowed.

For eight years that agreement has been strictly carried out, resulting in a diminution of Japanese laborers in America of several thousand.

In spite, however, of these mutually honorable and friendly relations of the two governments, the anti-Japanese agitation continued in California and resulted in 1913 in anti-Japanese legislation.

It was highly resented by Japan as an affront to her national honor. It could hardly have been viewed otherwise for Japan was honorably fulfilling her agreement. Japanese in California were diminishing in number and the amount of land owned by Japanese was a paltry 13,000 acres.

JAPAN'S CONTENTION.

It needs to be clearly understood that Japan is not asking for special privilege of any kind; not even for free opportunity for immigration.

The sole point of Japan's contention with America is, that **Japanese already in America shall not be subjected to differential race legislation, which is naturally**

regarded as humiliating and unfriendly. There is no immigration question. It is a question of national honor. But Americans should not forget that in spite of recent rebuff, anti-Asiatic legislation, unkind words, a suspicious attitude, and unfriendly treatment, there has been in Japan a remarkable spirit of patience and moderation.

Japan is still hoping that some method will be found of providing for California's just demands without subjecting her to humiliation. She has taken at its face value the first treaty she ever made with a white race, namely, with America, which reads: **"There shall be perfect, permanent and universal peace and sincere and cordial amity between the United States and Japan and between their people respectively, without exception of persons and places."** This friendship, solemnly pledged, has been loyally maintained by Japan. But it cannot be denied that her friendly feelings and her admiration for America have considerably cooled. Many indeed are indignant; all are waiting eagerly to learn if America as a whole will support the anti-Asiatic policy so urgently pressed by Pacific Coast agitators. Indefinite continuation, however, of Japanese patience under treatment regarded as humiliating is not to be assumed.

Japan stands for national dignity and honor in international relations. She asks for full recognition among the nations. For this she has been strenuously striving for half a century. Is she not to be respected for it? Is not this sensitiveness and insistence one of the evidences that she deserves it? Economic opportunity in California is not the point of her interest or insistence, but recognition of manhood equality. Is not the honor of a nation of more importance than everything else? **Is the maintenance of friendship possible between two nations when one insists on treatment or legislation that humiliates the other?**

If now America desires to maintain the historic friendship with Japan and do her justice, we must first

of all understand the real point of her contention. We must look at the questions involved from the standpoint not only of our interests but also of hers; we must gain her viewpoint, appreciate her problems, sympathize with her efforts, and recognize her attainments.

Such in bare outlines are a few of the multiform appeals to America of China and Japan. In the briefest term we may say that **they seek for just and courteous treatment at our hands.** They are not demanding economic advantages or opportunity, but human justice; respect for them as men.

How will America meet this appeal? Shall we go on our way unheeding? Shall we continue to disregard our treaties and humiliate our mighty neighbors across the Pacific? That were an ominous course.

Has not the time come for America to revise her Oriental policy? Can we not find a method for safeguarding our own welfare in ways that will neither humiliate them nor do them injustice?

HOW SHOULD AMERICA RESPOND?

First of all, Americans must be informed. **A campaign of education in regard to Asiatic relations is urgently needed.**

In the second place, **we need a new Oriental policy.** Such a policy would seem to require:

1. Congressional legislation giving adequate responsibility and authority to the Federal administration for the care and protection of aliens.

2. **Immigration and other laws that treat all races exactly alike**—this, and this alone, is friendly.

3. The law, moreover, should **admit only so many immigrants as we can Americanize.** This preserves our institutions and prevents economic disturbance.

I am proposing the numerical limitation of all immigration. Let the maximum annual male immigra-

tion from any particular people be some definite per cent (say five) of the sum of the American-born children of that people plus the naturalized citizens of the same people.

4. Those who are admitted **should be aided in the process of Americanization.**

5. And when they have reached the required standards of citizenship they should be naturalized. **Qualification for citizenship should be personal. All who qualify should be naturalized, regardless of race.**

Would not such a policy as this meet the appeal of Asia to the people of America, and yet do it in such a way as to safeguard all the real interests of our Pacific Coast States?

If, however, the problems of Asia arising from the white man's aggressions are to be fully met, we must do much more than has been thus far suggested.

Steps must be found for inducing the nations to return to China what has been taken from her: Hong Kong, Shanghai, Port Arthur, Kiao-Chao, Wei-hai-wei, Kwanchau. As the decades pass, these foreign-owned ports will become increasing causes of national resentment and indignation.

If China can be given justice by the great nations of the world without being compelled to do so at the point of Chinese bayonets, the great war between the East and West will be averted. If the West forces China into aggressive militarism in order to secure safety and justice, the future of the world is indeed ominous.

Does not the United States have a splendid opportunity for leading the nations into a right attitude toward Japan and China? How can she meet her responsibility and respond to that opportunity unless she first provides for justice in her own relations with Asia?

IMPORTANT BOOKS

BY

PROF. SIDNEY L. GULICK, M.A., D.D.

America and the Orient

Outlines of A Constructive Policy. Missionary Education Movement, pp. 100, N. Y.—1916—25c.

This little volume is an entirely fresh discussion of the whole problem of the race contact of the East and the West and the needed policy for the wholesome control of that contact. The author considers with care and criticizes in detail the two most widely advocated policies namely, "White Race World Supremacy" and "World Segregation of the White and Yellow Races." He asks what effects each of these policies would inevitably have on the two races themselves and on their mutual relations. Having shown the inevitable disasters, economic, political and international, that would follow from the full adoption of either of these policies, the author proceeds to develop the third policy which he names "The New Internationalism." This involves Federal legislation for dealing with Asiatics in the United States and a new diplomacy that concerns itself with the rights and welfare of Oriental peoples no less than with those of the United States. The appendix gives important statistics and charts illustrating the author's proposals regarding restriction of all immigration on a percentage basis and also a full and well classified bibliography of books and magazine articles dealing with American Asiatic questions.

The American-Japanese Problem

A Study of the Racial Relations of the East and West. Charles Scribner Sons, N. Y. 1914. $1.75.

A clear, impressive, and illuminating account of the situation in regard to the Japanese in California, and a thorough, scientific discussion of the possibilities of the Japanese, in this country as immigrants and citizens. Dr. Gulick shows by illustration and argument the reasonable, honorable, and satisfactory solution of a difficult question. In a very interesting and entertaining way he discusses every side of the question, both from the Japanese and American point of view, and his conclusions, in regard to past events and future possibilities, are most valuable and important.

IMPORTANT BOOKS

BY

PROF. SIDNEY L. GULICK, M.A., D.D.

Evolution of the Japanese Social and Psychic

8 vo., fifth edition, 1905. $2.00. Revell Co., N. Y.

The late *Prof. William James*—"I cannot withhold the tribute of my admiration. It makes me understand the Japanese as I never did before. It is a real pleasure to find a book that holds from beginning to end to psychological principles and to the realities of human nature. . . . A genuine work of interpretation and a model for future studies in ethnic character."

The Fight for Peace

An Aggressive Campaign for American Churches. Federal Council, 105 East 22nd St., N. Y.—1915—pp. 190—50c.

Rev. Francis E. Clark, D.D.—"There are few among the many books upon the peace question which I have read in these war times that seem to me so important and timely as Dr. Sidney Gulick's. I can heartily endorse his position in every particular. It seems to me that we must look more and more, not to the diplomats and statesmen, large as will be their influence in defining the terms and methods of a permanent peace, but to the Christians of America. These we can reach only through the organizations of the churches on a large scale for this purpose."

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THE ATTITUDE OF THE UNITED STATES TOWARD PREPAREDNESS

AN ADDRESS

BY

H. A. GARFIELD

PRESIDENT OF WILLIAMS COLLEGE

MARCH, 1916

An address delivered at the Mount Morris Baptist Church, New York, Jan. 23, 1916, by H. A. Garfield, President of Williams College

THE ATTITUDE OF THE UNITED STATES TOWARD PREPAREDNESS

ALL Americans believe in preparedness: we disagree only as to its kind and extent. Preparedness is a question of public policy, not of diplomacy. It is, therefore, a political question to be answered by the people and their representatives. But it is not a partisan question and ought not, therefore, to be made the football of politics. It ought to be discussed widely and thoroughly because it raises issues demanding the adoption of definite policies affecting our status at home and our relations abroad. No discussion of the question is adequate which does not include all phases of preparedness. Most of the discussion thus far has dealt with a single phase or has confused the arguments applicable to all of them. One phase of the question is military, another political, another social. I propose to consider each briefly.

I

The need of military preparedness is the simplest of the three to argue. It is easy to prove that vast armies can be landed on our coasts and lay waste the sea-board. Take for example, Great Britain. The British navy outranks ours three to one. Her merchant marine is more than ten times that of our sea-going merchant vessels. She could land 170,000 men and 90,000 animals on our shores in 14 days.[1] Yes, but under what circumstances? Only if the sea were first cleared of our defending fleet, and if all other conditions were favorable; and, what

[1] Army War College (U. S.). Statement of a Proper Military Policy for the United States, September, 1915.

is much more to the point, if Great Britain *wishes* to invade the United States. The student of military science always assumes that a nation which *can* attack *will* do so. From the point of view of his problem, he is correct, but his assumptions are not and ought not to be ours. If mere number and speed of vessels are to be considered, we can get much more impressive figures from the immigration reports. 200,000 foreigners have landed on our shores in a single month. More than 1,000,000 have landed in New York harbor in a single year.

But, aside from the wish of any nation to invade us, the question of military preparedness is not merely one of numbers and of speed of vessels. Even as a military problem, it must be qualified by the *ifs* of practical experience. What do the military writers say concerning over-sea expeditionary campaigns? All recognize that the problems are intricate and that experience thus far has not demonstrated precisely what can be accomplished. History offers us no example of an expedition brought together and sailing under hostile guns. In no case has a fleet of the size deemed necessary for a successful descent upon the United States attempted to proceed in compact, thoroughly convoyed formation across the ocean, nor does anyone pretend to say what would be the effect of a mid-ocean attack upon the unity and *morale* of such an expeditionary force. No landing has yet been attempted in the face of opposing forces on land or sea, except at Gallipoli,[1] and no nation is likely to repeat the blunder. It is agreed that landing on a hostile coast is possible only when the landing force is protected by a naval force superior to that which the enemy can bring to the spot at the decisive moment of

[1] Gen. Ian Hamilton's report to Lord Kitchener. *The Official Gazette*, Jan. 6, 1916, quoted *New York Times*, Jan. 7, 1916.

landing, and that in long voyages if the battle fleet is defeated there is nothing for the transports to do but to return home. After considering all the improvements introduced by modern machinery, it remains true that a transport fleet is a body easily wounded and that a few hostile cruisers or torpedo boats could inflict on it incalculable damage. It is furthermore stated that to attempt to make an effective landing within range of considerable hostile garrisons or fortifications is impossible.

The testimony concerning expeditionary forces is generally treated under three heads, embarkation, the voyage, and landing. As to the first, it is clear that success depends on the skill and experience of the officers in charge and on the port facilities. Before one can fairly comprehend the immensity of the task, a word is necessary as to the number of ships of all kinds required for the expedition. Let us assume, as the writers generally do, an expeditionary force of 100,000 troops. No one pretends to say that it is feasible to transport these troops with their horses, field guns, equipment, and ammunition without providing a base of supply which must be carried along. Moreover, it is agreed that success in modern warfare demands the presence of siege guns, complete equipment for landing on an open shore; in fact, everything to support life for man and beast and keep each in fit fighting condition for a period of from five to thirty days after landing. Telfer-Smollett[1] of the English army estimates that 134 large steamers would be required to transport an army corps and a cavalry division (*i.e.*, 36,500 to 48,000 men and from 1,500 to 3,000 horses). According to this estimate,

[1] Telfer-Smollett, Lieut.-Col. C. E. D. The best method for carrying out the conjoint practice of the navy and army in embarkation and disembarkation for war. Journ. Roy. United Service Institution, v. 49, p. 353. London, 1905. Gold medal prize essay.

therefore, at least 270 ships would be needed for an assumed expeditionary force of 100,000 men and 6,000 horses.

One must make heavy drafts upon his imagination to picture a fleet of 270 troop-ships, to say nothing of the additional ships necessary for seige guns, ammunition, and base of supplies, and of the convoying battleships. The 134 ships alone anchored as near as is thought to be safe, viz., at intervals of 400 yards between ships, would form, as Telfer-Smollett says, "an enormous parallelogram 1½ miles wide and more than 3 miles deep . . . . marked out on the ocean by 134 steamers, helpless, unmovable, and crowded with soldiers, horses, and equipment." If this fleet should form in order four abreast, there would then be a line 33 ships long, that is, a parallelogram nearly one by eight miles in extent. But observe that 134 ships will bear only one-half the assumed expeditionary force of 100,000 men and that no account is here taken of the ships which must accompany the fleet.

To load and bring together such a fleet is nothing short of an herculean task. It cannot be accomplished from any one port because speed is of the utmost importance. At least half a dozen ports of departure must be cleared for action and made to contribute with clocklike precision to the composition of this mammoth flotilla. Moreover, the fleet must be brought together at a common meeting place. Care must be taken that no enemy is lurking about, otherwise there will be mortal injury to the enterprise at the outset. All agree that speed and surprise are important elements in the problem. The speed can be no faster than that of the slowest vessel and innumerable things may happen to disarrange the order and delay the voyage. Nor will it do to apply the old

maxim "divide and conquer." It is agreed that an expeditionary force must be kept together—that it is weakened and imperilled by attempting landings at different places. No, the journey must be made by the fleet as a single body enclosed as it were in the surrounding hulls of battleships. There must be ships of war enough to prepare the way and to act as convoy for the transports.

But if the task of loading appears herculean and the perils of the voyage extraordinary, what shall be said of the difficulties of landing? Of ships of all kinds, including battleships, there will be no less than 500. One writer, though not a military authority, places the figures as high as 900.[1] A dock is the best landing place, but obviously this cannot be had for the asking and the great ports are well protected by fortifications. Edelsheim[2] states that the fortifications of the great American trade harbors cannot be subdued without serious loss. The next best place of landing is stated to be a protected bay, but most of the historic landings have been necessarily made on an open coast, the least satisfactory of the three. Before a landing anywhere can be planned, it is necessary that the battleships of the invading force should clear the sea of enemy ships. Moreover, landing on an open coast will be greatly delayed if the weather be not propitious. Assuming, however, that the weather conditions are favorable, this mammoth fleet will, according to the military experts, approach the shore on the night before the intended landing. Obviously, it must be an extensive shore, for if we are to consider only the ships

[1] Jonathan A. Rawson, Jr. *New York Evening Post*, Oct. 4, and Nov. 20, 1915.

[2] Freiherr von Edelsheim. In the service of the German General Staff in 1901. Operationen Über See. Gray's translation, London, 1915.

bearing troops, horses, and such supplies as will be immediately necessary, we have discovered that 270 ships must be drawn up in order, no simple task on a sufficiently dark night when lights must be extinguished if there is to be the least element of surprise in the landing. It is estimated that the ships must not be more than four deep from the shore, otherwise the distance and the danger of collision of the passing transports between ship and shore would be excessive. But we will assume the difficult task to have been performed. On the morning of the next day then, there will be drawn up, say one mile from shore, 270 ships in four lines, each line 16 miles long. How many stretches of main shore 16 miles long, connected with strategic points have we?

The experts agree that an oversea expedition is a mammoth undertaking, is without parallel in experience, and that nothing but long-continued practice in times of peace conjointly between military and naval forces will render the undertaking anything but extremely hazardous. Admiral Fiske[1] urging a greater navy and army says that if the only kind of defense required is to prevent invasion, navies are hardly needed. Our dependence should then be, he says, on forts, mines, and submarines. As to the length of time of the expeditionary enterprise from its inception to the day of landing, it is variously estimated, the minimum being fourteen days. But this is only if Great Britain with her enormous tonnage were undertaking the task. The lowest estimate for any other nation is from 16 to 22 days,[2] provided weather conditions are perfect and there are no delays due to sea battles or the breaking down of machinery. Considered as a practical proposition,

[1] Rear Admiral Bradley A. Fiske, U. S. N. Naval Principles. *No. Am. Rev.*, Nov. 1915, p. 693.

[2] Army War College. Statement, *supra*.

the estimates vary from four to nine weeks. Edelsheim says: "If on the German side the preparations of the transport squadron and the landing begin as soon as the battle fleet is sent out, it can be assumed that in ordinary circumstances this corps will be in a position to begin operations on American soil after about four weeks."[1] As to the question of secrecy, it is agreed that there is very little chance of an expeditionary force sailing without knowledge of the fact.

One of the arguments advanced for a larger and more effectively organized military establishment is based on the proposition that the "use of raw troops" and "want of expansive organization, adequate for every emergency"[2] prolongs war and is wasteful of men and treasure. Up to a certain point this is true. Our army and navy ought to be well organized and equipped, and economically maintained. But we ought not to have a larger military establishment than we need to police our country and defend our shores.[3] The so-called offensive-defensive military policy is certain to excite jealousy and is likely to provoke war. One great war is vastly more ruinous than many small ones. From the Declaration of Independence to 1880, we had one year of war for every three years of peace, but the total wastage during this period, including, of course, the enormous losses of the Civil War, was insignificant compared with the wastage of the present European war. And yet the least prepared of the European nations was better prepared from a military point of view than our forces were at the beginning of any of our wars.

[1] Operationen Über See. *Supra*, p. 102.

[2] Bvt.-Maj.-Gen. Emory Upton, U. S. A. The Military Policy of the United States, p. viii, Washington, 1912.

[3] Cf. Sec'y of War (U. S.). Annual Report, 1914, pp. 4, 5.

Another argument advanced for an increased military establishment is that "the safeguard of isolation no longer exists."[1] The statement is startling and most important if true. The reason advanced by the War College for this statement is that the oceans are now easy avenues of approach by reason of the number, speed, and carrying capacity of ocean-going vessels. But the United States also shares in this advantage. If the ocean can be crossed more quickly by enemy ships of greater tonnage, our greater ships can come as swiftly to the point of attack. The submarine, the aeroplane, and the wireless telegraph are as helpful to us as to the enemy. To base our building program upon that of other nations is to put ourselves in the vicious circle of naval competition and to commit ourselves to a policy dictated by Europe and absurdly inapplicable from a political point of view to our needs. I for one, am not ready to accept the dictum of our War College that "the use of any part of the high-sea fleet for local defence . . . . is a misuse of naval power."[2] It may indeed "defeat the chief object of the navy" as maintained by the War College, but we are less concerned to accommodate ourselves to the wishes of the navy than to insist that the navy carry out our policy of defence. What that policy shall be is not yet determined. If the Congress of these United States, after due deliberation, decides to adopt the war policy of Europe and at all hazards secure and maintain control of the high seas as recommended by the War College division of our General Staff Corps, then and then only will we be warranted in entering into competition with European governments in the building of navies. If this calamitous program should be adopted, then indeed our navy must be made "free to

[1] War College Statement. *Supra*, p. 8.
[2] War College Statement. *Supra*, p. 9.

take the offensive promptly," but in that event we can no longer complain of the aggressive-defensive policy of any nation under the sun. We will then have committed ourselves to the dismal belief that war is the natural state of man and peace a foolish dream. Adequate defense of our coasts doubtless calls for battleships, but it calls especially for swift-sailing vessels and submarines. We have great soldiers and noble-hearted men in our army and navy, but it is not for them to determine our policy at this crisis. What this policy shall be is closely knit up with the second phase of our main question, namely, political preparedness.

II

The first question which confronts us here is this:—Are we likely to be drawn into war with one of the European powers in the near future through the infraction of the Monroe Doctrine, or of some other right which we conceive to be essential to us as a sovereign people? Those who answer this affirmatively and therefore urge military preparedness on a scale hitherto unknown in the United States must adopt one of two hypotheses—either that the world will continue to be actuated by motives with which we are familiar, or that there will be a profound change away from inclinations to peace to the militaristic type exemplified by Rome and the Middle Ages. To those who adopt the latter premise I have little to say. It is based upon an assumption unsupported by reason. It is unreasonable because it leaves out of account the appeal to self-interest. Nothing the belligerents have done in the present war warrants the assumption. The invasions of Belgium, France, and Russia by the Germans and the occupation of Greek territory by the Entente Allies, have

been in each case in response to what the invaders *believed* to be military necessity. Whatever view we may take of the argument from necessity, it is at any rate based on reason and not on lust of conquest. We do not yet know what the result of the campaign in and about Salonika will be, but it is to be observed that the forces of Austria and Bulgaria have halted outside the Greek border, while the forces of the Allies have entrenched themselves at Salonika. If reports from Vienna are to be believed, Salonika has ceased to be regarded as of strategic value. The Austro-Bulgarian forces appear to be content to keep the way open from Vienna to Constantinople and to allow the forces of the Allies to maintain their expensive base at Salonika. The circumstances may change at any moment, but the failure of the Austro-Bulgarians to pursue their retreating enemy over the Greek frontier is evidence of the continued existence of motives with which military men and modern governments are familiar.

In a lecture recently delivered at Williams College, Professor T. C. Smith, after reviewing the history of the several wars in which the United States has been involved, said: "Since the formation of our Republic, then, it is a safe conclusion to draw that neither England, France, Italy nor Spain has sought war with us. They have tried even under difficult circumstances to conduct themselves so as to avoid pushing us beyond the danger line, just as we, on our side, have acted with similar discretion. It was only when a naval and commercial war was under way and England and France were deeply involved, with their fighting blood up, that their behaviour was persisted in against our protests until we lost patience. The two newer powers, Japan and Germany, so far as their record goes, have displayed an identical disposition. Of course there has been an abundance of bad language and of

threats besides ill-will and contempt. From the literature, newspapers, and parliamentary speeches in these countries one might easily gather a great collection of anti-American utterances, and from such anthology draw the conclusion that an irrepressible antagonism existed between our country and each of the others. But dislike and speculative imaginings regarding world-rivalries are worth nothing as historical evidence of national policy when placed against the actual performances of states. One of the most vicious historical fallacies is to credit such utterances with any importance when they are not actually carried out in deeds. The plain fact that Japan, for instance, has uniformly behaved with dignity and restraint, regardless of the grievance created by the legislation of California, outweighs any amount of conjectural antagonism on the part of the Japanese people and state, in defining Japanese policy."[1]

The Mexican crisis of 1866 has been cited recently to prove the wisdom of military preparedness. It is said that Napoleon III yielded to our demand that French troops be withdrawn from Mexico because then, for the only time in our history, we were prepared with an army of 1,500,000 veterans trained by four years of war. It is true that Grant and others of our military group wished to fight. Seward did not. Like the present administration, he adopted a policy of progressive firmness and patience. He also was called weak and pusillanimous, but his policy won the victory. How little our military preparedness had to do with the result is shown by the sequence of events. On May 1, 1865, we had 1,052,038 veterans under arms. Then we began to disband. On November 6 of that year, when we refused to recognize the Maximillian government, about 800,000 had been

[1] Faculty Lectures. Series 1915-16. Nov. 30, 1915.

sent home. On April 3, 1866, when France agreed to withdraw her troops from Mexico, not more than 80,000 men were left in our army. June 30, 1866, the army numbered only 42,000. But the crisis of the affair was not reached until November, five months later, when "the volunteer army of the Civil War had practically ceased to exist."[1]

"If history teaches anything and if analogies are of any value," to quote Professor Smith again, "one is warranted in concluding that the United States is not yet in any greater danger of war than it has been many times in the past, and that while the possibility of a crisis arising over European war methods exists, the two sides have shown what can at worst be termed a willingness to avoid war with this country. If we fight we shall do it because we see fit, not because war is forced upon us."

Under what circumstances will Europe seek a cause of war with the United States? If we possess or claim the right to possess or control that which Europe needs, and if we refuse to grant Europe's demands, a cause of war will be discovered. What is it that each of the nations now at war will need most of the Western Hemisphere after peace is established? In the first place, each will look for trade connections. Nowhere will this need be more satisfactorily met than in the Americas. Europe will turn to the west for trade as an exhausted man turns to food. The man will fight for food and Europe for trade if necessary. But it will not be necessary for Europe to fight. Trade is reciprocal. When each party has something the other wants exchanges follow. In the second place, each of the nations now at war will seek to establish friendly relations with as many other nations as possible, for each will advocate some policy of international law

[1] J. H. Rhodes. Hist. of the U. S., v 5, chap. xxvi.

which will seem to it vital and which it will try to have established. For this reason, also, our friendship will be desired. Each belligerent at the present time dislikes us in proportion to our refusal to permit practices favorable to its mode of warfare, but contrary to international law. But none will allow this dislike to stand in the way of its ultimate need. We ought, therefore, to prepare to satisfy these reciprocal, commercial, and political needs. No one except the ultra-pacifists will deny that in so far as our army and navy are below their normal equipment and condition they should be brought up to fullest efficiency. If we have an army and navy, let them be adequate to our needs. My quarrel is with those who fail to see that our needs are also Europe's needs and, being blind, would scare us into the adoption of a foolish policy. To over-develop in any direction is to weaken ourselves. If Europe's need is to trade with us, then we ought to prepare for a great increase in our foreign trade. Anything which hinders development in that direction is unwise. We think ourselves philanthropic when we send food and clothing to needy non-combatants abroad. We shall perform an equally worthy service if, after the war, we open our markets to the reviving commerce of Europe. Under these circumstances, political preparedness demands that we find a way to adjust international differences by the reciprocal method. This method emphasizes national duties and international rights. We are concerned in a common welfare that includes all nations. Such a method of adjusting international differences is proposed by the League to Enforce Peace. Any organization which looks merely to our own national welfare advocates a mistaken policy unsuited to the times and inimical to the existence of the ties which bind the people of the several nations together. The League to Enforce

Peace postpones force to arbitration, but it insists that its decrees shall be carried out. This is the essence of free government. It calls upon us in case of need to join in enforcing its decrees, but it does not impose upon us the necessity of supporting a military establishment in excess of what we decide to be necessary for our needs.

The essential feature of every reciprocal arrangement is trustworthiness and freedom from suspicion. If the United States adopts a policy contrary to the spirit of the proposed reciprocal arrangement, or which arouses distrust, it will imperil the arrangement from its inception. We cannot reverse our attitude toward standing armies and big navies without at least exciting the suspicions of Europe. It will make little difference on what ground we base our program. Europe will see in the departure from our traditional policy a menace that will move the nations to greater military activity. Moreover, we must not fail to consider the effect of this departure upon our institutions of government. If we admit the principle of military competition with Europe, we must reject an important principle of democracy or fail miserably in the competition. Democracies are by their nature unable to compete successfully with autocratically governed countries in the conduct of war. Of this the framers of our Constitution were well aware and therefore provided machinery whereby, in the event of war, the President of the United States may become military dictator. Do not misunderstand me. Democracies have waged great wars, but they have done it wastefully and have succeeded only when they have evolved themselves for the time being into something not democratic. The departure advocated by the enthusiasts for a big army and navy is not for a season but permanently. We must be big and we must stay big. That is the burden of their vocif-

erations. What I urge upon you to believe is that if this is to be done it is folly to attempt longer to maintain our democratic institutions. If necessity dictates that we enter into competition with European states in the maintenance of great army and navy establishments, then wisdom demands that we adopt as permanent machinery of government that which under our Constitution was intended for emergencies only; in other words, that we put our liberties in commission and clothe our President with autocratic powers and surround him with expert military advisers. Do we wish to do so? It is a question which deserves our most serious consideration. But it is impossible to answer it wisely until we first decide upon a national policy. Is the Congress now sitting prepared to adopt a policy, and, if so, are we prepared to stand back of Congress? The Monroe Doctrine is the only great principle affecting international relations that has received much consideration, and concerning its nature and scope there is diversity of opinion. New questions are emerging—the freedom of the seas—government manufacture and control of munitions of war—Pan-Americanism—the rights of neutrals. How do we stand on these questions? Ought we to strengthen our coast defences, provide ourselves with mine-laying ships and swift-sailing torpedo boats, or ought we to follow the advice of the experts who tell us that the battleship is "the primary or paramount type" of a fleet? Preparedness of the right kind is the result of a long process. It calls for years of training not alone in the science and art of war, not even primarily in that branch of human activity. The sword is the surgeon's knife, and war an operation on the diseased condition of civilization. That which lies back of military preparedness and which is a condition precedent to its achievement is the training of school and

college. It is found in the business and professional schools. It is vitalized by the dynamic power of religious teaching and experience. It is developed by learning how to subordinate self-interest to the common welfare. This brings us to the third phase of our question, namely, social preparedness.

III

We are beginning to understand that the victories of the present war are due to social and civic preparedness quite as much as to military preparedness. A nation cannot be strong whose citizens in large proportion are indigent or enfeebled in body, mind, or will. No nation can make effective use of its naval and military forces whose citizens are not both ready and able to devote their best powers to the improvement of social conditions. To this end we greatly need, first, to learn the meaning of thoroughness in training, whether in the workshop or the school.

"Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control
These three alone lead life to sovereign power."

Then, being well trained, we need to learn the art of cooperation—in meeting emergencies, in the harder task of overcoming conditions adverse to the development of our less fortunate fellows, and in the still more difficult task of building up community life, for this calls for great devotion to ideals and exertion of force of will. Nor would I limit this by a narrow patriotism. It is true that activities are limited by environment. Men must labor for the community in which they find themselves. But their aim should be to strengthen the community—that is, to improve the living conditions of all the unfortunate members of the community, in order that the community may in its turn add strength to the state. But the state—one's country—is not the end. The state must in turn

make its contribution to the family of nations to the end that the lot of men everywhere may be ameliorated. We begin with man and we work back to man. Communities and states are but instrumentalities to an end. The end is *useful* service to mankind.

But you will say, this is pure altruism. What has it to do with the stern and terrible reality of war? Everything. The condition in which England finds herself to-day is proof enough of it. As Lloyd George is reported to have said, England's worst enemy at the present time is drink. So long as Englishmen are unwilling to sacrifice personal liberties to the common weal, they will by so much weaken their power to overcome the common enemy. But we need not point the moral by comments upon a sister nation. We, too, resent what we are pleased to call infringement of our personal rights. Sumptuary laws, even when the object is clearly for the public welfare, are considered intolerable. This is strikingly evidenced by the attitude of many temperance-loving people toward liquor-traffic regulation. They abhor the saloon, but they cannot bring themselves to legislate against it. They apparently include among the "unalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," the right of intoxication. If we were all of one mind concerning the necessity of military preparedness on a large scale, it would still be true that selfishness in the name of Liberty plays too large a part in our national life to promise effective results. Political parties are preparing to make capital out of the present crisis. Manufacturers in many instances are unwilling to sacrifice profits to the betterment of the social conditions of their employees, to say nothing of the subtile influence of the manufacture of munitions upon the opinions of men concerning peace and war. Fears and prejudices are played upon to put through pro-

grams involving vast expenditures for military purposes. If success attends these efforts, the crushing weight of the financial burden will probably fall most heavily upon those least able to bear it.

Were it necessary, every American would be willing to bear his share of the burden of war, but is he ready, has he shown himself ready to bear his share of the burdens of social preparedness? In view of the fact that there is time for deliberation, is it not the part of wisdom and true patriotism to pause, to look before we leap? The crowd demands hasty action. Not all are unselfish. The pressure on Congress and the President is well-nigh overwhelming. Let us as reasonable men urge upon the attention of our representatives in state and nation the impressive duty of social preparedness. Meanwhile, Congress may wisely bring our army up to its full quota and provide for such increase as will enable us to discharge our trust in the Philippines and elsewhere without unduly weakening our forces at home. The training camps, established two years before the outbreak of the war, afford opportunity for the reasonable training of our young men. The strengthening of our fortifications and the construction of coast defense vessels of suitable type will, with our present navy, protect us against the possible danger of invasion.

Preparedness in every department of civic and social life is our greatest present need. We shall not be prepared until we have driven out illiteracy and reduced to a minimum the waste of incompetence, of accident, sickness, and unemployment, and have learned the art of governing ourselves wisely and economically. A people so trained will know when to build battleships and equip armies and when not to do so. They will not listen to selfish ambition nor be moved by false pride nor take counsel of fear.

Women and War.

BY GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.

One of the most tantalizing manifestations of that lack of logic which is popularly supposed to be the most charmingly feminine trait of the truly feminine mind, is the ability to be moved to emotion by isolated facts and single pictures, while ignoring utterly their connection one with another — the thread of thought and inter-relation which alone can give them their true significance.

To be absolutely frank, we should confess that this trait is not altogether a stranger to the superior masculine mind either; but it is certainly not so distinctively a sex characteristic as it is, unfortunately, with women. It is the trait that awakens hope within the breast of the ardent reformer who appeals to feminine tenderness and pity, only to receive a cold shower dash in the realization of an utter non-comprehension of his idea, in spite of ready tears and real sympathy with the sad pictures he paints.

Take the matter of war, for instance, with its present political manifestations of imperialism and militarism. Advocates of peace who really understand not the sentimental significance only, but the actual political and economic meaning of the words "war" and "peace," find ready sympathizers among women when they paint the agony of the battlefield, the misery of the bereaved home. But in the midst of their tears, a strain of martial music without will draw these same women to the window with enthusiastic exclamations of, "Oh, the gallant soldier boys! Don't they look fine!" They utterly fail to see the moral and ethical connection between the thing that arouses their enthusiasm and the thing that draws their tears; they utterly fail to realize that just as long as this absurd and unjustified glorification of brute force in the form of militarism continues, just so long will wars be fatally easy to enter into, just so long will imperialistic despotism and commercial tyranny find in the army a ready weapon for their selfish ends.

If women would stop weeping over the "silent,

upturned face," and admiring the outer trappings that mark the licensed murderer, long enough to think a little about the connection between the two, the cause of peace would take a seven-league stride onward.

For the woman who thinks comes naturally first of all to think of the good of her sex, and to concern herself about questions pertaining thereto; and for a woman interested in the welfare of woman as a sex, this question of war and militarism is so fundamental that it is incomprehensible how so many can still be blind to its significance.

The mother, wife, sweetheart and sister, weeping at home for the absent or the dead, are supposed to be the chief sufferers from war's devastations. In reality they are but a few isolated cases, whose sorrows are as nothing compared to what the sex as a whole has suffered from the sway of militarism throughout the ages and the point of view fostered by it.

It is this spirit of militarism, the glorification of brute force, and this alone, that has kept woman in political, legal and economic bondage throughout the ages, and there is still enough of it remaining in our enlightened twentieth century to make the idea of woman's participation in public office and public life a thing to be scoffed at by the majority, ridiculed and opposed.

It was not any manifestation of superiority of the masculine mind that first threw the chains of political serfhood around one-half of humanity; it was merely the fact that in the dark ages of the world's history brute force,—that is, militarism in one or another form,—reigned supreme. Where brute force was lord, woman with her differently constituted muscular development was considered an inferior being simply because she did not bear arms.

It was not that she could not fight, but that instinctively, even in the "dim red dawn of man," prehistoric man felt that giving life was greater than taking it; and woman, as the giver of life, was to be kept back from the possibility of unnecessary physical danger.

From this feeling, become unthinking and uncomprehended tradition, grew the idea that woman was inferior in bodily strength, and could not bear arms, and therefore was an inferior being.

Nineteenth century man, as far as he began to think at all, began to understand that brute force was not everything, began to find it necessary to discover another reason for woman's political and legal position; and thus was born the legend of woman's inferior mentality.

Mediæval man was far more honest in his brutal "Only man, who bears arms, can have a voice in the affairs of his country's politics." Mediæval man was consistent, too, and excluded even that part of the male population that did not bear arms from public estimation and from public affairs. Modern man has grown more enlightened with respect to his own sex, but enough of militarism still lingers to make very hard the path of the woman struggling for legal, political and economic rights for her sex.

The wonder is that so many even of these women do not understand the point of view born of the traditions of centuries of militarism that still opposes them in the solid front of the unthinking conservative mass.

While the military ideal holds sway in our modern world, woman suffrage and the attainment of full legal and political rights for women will remain a Utopian dream. The military state is the state in which woman has no place; the military mind is the mind that sees in woman only a drudge or a toy, and gives her the one right only to existence — the possibility of bearing sons who will in time become soldiers.

Women may work for the improvement of their minds, they may open schools for their sex, they may make their way in art, in commerce, in the professions, they may prove in a thousand ways their fitness to take part in public life, — but it will avail them little so long as one vestige of the tradition and the point of view born of militarism remains in the civilized world. The military point of view is that of contempt for woman, of a denial to her of any other usefulness than that of bearing children.

This is not an exaggeration, for although the military mind, being an anachronism in our modern world, must of itself be illogical, it has certain instinctive forms of thought which are born of strictly logical reasoning.

The most cursory survey of civilized nations to-day

will prove the truth of this. The inferior position of women in Germany is not by any means due to a lack in the mentality of the German woman, nor to a lack of educational facilities for either sex in a country justly proud of its magnificent school system. It is simply and solely due to the fact that at present the "nation of poets and thinkers" has for a time sold its birthright of mental preëminence for a mess of pottage — military glory and rampant imperialism.

What is it that has made the American woman the admiration of all civilized nations, the envy of her sisters elsewhere? She was not sent down fresh from Heaven in her present state, nor did she spring full-grown from the head of Jove. She was the daughter of mothers born in the military-ridden states of Europe. But now she is the product of several generations of freedom from the military idea. This, and this alone, has given her a measure of freedom beyond that attained by women anywhere else.

Let American women think seriously on this matter of war and peace, on this question of imperialism and militarism. If our nation should by any unfortunate but highly improbable combination of circumstances take her place amid the army-ridden, land-stealing world powers, it would mean much more to the American woman than a succession of wars that would bereave her of her loved ones, or send them back to her crippled or afflicted with loathsome disease. It would mean for American woman as a sex the loss of much she has gained by her happier circumstances of the past two centuries, and it would place the goal of perfect political and legal equality she still desires far, far out of reach,—in a cloud-land which even the most hopeful could scarcely vision.

American woman's being what she is is our greatest safeguard against the evils that appear to threaten us; but the trouble is, the American woman is what she is only instinctively and unconsciously as yet, and there are far too many of her in the ranks of those who look upon these threatening evils as something good to be desired. — *The Public.*

The American Peace Society,
31 Beacon St., Boston.

The Treaty Rights of Aliens

1. The Government of the United States is bound by numerous treaties respecting the rights of aliens. For example, the treaty of 1871 with Italy contains the following reciprocal pledges:

"The citizens of each of the high contracting parties shall receive in the States and Territories of the other, the most constant protection and security for their persons and property, and shall enjoy in this respect the same rights and privileges as are or may be granted to the natives, on their submitting themselves to the conditions imposed upon the natives."

2. The personal and property rights of aliens have been repeatedly violated, and as a result, the friendly relations existing between the United States and foreign countries have been jeopardized.

"At Rock Springs, Wyoming, on November 30, 1885, there was an armed attack by one hundred men on a Chinese settlement in a mining town, in which all the houses were burnt, and in which twenty-eight Chinamen lost their lives, sixteen were wounded, and all their property was destroyed.

"In a similar attack in Squak Valley, Washington,* three Chinamen were killed and four wounded.

"At Orofino, in Idaho, five Chinese were killed.

"At Anaconda, in Montana, four Chinamen were killed.

"At Snake River, Oregon, ten Chinamen were killed.

"In Juneau, Alaska, one hundred Chinese were expelled by lawless violence from their homes and the Territory.

"In an official note of February 15, 1886, riots were reported at Bloomfield, Redding, Boulder Creek, Eureka, and other towns in California, involving murder, arson, and robbery, and it was added that thousands of Chinese had been driven from their homes.

"Nine Italians were lynched in New Orleans in 1891.

"In August, 1895, one Mexican was lynched in California.

"In October, 1895, one Mexican was lynched in Texas.

"In 1895 three Italians were lynched at Walsenberg, Colorado.

"In 1896 three Italians were lynched at Hahnville, Louisiana.

"In 1899 three Italians were lynched at Tallulah, Louisiana.

"In 1901 three Italians were lynched at Erin, Mississippi.

"In 1910 one Italian was lynched in Florida."

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*From a list given by ex-President Taft in his book, "The United States and Peace" (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914)

A typical case was that which occurred in New Orleans in 1891. "The trouble began with the* murder of the chief of police of that city, and popular belief attributed the crime to Italians connected with a branch of the secret organization of the Mafia. . . . Twenty-two Italians were indicted . . . and nine were tried, all of whom were acquitted or remanded to another trial. Popular opinion again held that the acquittal was due to bribery by agents of the Mafia, and a citizens' committee determined to prevent what was believed to be a miscarriage of justice. A mob was organized, and the Italians were taken from jail and lynched. Rudini, the minister of foreign affairs, immediately directed that the Italian minister at Washington demand from the government of the United States judicial proceedings and reparation. To these demands, insistently repeated, . . . Blaine replied that the federal government could not of itself instigate criminal proceedings; that the indictments must be made by the municipal authorities under state law. . . . This interpretation of federal and state relations, by which the United States appeared to escape responsibility, was not acceptable to the Italian government, and Baron Fava was recalled. As the American minister was also withdrawn from the Italian Court, diplomatic negotiations be-

* "National Problems," by Professor Davis R. Dewey (The American Nation Series, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1907)

tween the two countries were carried on by subordinates. . . . The whole affair was a lesson in the complications arising from the inability of the treaty-making power, through the relations of the federal government to the several States, to carry out its treaty obligations as it expected them to be observed by other powers towards American citizens."

3. It is evident that the Government of the United States is unable adequately to protect the treaty rights of aliens owing to the lack of legislation permitting the federal courts to take jurisdiction in such cases. President Harrison, just after the Mafia case, said:

"It would, I believe, be entirely competent for Congress to make offenses against the treaty rights of foreigners domiciled in the United States cognizable in the federal courts. This has not, however, been done, and the federal officers and courts have no power in such cases to intervene either for the protection of a foreign citizen or for the punishment of his slayers."

President McKinley, in his annual message of December 5, 1899, used these words:

"For the fourth time in the present decade question has arisen with the Government of Italy in regard to the lynching of Italian subjects. The latest of these deplorable events occurred at Tallulah, Louisiana, whereby five unfortunates of

Italian origin were taken from jail and hanged. . . . . The recurrence of these distressing manifestations of blind mob fury directed at dependents or natives of a foreign country suggests that the contingency has arisen for action by Congress in the direction of conferring upon the federal courts jurisdiction in this class of international cases where the ultimate responsibility of the Federal Government may be involved."

President Roosevelt, in his annual message of December, 1906, said:

"One of the greatest embarrassments attending the performance of our international obligations is the fact that the statutes of the United States are entirely inadequate. They fail to give to the national government sufficiently ample power, through United States courts and by the use of the army and navy, to protect aliens in the rights secured to them under solemn treaties which are the law of the land. I, therefore, earnestly recommend that the criminal and civil statutes of the United States be so amended and added to as to enable the President, acting for the United States Government, which is responsible in our international relations, to enforce the rights of aliens under treaties. There should be no particle of doubt as to the power of the national government completely to perform and enforce its own obligations to other nations. The mob of a single city may at any time perform acts of lawless violence against some class of foreigners which would plunge us into war. That city by itself would be powerless

to make defense against the foreign power thus assaulted, and if independent of this government, it would never venture to perform or permit the performance of the acts complained of. The entire power and the whole duty to protect the offending city or the offending community lies in the hands of the United States Government. It is unthinkable that we should continue a policy under which a given locality may be allowed to commit a crime against a friendly nation, and the United States Government limited, not to prevention of the commission of the crime, but, in the last resort, to defending the people who have committed it against the consequences of their own wrongdoing."

President Taft, in his inaugural address, March 4, 1909, said:

"By proper legislation we may, and ought to, place in the hands of the federal executive the means of enforcing the treaty rights of such aliens in the courts of the Federal Government. It puts our government in a pusillanimous position to make definite engagements to protect aliens and then to excuse the failure to perform those engagements by an explanation that the duty to keep them is in States or cities not within our control. If we would promise, we must put ourselves in a position to perform our promise. We cannot permit the possible failure of justice, due to local prejudice in any State or municipal government, to expose us to the risk of a war which might be avoided if federal jurisdiction was as-

serted by suitable legislation by Congress and carried out by proper proceedings instituted by the executive in the courts of the national government."

4. Hon. John Jacob Rogers introduced, on February 6, 1917, the following bill, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives:

Punishing conspiracy to injure, oppress, threaten, or intimidate any alien in the exercise of any right under any treaty of the United States.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That if two or more persons conspire to injure, oppress, threaten or intimidate any alien in the free exercise or enjoyment of any right secured to him under any treaty of the United States, or because of his having exercised the same, they shall be fined not more than $5,000 or imprisoned not more than ten years, or both.

This would be in the nature of an amendment to the following section of the Federal Penal Code (§ 5508, U. S. Rev. Sts.):

"If two or more persons conspire to injure, oppress, threaten or intimidate any citizen in the free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the

United States or because of his having so exercised the same, they shall be fined," etc.

5. We believe that this bill should be passed. It is fundamentally right. "Where there is responsibility, there ought to be power." It would be effective as a measure of "preparedness" against war, because it would lessen the liability of serious controversies with foreign governments respecting the protection of the rights of their nationals in this country. It would demonstrate that the United States proposes to keep sacred its international obligations, respect for which is of supreme importance if a reign of international law and justice is ever to be realized. It would be a practical step, possible for us to take at this time, in the direction of better international relations.

If you are in favor of such action, we urge that you write to the Representative in Congress from your district in regard to it.

MASSACHUSETTS PEACE SOCIETY
Pemberton Building, Boston

May 1, 1917.

WOMEN AND THE WAR SYSTEM

How the System Affects Women

It greatly increases the cost of living. (See 1 at end.)

Women are taxed directly or indirectly for the 70 per cent. of every dollar in Uncle Sam's income which is now spent for past and possible future wars. How far would a family's income go if it, like our government, had only thirty cents on a dollar to live on?

It lessens enormously the funds for protecting woman from her only real enemies, which are in our midst.

In our three foreign wars combined, which we ourselves began, we lost less than 15,000 men by foreign bullets. Our deadly enemies are disease, poverty, ignorance and crime. We lose by preventable tuberculosis every year 150,000 lives. By accident we lose in four years 60,000 more than were killed in our Civil War. Every ten years, 30,000 are killed in mines alone. We are the most lawless and homicidal of all the civilized nations. We burn up annually seven times as much property as does all Europe. We are destroying our forests and shall soon have a timber famine. We are exterminating birds and game, and are increasing noxious insects that destroy trees and plants. The typhoid germ and alcohol are more deadly than two invading armies could be. Yet all expended from national, state and city funds to fight tuberculosis alone is less than the cost of one equipped new battleship! Other expenditures are in proportion.

What women can do without the ballot.

Women can teach the world the difference between these real dangers and the bogeys which make the 727 active and retired army and navy officers in Washington and the paid lobbyists who want contracts hound Congress for more millions to prevent "invasion" and "attack." Women can cry aloud that this paradoxical expenditure for greatest defence where it is least needed and least defence where it is most needed must stop. They can ask all public libraries to keep a full set of peace publications.

Women can gain new respect by proving that they can defend the republic just as much as men from its real enemies; that mothers and teachers who prevent ignorance, disease and vice are accomplishing vastly more than battalions and short-lived battleships, ready to fight a supposititious foe. They can study and teach the new economics which busy bread-winners know little of, though it profoundly affects their prosperity. This proves the new interdependence of buying and selling nations and the futility of conquests, as, under modern conditions of banking and investments, any conquering nation is bound to lose more than it gains. (See 4.)

Teachers can join the American School Peace League.

This asks no fee, has thirty state branches, is endorsed by the National Education Association and all leading educators. It helps to teach history, economics, literature and patriotism from the Twentieth Century standpoint. (See 2, 3.)

Club women can put the Peace Movement on every year's program of study and lectures, and have it presented at conventions. (See 7.)

It is fresh and fascinating, and the most hopeful of all reforms. Fifty women fairly understand civil service, town improvement, history of art, and the usual subjects, to one who comprehends this. (See 5, 6.)

Mothers can give other toys than soldiers to their boys, can read them stories of every-day heroes and "little cousins" in every land and help them to "count nothing human foreign," as does the new order for boys — The World Scouts.

Women can secure signatures for the World Petition in behalf of International Arbitration, to be presented to the Third Hague Conference by Miss Anna B. Eckstein, who has already obtained some millions of signatures. Petition blanks may be obtained from the World Peace Foundation, Boston, which will also send pamphlets on the peace cause to all applicants.

WHAT BALLOTS CAN SECURE

Election of President and Senators who can make arbitration treaties. The President will appoint members of the Hague Court and the regular Hague Conferences. Through diplomacy he has vast power to prevent friction.

Election of Representatives who can vote against military extravagance. We are spending now annually as much as we were spending in our last war. Congress can forbid loans to warring nations. It can neutralize the Philippines and obtain for them by mutual consent of nations security from attack as is done for Switzerland and Belgium. It can coerce any nation that imposed on us by stopping communications with it.

Voters can compel candidates to pledge themselves to peace policies and within a decade turn $150,000,000 annually from waste to use, leaving an adequate army as police and no war scares to bring panics on 'Change. Some women can vote and all can influence voters.

WHAT TO READ

(1) "The Waste of Militarism." Mass. Commission on Cost of Living. 5 cents.
(2) American School Peace League's Annual Report.
(3) "Teaching Patriotism and Peace." 5 cents.
(4) "The Great Illusion," by Norman Angell. $1.15.
(5) "Primer of the Peace Movement." 6 cents.
(6) "Organize the World." 10 cents.
(7) A list of lecturers at nominal price.

Apply for the above and other literature to the World Peace Foundation, 29a Beacon Street, Boston, Mass. Sample copies free. This leaflet furnished for 50 cents per 100 copies.

Written by LUCIA AMES MEAD,
Chairman of the Peace and Arbitration Department of the International Council of Women.

The Church
and
International Peace

A Series of Papers by the Trustees of
THE CHURCH PEACE UNION

I

The Cause of the War

by

Rev. Charles E. Jefferson, D.D., LL.D.

THE CHURCH PEACE UNION
70 Fifth Avenue
NEW YORK

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The Cause of the War

Text: "He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit is saying to the churches." —*Rev. ii. 7.*

What is the cause of the war? It is the most important question to which any man or woman can just now turn his mind. No word has been of late so frequently on our lips as the word, Why. Men have asked one another in sad bewilderment: How does it happen that mankind has gotten into this deplorable predicament? How can you account for it that the nations of Europe have plunged into this abyss of blood and fire? How do you explain it that Christendom should bring upon the world this indescribable, unthinkable tragedy, this desolating and heart-breaking horror?

It is a question which will not down, and every one of us is under obligation to seek an answer. We cannot say: "I do not care what the cause of it is, I only want it to stop!" That is a lazy way out. We must not lay the blame on the country we happen to like the least. England lays the blame on Germany, and Germany lays the blame on Russia, and Russia lays the blame on Austria, and Austria lays the blame on Servia. That is an easy way out—too easy. We have no right to say: "It is too horrible to talk about; please let us think of something else!" Hundreds of thousands of our fellow beings are in the fire of a great tribulation, and we ought to come close enough to the flames for them to scorch our hearts. When so many of our brothers and sisters are in agony, it is base for us to turn our back upon them in their affliction. Moses one day saw what he thought was a bush on fire. He said: "I will turn aside and see this great sight." God spoke to him out of the fire. Shame on the man who is so stupid or selfish that he is unwilling to turn aside and ask himself why it is that a continent is blazing!

We owe it to ourselves and humanity to investigate the cause of the things that make havoc of human happiness and homes. Hundreds of men throughout the world are working day and night seeking the cause of cancer, that implacable, deadly, pitiless enemy of mankind. Unless they find out the cause of it they can never hope to cure it. Only when the cause is found is it possible to hope for victory. War is the cancer of nations. It is just now eating into the vitals of nine of them. We must, if we can, find out the root cause of it, for only thus will it be possible to prevent the recurrence of a similar catastrophe.

What do you think is the cause? Not chance. The war did not come by accident. The boy that killed an archduke in the street of Serajevo did not create this war. That crime was an episode which took place a few moments before the curtain went up. The great tragedy was staged by forces operating through many years. We are not living in a haphazard universe. Science has demonstrated that. Everything goes on according to law. Certain antecedents are followed by certain consequents, certain causes lead to certain results, certain seeds produce certain harvests. Wherever there is matter the same laws prevail. When we look through the microscope into the depths of the world of the infinitesimal, we find that all the atoms and ions are under the dominion of principles which not one of them can escape. When we gaze through the telescope we find that all the blazing suns, and all the comets too, and all the starry systems swing round their appointed orbits according to changeless law. Everything that takes place in the heavens above, and in the earth beneath, and in the waters under the earth, comes out of something that preceded it. Events move with the precision and orderliness of a military parade. There is a law in the universe of souls. Wherever there are minds, persons, moral beings, the same laws prevail. Human history is not a Babel of confusion. Human society is not a weltering chaos. Men and institutions are all under law. Certain causes produce corresponding effects, certain seeds unfold into inevitable

harvests, everywhere and always. This war is not an accident. It was caused. Of this we are certain. If there is a cause, we must find it. What is the cause?

Is it fate? Is it due to an unescapable compulsion which lies in the nature of things? Is it an iron link in a terrible chain by which events are bound together? Did it have to come? Many men say yes. Professor Münsterberg says yes, and so does Professor Francke, and so does Professor Eucken, and so do many other men of less distinction. The idea of fate has always had a strange fascination for a certain type of mind. The human heart has long been haunted by the idea of an inexorable destiny. The pre-Christian world had, as you know, three goddesses who were called Parcæ or Fates, in whose awful hands the destinies of men were held. The early astrologers thought that human life was predetermined by movements of the stars. Out of those far-off orbs of light a subtle influence sifted down, determining the characters and careers of men. But against this idea of fate the human heart has persistently rebelled. To the sanest men it has long seemed a demoralizing superstition. Shakespeare, who had one of the soundest brains God ever put inside a human skull, is always jabbing it in his dramas. Listen to Cassius in Julius Cæsar:

> The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars,
> But in ourselves, that we are underlings.

or listen to Edmund in King Lear: "This is the excellent foppery of the world, that, when we are sick in fortune—often the surfeit of our own behaviour—we make guilty of our disasters the sun, the moon, and the stars; as if we were villains by necessity, fools by heavenly compulsion, . . . and all that we are evil in, by a divine thrusting on." Samuel Johnson expressed the conviction of the honest and unspoiled heart when he said: "I know I am free, and that is the end of it."

None of us, I presume, are fatalists in the realm of individual action, but many of us are fatalists when it comes to dealing with nations. Many men are just now talking

about the inevitable clash between Slav and Teuton, the irrepressible conflict between two irreconcilable cultures. This war, they say, was bound to come. The cause of it lies in the very nature of things. The men who speak thus have not yet shaken themselves free from the entangling sophistries of the necessitarian philosophy. We Christians can never accept the idea of fate in the life either of individuals or nations. We are under bonds to hold fast to Paul's great declaration, that "God has made of one all the nations to live together on all the face of the earth, and has appointed them their established seasons and the bounds of their habitation." If individuals are free, then nations are free, for nations are composed of individuals. You cannot get fate by multiplying freedom into millions. This alleged irrepressible conflict is a figment of the imagination, the creation of a bewildered and belated mind. If a Slav and a Teuton in our city should load themselves down with deadly weapons, and should begin to fire at each other in the street, it would never do for them to set up the plea that this was an irrepressible conflict, that such a brawl was bound to come. The policeman would simply hustle them off to jail, and allow them to stay there till they came to their senses. We have no patience with such foolery as that in the realm of individual conduct. We should give it no quarter in the realm of international life. It is the excellent foppery of the philosophic world. This war is not the inexorable decree of fate. It is the result of the abuse of freedom. It is due to wrong ideals and wrong choices, wrong ways of thinking and wrong ways of feeling. It never would have come had it not been brought by the foolish and wicked thinking and action of men. Let us put the responsibility where it belongs. Do not saddle it on a fanciful scapegoat called Fate.

Why did the war come? Someone suggests that possibly God had something to do with it. Perhaps war is a part of the divine order, a feature of the system which the Almighty uses in educating mankind. It seems very harsh and cruel to us, but possibly it would not seem so if we could rise to

a higher standpoint, and gain a wider outlook over the centuries. Is not the world built—men ask—on the idea of struggle, and is not war simply a phase of the age-long strife, which must be accepted as God's will for us? The survival of the fittest is a divine decree, and the fittest come to their own in war. It is thus that certain persons argue. Is God the cause, then, of this war? No! We Christians must reject that as unthinkable. Our God is the Father of Jesus Christ. His heart is a father's heart. He is infinite in tenderness, and pity, and compassion, and gentleness. He takes delight in mercy and forgiveness and kindness. He values even a sheep or a bird, much more does he value a man. He loves all men. It is his desire that all of them shall be filled with goodwill toward him and toward one another. Now war is a device for settling international disputes by killing men, young men, the strongest young men, men who are sons, brothers, husbands, fathers. You cannot kill these without killing women too, for when you kill their husbands, sons and brothers, their hearts die. They continue to exist, but they do not live. War is the most cruel, most heartless, most devilish instrument which the human mind can conceive of. Shall we say that it is the beneficent device of our Heavenly Father? Shall we say that it is his method of educating his children? Never say that! It is a lie, a monstrous lie. It is blasphemy, unpardonable blasphemy. You dare not say that! The man who says that turns his back on the revelation of God's heart in Christ. He tramples on the message of the cross. He makes the Creator of the universe a devil. He takes away all the glory and bloom of living. These three things are certain: The war did not come by chance, it is not the decree of fate, the responsibility for it cannot be rolled upon God.

The blame then, apparently, must fall on the people. But what people? Are the peoples of Europe barbarians, lusting after slaughter? No, they are all amiable, industrious, quiet and peaceable. They love peace even more than we do, for they know better the value of it. Those of us who have

traveled most widely through Europe know best the virtues and graces of all these nations. The British people are charming as we all know, but the French people are not a whit less lovely. You cannot judge France by a few fops and harlots of Paris. One must get out into the smaller cities and towns to find out what the French really are. They are wondrously rich in the traits which the heart loves. The Germans are a noble and admirable people. They are not bellicose. We have millions of them in our own country, and no part of our population is more peaceable and law-abiding. The Germans in Germany—at least 65,000,000 out of the 66,000,000 of them —are as peace-loving as those living under our own flag. No one who has lived for a season in Germany and seen its beautiful home life, and enjoyed its gracious hospitality, could ever believe that this war came about because the German people wanted to fight. The Austrians also are fine. When Americans spend a summer in the Austrian Tyrol they come home saying, "The Austrians are just like ourselves!" That is the highest compliment it is possible for an American to pass on foreigners. And the Russians also are worthy of high praise. The upper classes in Russia have a cultivation and refinement equal to that found anywhere. They are not a semi-civilized horde which has made no progress since the times of Peter the Great. The masses of the peasants are, it is true, ignorant and superstitious, but they are not barbarians eager to kill. Their disposition is gentle and winsome, and Americans and Englishmen who have lived among them declare that in amiable traits they are not surpassed by any peasantry in the world. Dear, beautiful peoples of Europe! I always like best the nation I have visited last. It would be difficult to say which race is on the whole most lovable. We shall not roll the responsibility of this war upon any of them. Let us be careful in these trying days how we speak of them. It is impossible to bring a just indictment against a whole people. Let us not speak ever of the hypocritical English, or of the hysterical French, or of the conceited Germans, or of the insolent Austrians, or of the barbaric

Russians, or of the semi-civilized Servians. I have overheard, sometimes, in foreign countries, disparaging remarks about Americans, and I know how such words cut like knives and burn like fire. Let us keep our tongue off of all adjectives which stab and blister. We have representatives of all these nations in our midst, and we must beware of the sin of doing their countrymen injustice and giving them needless pain. This is not a peoples' war, and the peoples are not responsible for it.

But how does it happen, then, that all these people are fighting so furiously and enthusiastically? That is because they are all fighting in self-defense. We, too, would fight with ardor under similar circumstances. If our country were attacked, the most peaceable of us would seize a gun. The Servians were obliged to fight. When Austria lifted her mighty fist to strike, what could Servia do but fight? And when the armies of the Czar began to move toward Vienna, what could Austrians do but fight? If they do not fight, their country will be torn limb from limb. When Russia prepared to strike Austria, Germany had reason to believe that the blow would fall also on her, because in time of war Austria and Germany are one. So that when the huge Russian army began to move, the Germans were compelled to rush to arms. There are only 66,000,000 Germans, and 146,000,000 Russians, and Germany is fighting for her life. She has enemies not only on her east but on her southwest. In time of war Russia and France are one, and Germany had to strike France to escape being stabbed in the back while she was meeting the attack of her mighty eastern neighbor. There is not a soldier in the German army who does not believe he is fighting in defense of his fatherland. But France also is fighting in self-defense. She has received repeated admonitions as to what the next war between her and Germany would bring. Two years ago a member of the German General Staff informed the world in print that in the next war "France must be so completely crushed that she can never again come across Germany's path." Do you wonder that Frenchmen are fight-

ing with desperation? But England is also fighting in self-defense. It is to be regretted that when Sir Edward Grey stated to the House of Commons the reasons why England must go into the war, he did not frankly present all the reasons. He named only two when he should have given three. The one he omitted is the deepest of all. England is in the war primarily because she had to defend herself. She could not in safety allow Germany to take possession of the coast of Belgium and the coast of France and plant her huge guns within a few miles of the English shore. Belgium is a shield which England holds over her heart to ward off a fatal shot from her continental foe. Mr. Churchill has frankly stated, since the war began, that the life of the British Empire is at stake. Every Britisher is fighting, then, in defense of his country. Even Russia feels that she is fighting in self-defense. At the very beginning, her secretary of foreign affairs, Mr. Sazanof, declared that it was a question of life or death for Russia whether Austria should be allowed to go on and crush Servia under her heel. Russia has a double motive for fighting. She is fighting for herself and also for others. She is fighting for the rights of a little country, which, when it had been bled white by two awful wars, was suddenly attacked by an empire fifteen times its size. You cannot wonder then that all these peoples are fighting. They fight not because they are barbarians or because they love war, but because they have been swept into war by forces which they were powerless to resist.

If it is not a peoples' war, it is possibly an Emperors' war. This is a claim confidently put forth. We are repeatedly informed that this is a dynastic war. The blame must be laid at the doors of the Hapsburgs and the Romanoffs and the Hohenzollerns. The war is the fruit of imperial ambitions. But is it? Which of the Emperors is guilty? Certainly not Franz-Joseph, an old man of eighty-four, tottering on the edge of the grave, a man whose wife and children met violent deaths, and whom no sorrow has spared, and whose one supreme desire, as he himself declared in his manifesto issued

to his people at the outbreak of the war, was to spend the closing years of his life in peace. A man of eighty-four, broken by years and sorrows, is not likely to be consumed by dynastic ambitions. Where shall we look for the culprit? Hardly in Russia. Study the face of Nicholas II. It is not the face of a warrior. It is the face rather of an artist or a poet. Remember that it was he who, impressed by the argument of Jean de Bloch, called the first Hague conference some fifteen years ago, hoping that the nations might agree on a reduction in armaments. Read his last telegram to his cousin, the King of England, in which he declared that he had done everything in his power to avert the war. Surely this is not a man who wanted to deluge Europe in blood, or who is to be held responsible for what is going on.

It would seem, then, that the criminal lives in Potsdam. He is the Kaiser. This is the conclusion which many Americans have arrived at. It is not surprising that they think as they do. There are numerous facts which have forced them to their decision. For many years the Kaiser has shown a fondness for having his photograph taken in a spiked helmet, and an army overcoat, with his breast covered with military decorations. He has occasionally in his speeches rattled his sword in a way which has given his neighbors a great scare. He has taken evident delight in being the head of the mightiest army which was ever organized, and the chief of the second mightiest navy that ever sailed the seas. Moreover, it was he who, when Austria issued her brutal ultimatum to Servia, declared through his ministers that no international conference could deal with the problem, and that Austria must be given a free hand in dealing with her troublesome neighbor. Finally it was he who declared war on Russia simply because that country was mobilizing. These five facts are not controverted by anybody, and they have led tens of thousands to hold the Kaiser responsible for the war.

But there are other facts which must be taken into account if we are to arrive at an equitable judgment. The Kaiser has from the beginning of his reign to the present

hour declared himself a loyal friend of peace. He has repeatedly said that his supreme ambition is to have Germany take her rightful place in the world by the method of peaceful rivalry with her neighbors. One of his most memorable declarations is this: "If the peace of Europe lay in my hand, I should take good care that it should never be disturbed." Last July he sent one of his chaplains to attend the Church Peace Conference at Constance and urged all theological students throughout Germany to do the same. His critics may say: "Ah, these are words!" But he has backed up his words with deeds. He has been on the throne for twenty-six years, and up to the first of last August he maintained peace with all the world. There has been more than one occasion on which it would have been easy to find a pretext for fighting, and on which some of his counselors have urged him to draw the sword, but he steadfastly resisted all such temptations, and nobly kept the peace. It might be said that this was nothing more than a shrewd diplomacy, and that the only reason why he has never fought before now was because that never before now was Germany altogether ready. But the fact remains that Germany for twenty-six years has maintained the peace, account for it as you may, and this fact is attended by a second fact, that the men who have come the nearest to the Kaiser have, whether Germans or Americans, been convinced that he is a true and steadfast friend of peace. No Americans, so far as I know, who have gotten close to the Kaiser, believe that he is an ogre, or a monster, or a heartless, conscienceless Napoleon, or a diabolical spider weaving his fatal web around the nations of Europe. They have found him an affable, versatile, gifted and noble-minded man, interested in music, art, and literature, full of fine feeling, with a soul dedicated to lofty ends. Mr. Alfred H. Fried, a winner of one of the Nobel prizes, after a careful study of the Kaiser's words and acts through twenty-five years, came to the conclusion that his rightful name is not War Lord, but Peace Lord of Europe. And Mr. Norman Angell, one of the most distinguished of our American peace workers,

wrote a few years ago that those who consider the Kaiser a disturber of the peace of the world are speaking in ignorance of the character of the man. Before the present war began, the Kaiser's name was in the list of candidates for the Nobel peace prize of the current year, indicating how widespread in informed circles has been the impression that the Kaiser is a power for peace.

"The sword has been forced into my hands," so he said as he started his armies against Russia and France. He went into the war, he said, with profound regret. It pained him —so he asserted—to have the ancient friendship between Germany and Russia broken, and to find himself in arms against a nation so closely related to Germany as England. The entire German nation accepts these words as true. They stand by their Emperor with a unanimity which is almost unique in the history of nations. The great men of Germany without a conspicuous exception believe that this war was forced upon the Kaiser, and that he entered upon it because there was no honorable escape. All the scientists from Haeckel down, and all the philosophers from Eucken down, and all the theologians from Harnack down, believe just that. These are facts which must be faced by those desiring to arrive at the truth. We are inclined to ascribe to the Kaiser more power than any individual man is possessed of. It is absurd to think that a war of such vast dimensions could be caused by one man only. It would be horrible to believe that we are living in a universe in which one man by a solitary act can hurl the whole world into a pit of fire. A Servian boy was the occasion and not the cause of the war between Austria and Servia, and so the Kaiser was the occasion but not the cause of the war between Germany and Russia. The war was brought on by thousands of men working through thousands of days. We must find a cause large enough to account for the effect.

In what direction, then, shall we look for an answer to our question? It has been suggested many times that the root of the trouble lies in racial antipathies, and commercial

rivalries, and religious differences. There is no doubt that all these exist. They are dangerous elements in the world's life, and are provocative of many troubles. But they did not cause the present war. These forces have in former times led to war, but they are not responsible for this one. All these mischief-making tendencies could have been checked and directed into the paths of peace by men of the right temper, working under a right policy. It is not a war in which religion cuts any figure. The Protestants of England are fighting by the side of the Free Thinkers of France, and the Catholics of France are shoulder to shoulder with the devotees of the Orthodox Greek Church. The bitterest things which are being said are said by Protestant Germans against Protestant Englishmen, and by Protestant Englishmen against Protestant Germans. Religious beliefs do not count for much in this war. Nor do racial antagonisms. It is preposterous to call it a conflict between the Teuton and the Slav. Englishmen are not Slavs, neither are Frenchmen, and yet Slavs and Englishmen and Frenchmen are bound together as by hoops of steel. Austria-Hungary has millions of Slavs, and yet those Slavs are fighting against Russia. Racial antagonisms have produced other wars, but not this one. As for commercial rivalry, there is only one such rivalry sufficiently fierce to be thought of for a moment as a possible cause of war, and that is between England and Germany. If that was the cause of the war how did it happen that England came in at the end of the procession? She did not enter the contest until all Europe was ablaze. Commercial rivalries produce irritation and lead sometimes to international complications, but they cannot be held responsible for the present tragedy.

Six alleged causes have now been weighed in the balances and found wanting. Let me state what, in my judgment, is the fundamental cause. The war is the result of a false philosophy of national life, a philosophy which maintains that the foundation of all power is physical force, and that greatness is to be computed in terms of brute strength. It is a

barbaric philosophy which has been driven from one field to another because of the havoc it wrought, and we now see its operations in a realm in which it is working its ruin on a scale vast and appalling. Out of this philosophy there develops a policy—the policy of armed peace, the policy which bases peace on the fear which is inspired by deadly weapons. The policy was long tried in the realm of individual life. Men went daily armed to the teeth to protect themselves against one another. The practice led to interminable brawls, and feuds, and duels, until at last it was given up. Only rowdies now carry knives and guns. The policy was then adopted by cities. Cities preserved the peace by arming themselves. Every city had its wall, its moat, its drawbridges. Its armed forces were always held in leash ready for either defense or attack. The history of those days is a disgusting record of deadly rivalries, rapine, and slaughter. The policy was at last banished from the realm of interurban life. Cities situated within narrow limits bound themselves together into leagues, and numerous small states took their place on the European map. These provinces adopted, however, the policy of armed peace, and the result was constant jealousies and bickerings and frequent bloody collisions. The little states grew sick at last of the exhausting strife and rolled themselves into great states which became known as world powers. But the old policy of armed peace which the common sense of men had banished from the realm of individual, and interurban, and interprovincial life, was retained in the realm of international life. Men knew that little states could not wisely adopt it, but they supposed that large states could. They banished it from the administration of little powers, and retained it in the scheme of the great powers. The result is a great war. The war has come out of a false policy, and the false policy came out of a false philosophy. We are to seek, then, the cause of the present horror in the realm of ideas. It is sometimes asserted that it does not make any difference what you believe. The fact is that everything depends on what you believe. When men believe the truth,

it is well with the world. When they believe error, darkness falls on the lands.

Let us look a moment at this philosophy. The modern name of it is militarism. Militarism has a creed with three articles. Article one asserts that war is a good thing. It has brought many blessings in the past. It will bring many more in the future. It is indispensable for national well-being. Without war the virile virtues gradually decay, and the moral fiber of nations rots. This is the plain teaching of all modern militarists from von Moltke to von Bernhardi. Article second is a necessary deduction from the first. Since war is good and indispensable, and sure to come, because it lies in the structure of the great world plan, therefore the supreme duty of a nation is to be ready for it. Equip yourselves with all the necessary apparatus. You must lay in an enormous stock of guns and ammunition. You must have the latest weapons. Old weapons are valueless. You must buy the costliest of them, for only these are effective when the day of battle comes. No matter what the cost is the nation must submit to it, even if it is compelled to mortgage the resources of generations yet unborn. But weapons are of no value unless men know how to use them. These modern instruments of blood are complicated, and they require a deal of practice. Therefore great masses of men must spend their life in drilling. They must practice constantly war games on the sea, and on the land, and in the air, for "Preparedness" is the one golden motto of a nation. The third article of the creed is that army and naval officials constitute a superior caste. They are the anointed custodians of the nation's honor, the divine guardians of the nation's treasures, the saviors of the nation's life. Therefore they are the safest counselors of diplomats, and the wisest advisers of presidents and kings. The whole doctrine is tersely put by a rear-admiral in our navy in an article published by him shortly before the opening of this war. The gist of his argument is as follows: The influence of an ambassador of any nation depends on the number and size of the guns behind him. It is by means of guns that a

nation exerts pressure on its neighbors. This brings the naval officer into the realm of international diplomacy. He must stand by the side of the civil diplomat and assist him in his work. Indeed, he is the better man of the two because of his superior training and his longer term of office, and, therefore, the officers of the United States navy are the only body of men on whom our Republic can continuously and safely rely. This is a very frank and modest statement of a militarist who is sure of the divine mission of the navy. Not all officers in our army and navy are militarists. Many of them, however, are, and the creed which they hold is the creed held by militarists the world over: War is good, be ready, and leave the direction of international business to us!

This is the creed of modern Europe. All the great nations have been brought little by little under the control of the General Staff. Every great potentate in Europe has had generals and admirals tagging at his heels. The war was born in the military oligarchies by which the rulers of Europe are hedged in. You cannot understand the diplomacy of Austria by making the acquaintance of Franz-Joseph. You must know Berchtold and Tisza, and above all Hoetzendorf and his staff! You cannot account for the diplomacy of Russia by studying the man who calls himself the autocrat of all the Russias. The Czar is held tight in the hands of a bureaucracy which holds all Russia in its grip, and to find the real rulers of Russia you must go to the grand dukes and the counts and especially to Grand Duke Nicholas Nicolaivitch and his staff! You will never understand the diplomacy of Germany until you get acquainted with Schellendorf and Frebonius, with von Bernhardi and von Koester, with Edelsheim and von Moltke, and von Tirpitz, and the other giants who stand round the Kaiser night and day. There are influential, able men in Germany beside the Kaiser. You must take into account that virile, ambitious, pushing crowd of thirty-one thousand officers of the German peace army, many of whom have for years amused themselves by gossiping about the joy of dictating terms of peace in West-

minster Abbey, and by drinking toasts "to the Day" when the glory of Great Britain should be laid in the dust.

Germany has been brought more and more under the dominion of the General Staff, but German militarism is not the only militarism in Europe, nor is it the oldest. There is a French militarism, very cocky, arrogant and brutal, as we all saw during the Dreyfus trial. There is a Russian militarism, very cocky, arrogant and brutal, as we had a chance to see in the Russo-Japanese war, when a gang of Russian robbers tried to steal Manchuria. There is a militarism in England, very cocky, arrogant and brutal, as the world saw a few years ago when Great Britain stole two South African Republics. Militarism, wherever you find it, is cocky, arrogant and brutal. It is everywhere and always the deadly and implacable enemy of mankind.

One of its fundamental principles is, "Strike first, and strike hard." That is the law of all militarists, and that, you observe, is the law of the jungle, it is the creed of the tiger. The tiger always leaps with the swiftness of lightning. Its victim must be crushed in the first attack. Militarism goes back to the jungle for its models. If you are settling disputes by reason you can take time to consider and sift and weigh; if you are settling disputes by guns you must be quick as a tiger. There is no time for reason. One of the most appalling features of the opening of the war was the lack of time to consider. Of the one hundred and fifty-nine telegrams and notes in the English White Papers, the one of greatest pathos is that of Sir Edward Grey to Sir Edward Goschen on August 1: "I still believe that it might be possible to secure peace if only a little respite in time can be gained." Time was the one thing essential, and alas! there was no time to be gotten. The cavalrymen were all on their horses, and in an instant they were over the border. You have seen horses dash out of the engine house when the fire alarm struck. With just such swiftness dashed the armies of Europe into the arena of war. We are ready! That was the shout that went from mouth to mouth around the whole circle of nations.

For forty years they had been preparing, standing each one in shining armor, and when the crisis came there was no possibility of delay. For a generation the genius and the wealth of the nations had been expended on the apparatus of war. They had all prepared for war, and it came. It came easily. It came in spite of the efforts of the diplomats to hold it off. The machinery of peace had secured but scant attention, and it broke down under the strain of the fateful hour. The messengers of peace were just a little late all the way round the circle because the horses of war were on a gallop. One cannot read the White Papers of the various countries without being impressed by the fact that none of the ambassadors wanted this war. They were dragged into it because all the nations were lashed tight to their guns. When once the great masses of steel began to move, their momentum was irresistible. From that instant Europe began to be ground to powder by the armaments she had created for preserving peace.

An awful crime has been committed against humanity. This crime has gone on through many years. This war is retribution. It is the awful price which nations pay for doing wrong. All false principles have in them retributive forces which, when the time is ripe, explode, working immeasurable, unimaginable destruction. When the word came that war was at last inevitable, some of us who have studied recent European history most carefully, and who knew best what such a war as this would involve, felt our strength going from us. We sat down horrified, stunned and dazed. Some of us could scarcely sleep. It all seemed like a hideous dream. It was all so needless, so foolish, so inexcusable, so crazy, that the soul cried out, "It cannot be, it must not be!" This feeling of horror was then swallowed up by the sense of helplessness, sheer, absolute, agonizing helplessness. There was no deliverance to be found in any quarter. We turned to the right and there was no deliverer there; to the left and he was not there. We went forward in search of some one strong enough to stay the plague, but we could not find him;

we went backward and he was not there. There was no tribunal on the earth with authority that was adequate. There was no potentate in church or state strong enough to lay on the wild-dashing nations a restraining hand. There at The Hague stood the beautiful palace of peace, its gates closed and its oracles dumb. Beautiful white blossom of the world's hope, all shriveled in the hot breath of the coming storm! We turned to the heavens and there was no help there. God's arm seemed to be shortened so that he could not save, his ear seemed to be dull so that he could not hear. It is an awful experience to stand face to face with a world-wide calamity and feel that man cannot save and that God himself is impotent. There is a point beyond which the divine mercy does not act. For instance, a man is a thousand steps from the edge of a precipice. He walks steadily toward it. At every step in all the thousand steps he is free. He can turn back, or he can turn to the right or to the left, but if he takes the thousand and first forward step he is gone! Man cannot save him, God will not. We never pray that a man may not fall after he has begun to fall. A man is on the Niagara River, several thousand yards above the falls—he has two stout arms and two strong oars. He drifts down the stream. At every moment up to a definite point, he can turn, if he chooses, to the shore. But he allows himself to drift six inches beyond that fatal point, and he is doomed. Man cannot save him, God will not. At a certain instant he passes beyond the realm of freedom and enters into the realm of coercion. That is why the Bible says that it is an awful thing to fall into the hands of the living God—if you are doing wrong. We are in his hands all the time, but when we sin beyond a certain point, we fall into his hands in a different way. On the first of August, 1914, Europe fell into the hands of the living God!

Whatsoever a nation sows that shall it also reap. We sold slaves once in this country. Negro women were torn from their husbands and children, and good men stood by looking on unconcerned. Year after year the atrocity went on, and it seemed as though it might go on forever. Poor black

woman, she could not protect herself, and there was no one else to protect her. And so one day there came a war. Nobody wanted it. It came. Lincoln tried to end it, but he could not. He tried again and again and failed, and then at last the meaning of the war flashed upon him, and he bowed down his great soul before the Ruler of the world saying, "If every drop of blood drawn by the lash must be paid for by blood drawn by the sword, even then we must say the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether." A distinguished American statesman long ago declared after pondering the villainies of slavery, "I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just." Many a time in recent years have I trembled for Europe at the thought that God is just. When I have seen German women hitched up with dogs drawing carts through the streets of German cities while their sons were drilling; and when I have seen the miserable poverty of the Italian peasants, having little in their homes though they work industriously under one of the softest of skies, and in one of the most fertile of soils, the product of their industry being consumed by the army; and when I have looked into the hovels of the Russian peasants and have seen that nearly everything had been taken off the peasant's table, and nearly everything off the peasant's back in order that it might feed the army; and when I have stood at Ellis Island and watched the incoming tide of Europe's poor, many of them trampled all out of shape under the heels of the war lords of their native lands, I have been absolutely certain that Europe would some day stand at God's judgment bar and render an account for its inhumanity. You can put a soldier on the back of every peasant grubbing in the fields. Poor peasant, he cannot help himself. You can increase the burden on him until his back is bent, and the light goes out of his eyes, and the hope dies out of his heart, but you must settle some day with God! That is what Europe is now doing—she is settling with God. You have seen a wonderful thing. You have seen the Almighty God cast a whole continent into hell.

Militarism is the absolute negation of Christianity. The one exhibits a mailed fist, the other shows you a hand that is pierced. The one carries a big stick, the other carries the cross on which the Prince of Glory died. The one declares that might makes right, the other affirms that right makes might. The one says that the foundation of all things is force, the other says that the foundation of all things is love. Militarism is materialism in its deadliest manifestation. It is atheism in its most brutal and blatant incarnation. It is the enemy of God and man. It must be overthrown. Every nation which becomes its devotee is doomed. Militaristic nations are broken to pieces like potter's vessels. So did the Almighty break Nineveh and Babylon, Persia, and Greece, and Rome, and so unless they repent will he break in fragments the so-called great powers of Europe. He will, if necessary, convert the capitals of our modern world into dust heaps like those of Thebes and Memphis, and begin the world anew. He will overturn and overturn, until he whose right it is, shall reign. He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit is saying to the churches—and to the nations!

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What the Christian Church Needs to Know About War and Peace

BY
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REPRINTED FROM THE
NOVEMBER-DECEMBER METHODIST REVIEW
1923

WHAT THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH NEEDS TO KNOW ABOUT WAR AND PEACE

Lucia Ames Mead
Brookline, Mass.

John Ruskin somewhere said, "It is a state of mind very much to be dreaded for a man not to know the devil when he sees him." This state of mind is that of the credulous, well-meaning man who is hoodwinked by the current fallacies about war and peace. The devil of false premises and twisted logic comes appareled like an angel of light and a goddess of liberty. A graduate of Harvard University, of Annapolis, or West Point may know less of how to refute these fallacies than any fourteen-year-old schoolboy who is properly taught. Experts in mathematics, science and languages, history and theology may have little imagination, no knowledge of psychology, may becloud premises by prejudice, and even lack the milk of human kindness. It is therefore often necessary when dealing with such adults to be as simple and explicit on mooted questions as when talking to adolescents.

A graduate of the Harvard Medical School asserted, "War is inevitable, for man is a fighting animal. That is a biologic fact, due to his animal inheritance." The confused thinking which confounds struggle with collective homicide, which assumes that war, like earthquakes, cannot be prevented is one of the most common and dangerous of heresies. Until that fallacy is refuted, no real progress can be made in dealing with international relations. A false philosophy, like a foundation laid in quicksand, prevents any superstructure.

Struggle is the law of life. It is normal, inevitable, wholesome, and it invigorates. We have as little respect for a creature that will not struggle as for a clam or a sponge. Man was or-

dained to develop by constant struggle against nature and environment. He must everlastingly fight cold, hunger, disease, laziness, dirt, fire, accident, ignorance, sin, poverty, and death. We honor those like Shackleton, Nansen, David Livingstone, Raleigh, Columbus, and a thousand other heroes who have been great adventurers. The folly of confounding their type of struggle with collective homicide—the crushing out of human comrades, perhaps in Mexico, Japan, or Germany—is the most dangerous folly the world has ever known. These comrades should have been shoulder to shoulder with us together fighting the common foe in laboratory, field and forest. So long as this confounding of struggle that is normal with struggle that is abnormal is enshrined in romance and patriotism and religion, and confuses good minds, it will yield hectatombs of corpses.

Unlike sporadic murders, which require no premeditation and will indefinitely continue, modern war follows taxation, invention, training, war games, and long preparation. It has no counterpart in the animal world, for no herd or flock of brutes ever attack another *of their own species,* and individual tigers, lions, snakes, etc., do not kill their own kind, but only other kinds for food. "The biologic law" vanishes as soon as it is stated. But no skeptic is converted by a concise paragraph. The clergy need to devote one sermon a year to hammering home this argument, after a careful study of Dr. George Nasmyth's *Social Progress and the Darwinian Theory.* Like the multiplication table, it must be drilled into every mind.

The cave man was not a creature with a club, ready to brain his neighbor. Like the chimpanzee, he lived on nuts and fruits, traveled only as far as he could walk, saw only his own neighbors and combined with them for self-preservation against the huge brutes—the prehistoric monsters. Without private property in land, without for probably fifty thousand years enough power of invention and organization even to equal our Indian warriors, he had nothing in common with Napoleon or Hindenburg. War did not make civilization. Struggle made civilization. Invention, greed, and a false philosophy made war, and are preparing more hideous and subtle devices to make more war. Civilization

thus far is as abnormal as a hunchback with long legs and a short, deformed body. Physics, chemistry, mechanics, and invention have done their best, but distorted vision and childish conceptions of what constitutes national advantage have set natural law to doing the devil's work. If our generation knew a hundredth part as much about the mechanism of wise government as every boy knows about Buicks and Fords, the world would not be in peril of another war and the safest nation in the world would not demand now for the first time to have as great a navy as any upon earth.

The militarists are proclaiming against law as a substitute for war. Admiral Rodgers declares that "War itself is an integral part of law. War is the agency whereby law is made to prevail when it is disputed by evildoers. The world must be governed under conditions as they exist, by nations with divergent interests which refuse to be reconciled. Armaments are therefore necessary to all, or one armed nation will ride the others." The editor of the *Army and Navy Register* writes of the "practical necessity of national protection that permits jeopardizing the safety of the country by any such avowed object as outlawing war and substituting law for war." The Secretary of War, in an address at West Point, is quoted as saying: "If it were not for the restraining effect of military establishments of the nations of the world, an indescribable state of chaos would result and civilization would be rapidly terminated through self-destruction." Says General J. G. Harbord: "War still remains the supreme act of the state, the school of heroism, and the training-ground for national discipline. Permanent, universal peace remains an ideal, lost in inaccessible distances, until envy, malice, lust, and avarice shall have disappeared from the human heart." An eminent clergyman recently said in Boston: "The instruments of war are the most effective builders of peace; the maintenance of militant forces on land and sea is necessary to safeguard civilization from the rule of the jungle."

These are the types of dangerously confused ideas which are being taught to our future officers and boys in summer camps at an age when they have done no independent thinking, but are

forming convictions and look with respect on the pronouncements of "practical men" who wear epaulettes. Loose thinking goes unchallenged. Police functions, that is, the taking of culprits to court with the least exercise of force that is necessary to obtain a judicial decision, are confounded with what goes on between rival nations trying to settle, through their armies, questions of boundary line, or markets, or "honor," by tanks and submarines! Legalized repression within the nation is confounded with what is done between nations in our present state of anarchy, which permits us to be judge, jury, and executioner in our own case. The placid assumption of each nation that the "evildoers" must always be the other nation, that we ourselves can do no wrong, and that "war is the agency by which law is made to prevail," ignores the wars of conquest, of revenge, of spoliation, dynastic and religious wars which have been in defiance of much law and all justice. Such doctrine is as false as anything the devil has concocted to lead good men astray. Even Theodore Roosevelt and Lyman Abbott constantly stumbled over the word "police," and spoke of armies and navies—the tools of rival nations—as "national police" and never asked what army or navy ever took a nation to court, or helped to a judicial decision. They never saw clearly the enormous distinction between police functions, conducted by non-rival bodies, and collective homicide between rival armies.

Granted that there may be collective, repressive force used by all nations against one aggressive nation by means of a small international police, or by universal boycott; but that is the maximum which a sane world will permit. This is not, properly speaking, "war." World court decrees at The Hague, like those of our Supreme Court at Washington, will require no force behind them but that of public opinion.

The fallacy most commonly held by religious minds is that war will not end until human brotherhood is achieved and the Golden Rule prevails. When men are all lovers of the Lord Jesus, then we shall cease concocting liquid fire to be thrown by wireless from aeroplanes, wiping out men, women, and children! Good people's skepticism of our being able to end war in this generation cuts the nerve of hope and action, and relegates permanent peace

to some far-off millennium. Dueling, wars between cities, as in ancient days, between provinces, and between states have been ended without any miracle or change of human nature. In this republic, though within each State we have excessive homicide and lawlessness, no State has ever fought against another State. Throughout the British Empire, black, white, and yellow people, speaking 150 languages, and having scores of different religions, are keeping the peace. What can be done over enormous areas of the world can be done by common agreement over the whole world. It is purely a matter of organization to make conditions in the world as safe as they are between the rich and poor sections of our cities. No love is lost between Riverside Drive and the east side. But the taxpayer sees that the east side has fire engines, schools, building-laws, parks, hospitals, courts, police, and a fairly safe condition of living. That is what the Christian Church should demand for the world—and demand it now. No congregation will absorb and digest this idea unless it is elaborated and reiterated with varied illustrations.

The economic causes of wars will still continue for a time, just as the causes of dueling still continue. These, however, can be chiefly removed as soon as such free trade as that between our States, which has been the basis of our prosperity, is extended to nations. There is no economic reason why Illinois should not have the same freedom of trade with Mexico that she has with Mississippi. A customs union over Europe would probably do more to remove friction and promote prosperity than anything else which could be devised, unless it be a collective control of the prime necessities of life—wheat, cotton, rubber, coal, and oil. It is needless to say that sound economics must be taught in all our schools for many years before this is achieved.

Peace and war are by-products. Peace is a product of successful organization. War is a by-product of an unorganized world, of confused thinking, of war preparations. The primary consideration is world justice and world organization to attain it. The most significant thing in the last hundred years has not been the World War, but the new intercommunication wrought by railroad, telegraph, automobile, telephone, aeroplane, radio, cheap

press and postage, and photography. These will abide indefinitely and be marvelously amplified after the devastation, misery, and poverty wrought by war have disappeared. Said Professor Nicolai, author of the *Biology of War,* probably the profoundest book ever written since Grotius on war, "The war is only an episode and intercommunication is an epoch."

Glenn Frank, in the Century, has pointed out that editors underestimate their readers' intelligence and overestimate their amount of information. The same might be said of clergymen. What the average churchgoer needs is specific information on vital matters which affect conduct and about which he has much misinformation. The war psychology is still rampant. "I have no patience whatever with the Hun. He is squealing and whining and refusing to pay his just debts," is a common verdict with the ill-informed and many a clergyman himself says, "The invasion of the Ruhr may not be ideal, but it is an inevitable attempt to rectify colossal evil." It requires energy and courage for the average clergyman to find and tell the truth about the matter without being scorned as being "pro-German." The judicial attitude that tries "to be just, even to those to whom we do not want to be just," is not common even among the followers of Jesus. All the more reason for the pastor to tell unwelcome truths. Let him cite Hosea and Amos, whose Hebrew politics have become part of our religion, if the deacons accuse him of "talking politics." Party politics of course must be absolutely avoided, but questions involving international duty should not be side-tracked as unfitted for the pulpit, or at least for discussion at midweek meetings. Bishop Brent utters a message from the Most High when he proclaims that international questions are just as much our concern as national questions. We are first of all human beings, citizens of the world, children of God.

To indulge in mere pious generalities about righteousness and justice, and to leave the listener uninformed as to facts which one needs to know in order to achieve righteousness and justice, is a common but cowardly pastoral method of giving no offense and sliding out of moral responsibility. This is in keeping with the policy of the church in every land which rendered it helpless to

prevent war. Take this tragic question of reparations, which has prevented the rehabilitation of Europe for five years. Churchgoers, like other people, have short memories. They should be reminded that when Germany pledged herself to pay, she signed a blank check at the point of the bayonet at Versailles in 1919 to avoid an invasion of Germany. She had surrendered on the ground of the fourteen points, which were largely ignored in the vindictive Versailles treaty. Not until long after a post-war boycott had starved her people when they were helpless was she told what the reparations commission had dictated. This, according to Pierrepont Noyes,[1] equaled 74 per cent of her total valuation. The absurdity of this was soon apparent and the amount was cut down to 43 per cent, or about thirty-three billion dollars, gold. Americans are demanding that Germany shall "stop shirking and promptly pay as France did in 1871." They need to be informed, as the Institute of Economics has just shown in its nearly 400-page report,[2] "Germany's Capacity to Pay," that though France adjusted her debt quickly by various forms of loans and transferences, it was not the supposed thrift of the French people which wiped out the indemnity. It is still a burden on French finances and the interest on it at three per cent is now 165,000,000 francs a year. The whole debt was only about four per cent of France's total valuation.

The chief thing for the world to understand is the philosophy of reparations. Much bitterness, unjust criticism, and dangerous delay in the rehabilitation of Europe and our taking our proper share of responsibility would be prevented were there clear ideas on this subject. At the time of writing, in early September, 1923, probably one half of the American people sustain Poincaré in saying, "Germany must pay, or we stay." Our ignorance and neutrality prolong the impasse between Great Britain and France.

The report of the Institute of Economics says that "Germany cannot feed more than 60 per cent of her people unless she can continue and pay for her present imports of foodstuffs; about one sixth of her agricultural lands were taken from her at the close of

[1] Formerly American member of the Inter-Allied Commission of the Rhineland and President of the Interallied Coal Commission.

[2] McGraw-Hill Book Co., 370 Seventh Ave., New York.

the war. Food and raw materials must be a first charge on foreign money obtained for the sales of exports; only the money left over after these are paid can be devoted to reparations. The Allies cannot eat their cake and have it too. They cannot collect anything from Germany so long as they refuse to let Germany earn by foreign trade money acceptable to them. . . . The total production of gold in the world since the discovery of America is little more than half the sum which Germany is obligated to pay." Germany's present supply of gold would pay reparations for only six months.

Foreign debts cannot be paid on the same basis as domestic debts. Germany has been harshly criticised for building canals, factories, etc., as if this diverted money from reparations. But she used home materials, paid *in paper money* and none of this product could be exported. *Exports alone can pay for reparations. And they must exceed imports.* These exports must chiefly be created from imported raw materials.

Germany offered to supply material and labor for rebuilding the devastated districts, but the builders and workmen of France wanted the jobs and their protest led to the decline of this offer. It is often assumed that Germany has paid nothing. The Institute of Economics reports that she has surrendered between six and seven billion dollars worth of property. The Allies by no means credit her with all this for reparations. Germany made contracts, payable in gold, payable in other legal tender after August, 1914. This, apparently, is why she was able to wipe out her internal debt with a rapidly depreciating currency—a virtual colossal taxation of her citizens. It was necessary for her to begin inflation in order to pay the early installments of reparations. She has not known how to stop, as her purchases of foreign currency could continue only as long as foreigners had confidence in her mark. Germany has lost all credit, and without a moratorium faces a collapse. The final conclusion of the exhaustive investigations of the Institute of Economics is that "It is utterly impossible for any one to know whether, in view of all the conditions that exist and will continue to exist, Germany will be able to develop any export surplus. It depends on wholly indeterminate factors.

The Germans themselves do not know a particle more about the possibility than anyone else. Hence the promise to pay any definite sum per year that may under military compulsion be extracted from the German government would be not a whit more than the 'agreement' reached in London in May, 1921. No threat or compulsion, no promise, no guarantee of any kind whatsoever will insure payment of any definite sum. If the Allies hope to get paid, there is only one policy to follow, namely, to facilitate the recovery of German import and export trade, and then to require the delivery of whatever excess of exports may be developed. . . . The process of compelling Germany to pay, when she has no international credit balance available for the purpose, is analogous to forcing complete liquidation upon a temporarily insolvent debtor. A little more juice may be squeezed out by the process and then the end."

Closely connected with the psychology of the American people and the concrete financial problems facing Europe is the new information which is slowly percolating through the press regarding the "sole responsibility" of Germany for creating the war. The Kautsky, Gooss and Siebert documents which have been brought to light, the studies of Professor Fay of Smith College, and especially of E. D. Morel, M.P., show conclusively that Russia, as well as Austria and Germany, was immediately responsible for the war and that, more remotely, Great Britain and France created conditions which promoted unrest and war. We are gradually learning the truth uttered by Lloyd George in December, 1920, "The more one reads memoirs and books written in the various countries of what happened before August 1, 1914, the more one realizes that no one at the head of affairs quite meant war. It was something into which they glided, or rather staggered and stumbled." Doubtless a little group of Germans, including professors and editors as well as military men, were largely responsible; but one must study carefully the available documents before wholesale condemnation of Germany as the "sole" sinner. Justice regarding this matter does not exculpate her from atrocities committed or lessen her obligation to repay wanton destruction to the limit possible.

A little time taken from the study of concordances and church fathers to learn the facts needed for their congregations in order to do justice and love mercy would serve the pastors who are practically working as well as praying for Christ's kingdom to come on earth. If every community could once a fortnight turn its midweek meeting into a study of history and economics and if this were led by Christian preachers who would take time for research[3] there would be less bitterness and confusion of thought in the pews.

"Organize the world" should be the slogan of civilization. Said one of the winners of the Nobel Peace Prize: "Peace, according to pacifism, means a condition of organized living together among nations." Pacifism simply means peace-making and a pacifist is a peacemaker, not peace talker, or dreamer. Jesus said such were blessed. The word "pacifist" has been caricatured, derided, and so misunderstood that many conceive it to apply only to the flabby and cowardly who would not risk their skin to defend their country. There are as many types of pacifists as there are of Christians. The latter include persons of faiths varying from that of Unitarians to that of Roman Catholics. A very few pacifists are unstatesmanlike extremists who injure their own cause by demanding our absolute disarmament at once and ask Congress for an amendment to the Constitution to remove every word that authorizes armaments. The great majority of peacemakers are not extremists; they know that all progress is made by steps and are busy advocating the logical, progressive steps toward outlawry of war and the extension to nations of that system of courts and police force which has achieved order and justice between individuals, between cities, between our forty-eight States, between all parts of empires and nations, and which, in the League of Nations, is beginning to be applied to the whole world.

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[3] See article on "They All Lied" in the Nation, Oct. 11, 1922; "New Light on the Orgins of the War, *American Historical Review*, 1920–1921; "The Poison That Destroys," price 2d; "Military Preparations for the Great War," price 6d, the first, published by The Independent Labor Party, 8, Johnson Court, Fleet St., London, the second by The Labour Publishing Co., 38 Great Ormond St., London; and "The Secret History of a Great Betrayal," published by Foreign Affairs, Orchard House, Great Smith St., London, S. W., price 1s. All of these three are by E. D. Morel, M.P., who won Winston Churchill's seat, an expert investigator, and giving chapter and verse for all his statements.

After the 7,000,000 majority for President Harding, the quadrennial of the Federal Council of Churches, in December, 1920, declared: "The supreme hope for the future is in the League of Nations. This is the one worth-while, definite thing that has come out of the war. The call for our nation to enter this League and help make it a really effective instrument for righting wrongs and adjusting national difficulties is the greatest moral call that has ever come to the church in all its history. The peace of the world and the hope of humanity rest on the proper strengthening of the League." The Federal Council of Churches stands by that pronouncement and none of its twenty-nine constituent denominations have dissented.

America is beginning to realize that the huge number of votes in 1920, claimed as a condemnation of the League, were largely cast by voters of both parties who were assured by leaders like Taft, Hoover, Hughes, Root, Lowell, and others in the group of thirty-one eminent Republicans, that a vote for Harding was the surest way to secure our entrance into the League or into an Association of Nations. The 1922 election and the Minnesota election have led to questioning whether the Republicans will have any sure majority in 1924. It seems that our entrance into the League will be a strong factor in the situation. The tide is turning and the partisan fury and abysmal ignorance of the League Covenant which then prevailed is diminished. It is doubtful whether one voter in a hundred had then read the League Covenant.

A new situation confronts us to-day. If we enter the League we shall not sign the largely impracticable and vindictive Versailles treaty. We should enter as Switzerland or any other neutral nation entered. We should not have to condone now Japan's occupation of Shantung, as she has evacuated it. We should take our proper place in the family of nations with the right to withdraw honorably by giving two years' notice and paying our dues. We can enter with full reservations as to our never pledging ourselves to military action abroad without the consent of Congress and to nothing which contravenes our Constitution.

Our refusal to enter has prevented the League from acting

to end the dangerous traffic in arms that has provided many nations with the accumulated arms left over from the war and which have aided various hostile ventures. Our aloofness has produced a painful impression. We are to-day, through unofficial representations, altering that bad policy. Had we succeeded in securing the two-thirds vote of the Senate, which Senator Newberry, on his resignation, boasted his one vote had prevented, we should have entered the League with the approval of the majority of our voters; and the wars between Poland and Russia and Greece and Turkey and the invasion of the Ruhr would probably have been prevented. It is a sad anomaly that permits us to enter on war with a majority vote but prohibits our making a peace treaty without a two-thirds vote. As ex-Ambassador John W. Davis declares, this long hindrance to justice should be abolished by an amendment to the Constitution. The recent revelation by Mr. Wellman of President Harding's conviction that we could not "countenance persistent isolation and indifference as our national policy," and that he intended next year to invite "all the nations of the world to a Congress," and the statement of Prof. Irving Fisher show how far President Harding was from standing with the Johnson-Moses-Brandegee "irreconcilables." In 1920 President Harding told Professor Fisher: "I want the United States to get into the League just as much as you do. I am opposed to the Wilson League, but the League can be changed. My idea is to call the nations together and ask them to make such amendments as are necessary to secure the approval of the United States." In reference to a noted Senator who was opposed, he said: "When he takes his extreme stand he is doing so for political effect. With my own forces divided on details, my first concern is to get these forces together."

At its headquarters in the federated republic of Switzerland, the most internationally minded country of Europe, the League has created an atmosphere that is unique among the suspicious, greedy, discouraged peoples of Europe. Its hundreds of experts on geography, ethnology, history, economics, and law are creating speedy and valuable communication between the nations. What no one nation could do to lift Austria from complete collapse, to

stop the spread of terrible epidemics, to remove conditions which were in four instances leading to war, the League has done. No one nation could have repatriated the 400,000 wretched, starving war-prisoners in Russia, but the League did it. It is grappling with the problem of opium production; with the traffic in women and children; with the supervision of the mandated territory, which, but for the League, would have been simply stolen and annexed. The establishment of the Permanent Court of International Justice, whose eleven judges, including an American, have been functioning for a year and more, is another great achievement in which we should at once participate.

The Borah-Levinson plea for the outlawry of war, on the purpose of which all right-minded people must agree, is strangely coupled with hostility to the World Court. This can gradually be made as powerful as can any court which Mr. Borah wants set up, as soon as the nations of the earth are ready to make the necessary sacrifices. The illogicality of the Borah position, the failure to see what is necessarily involved in getting a treaty for the outlawry of war, is most astutely presented by Walter Lippman in the August Atlantic. "Once more," he says, "we see the tragic futility of noble sentiments frustrated by confused ideas."

No League can outlaw war, so long as a great, armed nation like our own remains outside it and claims the right by international law to go to war to-morrow if it pleases. Critics condemn the League because its Covenant does not go further in certain directions. It is imperfect, as present world conditions necessitate; as imperfect as was our Constitution when Alexander Hamilton, who was greatly dissatisfied with it, loyally appealed for its support, knowing that the alternative was disintegration and no federated republic. He and his coworkers failed to secure more than nine States out of the thirteen for ratification. The necessity of the first Congress to add ten amendments at once, the two years' delay before anyone trusted our Supreme Court with a contested case, are all reminders of the weakness of the beginnings of great undertakings and of their possibilities of growth. George Washington was called to organize a nation. That nation is now summoned to help organize the world.

Shall We End War?

By
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A Sermon Preached at the
First Presbyterian Church, New York
June 5, 1921

Distributed through the
Foreign Policy Association
3 West 29th Street New York City

The best service which this sermon could render would be to induce all its readers to read also "The Next War," by Will Irwin, published by E. P. Dutton and Co., a book to which this sermon is indebted for some of its concrete facts and figures.

SHALL WE END WAR?

On this Sunday, dedicated by the churches to the cause of disarmament, we already have sung and prayed and read our morning subject and our morning text. "Neither shall they learn war any more"—how impossible that dream must have seemed when first Isaiah and Micah, prophets together in a generation torn by many wars, used the words! Their contemporaries must have listened to such a hope, as they might have felt a passing breeze, cooling them for a moment in the heat of strife, but passing on swiftly to be forgotten. How vain the hope has always seemed that the time would come when men would not learn war any more!

Indeed, at no time would sarcasm have been easier than now over the contrast between the ideal of peace and the actuality of war. Not learn war any more, when we have just passed through a war that has made all its predecessors in history seem like popping chestnuts beside a thunder clap, when preparations for the next war are everywhere anxiously afoot and the race of competitive armament has begun again!

To one who knows history, however, something else is apparent beyond this discouraging contrast between the actuality and the ideal. Said Victor Hugo, "Nothing on earth is so powerful as an *idea* whose hour has come." It is possible in history to trace that movement of thought which has brought us to the hour where now we stand, where we must either give up war or else give up civilization. At least the dim suspicion of this dilemma between war and civilization has not for centuries been altogether lacking. The church, all too feebly recognizing the irreconcilable conflict between war and the spirit of Jesus, has, for all that, at her best been endeavoring to restrain war, to abolish its worst barbarities, to limit its area and to bring, where it could, the truce of God. Before 1914 some kinds of war had been done away—religious wars, for example, that during

so many centuries devastated Europe. Throughout the nineteenth century there was a growing apprehension about the crisis toward which humanity was drifting. During the first fifty years of the nineteenth century practically nothing was said about arbitration treaties. During the first ten years of the twentieth century ninety-six international arbitration treaties were signed. And before that fateful day of August, 1914, the Hague peace conferences had been desperately endeavoring to trim the claws of war with rules and regulations that might protect the wounded and non-combatants and limit the methods of killing. All of these things have proved to be futile enough in practical effect, yet they are valuable as prophecy. They indicate that humanity for a long time has dimly perceived what now we are fools if we do not clearly see: that war and civilization are diametrically opposed, that we can have one or the other but not for very long can we have both.

Let us this morning consider a few of those things which, in view of our late experience, we ought to understand about war.

First of all, *there is nothing glorious about war any more.* We used to think there was. When we were children, with tasselled paper caps and tin guns, marching to a beaten drum, we incarnated in our boyish pride the ancient fallacy that there is something glorious about war. Is it not amazing that the most damnable things in human life are so habitually dressed in the alluring paraphernalia of parade and gorgeous clothes and stirring song? What is intoxication by strong drink? Any man with eyes to face the facts knows it to be a beastly thing with a trail of poverty, heartbreak and death after it, so that men ought to hate it with a bitter hatred. Yet when men sing their drinking songs intoxication is radiantly clothed with gaiety and mirth, with the clink of glasses and the surge of song, until the very souls of the elect might be deceived. So war, which is a skeleton, has covered itself with a gorgeous robe. One of the first men in history to tell the truth about war was Vereshchagin, the Russian painter. He fought in the Crimean War and then he painted the battlefields of the Crimea as they really were, with all the glory stripped away, with nothing but the horror and the rottenness and the

cruelty left—war stark naked and infernal. The old Czar's government tried to keep him from exhibiting his pictures in Russia. They knew that men would not forever cry for war and glory in it if they knew the truth about it.

There is no excuse, however, if *we* do not know the truth about war. For the first time in history we have gone through a gigantic war, for news of which we have not been chiefly dependent upon official dispatches, but upon multitudinous letters from millions of men, many of whom we knew, and upon detailed reports from journalists on the spot. War glorious? Read Philip Gibbs's "Now It Can Be Told." Read Barbusse's "Under Fire." Read Will Irwin on "The Next War." These were not idealists pleading a preconceived cause, but men looking for the facts and their testimony is unanimous: there is nothing glorious about war any more; it is a brutal, organized butchery of human beings.

In saying this one would desire to guard himself against any appearance of dishonoring the memory or depreciating the spirit of the men who bore the burdens of the nation on the field of battle. Any one of us who was with them in France would rather have his tongue plucked out than do them dishonor. Their courage, their resourcefulness, their dash, their spirit of comradeship and sacrifice, their willingness to die, were stirring and splendid. Let humanity not altogether despair of herself if her youth can display qualities like that! But this very fact was part of the horror of war. To take these supreme qualities of human character and to use them to do what war does—that is not glorious. To take a splendid youth, willing to serve the will of God in his generation before he falls on sleep, and to teach him the skillful trick of twisting a bayonet into the abdomen of an enemy—that is not glorious. To take a royal-spirited man who is not afraid of anything under heaven and to teach him to drop bombs on undefended towns to kill whom he knows not—it may be the baby suckled at her mother's breast—that is not glorious.

One of our young men came back from France and, like many others, would not talk. One day his father took him apart and rebuked him for his silence. "Just one thing I will tell you,"

he answered. "One night I was on patrol in No Man's Land and suddenly I came face to face with a German boy about my own age. It was a question of his life or mine. We fought like wild beasts. When I came back that night I was covered from head to foot with the blood and brains of that young German boy. We had nothing personally against each other. He did not want to kill me any more than I wanted to kill him. That is war. I did my duty in it, but for God's sake do not ask me to talk about it. I want to forget it." My friends, that *is* war—the quintessence of it at the central point of its self-revelation. There is nothing glorious about it any more.

In the second place, *war is not a school for virtue any more.* We used to think it was. We half believed the German War Party when they told us about the disciplinary value of their gigantic establishment, and when Lord Roberts assured us that war was tonic for the souls of peoples we were half inclined to think that he was right. In particular, when our war broke and in answer to the nation's call so many millions leaped to arms, and we were all bound up in a common fellowship of devotion to a common cause, and when to the roll of drums our men went out to fight, ready for the uttermost self-sacrifice, so stimulated were we that we almost were convinced that out of such an experience there might come a renaissance of new spiritual quality and life. Is there anybody who can blind his eyes to the facts now? Every competent witness in Europe or America has had to say that we are on a far lower moral level than we were before the war. Crimes of sex, crimes of violence have been unprecedented. Large areas of Europe are to-day in a chaos so complete that not one man in a thousand in America even dimly imagines it, with a breakdown of all the normal, sustaining relationships and privileges of civilized life, and with an accompanying collapse of character unprecedented in Christendom, I suppose, since the days of the Black Plague. If we are wise we will never again go down into hell expecting to come up with redeemed spirits.

To be sure, there are many individuals of such moral stamina that they have come out of this experience personally the better, not the worse. There are people who would build into the fiber

of their character any experience that earth could offer them. But if you are thinking of the moral stability and progress of the world, surely there is nothing in the processes of war, as we have seen them, or the results of war, as they now lie about us, that would lead us to trust to them for help. Take one fact about this war: ten million men in the prime of their lives died on the battlefields. Some of us in the cities and the camps watched the way in which these men were selected. First, conscription in its broad net brought in all the men of the nation, at those ages when they might be expected to be in their physical and mental prime. Second, the draft boards weeded out the obviously unfit—the insane, the maimed, the halt, the blind—and sent them back into civil life to propagate the race that is to be, while all the best they sent up to the camps. Third, in the camps these picked men were put through the sieve again. The nervously unstable, the physically or mentally undeveloped, were strained out and sent back into civil life. When the armies went into battle they represented the flower of the nations' manhood at its best. And ten million of them fell, ten million of our race's hand-picked best. Of all France's youth between nineteen and thirty-one years of age, sixty per cent fell in battle. Just where are you going to get moral progress for the world out of that? What you are going to get out of that is inevitable racial decadence.

If that were the only fact involved in war, it ought to be evident that we can have war or civilization, but we cannot have both of them very long.

In the third place, *there is no limit to the methods of killing in war any more.* We used to think there was. We used to think that we could make a duel of war, controlled by regulations that would tone down war's worst barbarities so that the whole business could be carried on with a flourish of chivalry, decently and in order, and we dared to think that something like this had been actually accomplished by the Hague peace conventions. Now we know that when war gets under way all rules are like the seven green withes with which they bound the arms of Samson and which so easily he snapped.

History long ago would have taught us this had we had the

sense to read it and the wits to understand it. Always there was an initial reluctance about adopting new ways of carrying on war, from the time men substituted bows and arrows, which kill at a distance, for stone hatchets, which kill close at hand. Always the first users of these new means of killing were considered dishonorable for a little while and always in the end everybody adopted the new means and took them for granted. There was a great to-do about the use of gunpowder when first it was introduced, but by the time we came upon the scene the last shadow of that reluctance had vanished utterly.

Will Irwin is right when he says that April 22, 1915, is one of the outstanding dates in human history, because on that day "the Germans rolled across the Western trench line a cloud of iridescent, chlorine gas, which sent French, Arab, English, and Canadian soldiers by the thousands back to the hospitals, coughing and choking themselves to death from rotted, inflamed lungs." That day advertised to the world that the barriers were down and that there was nothing that modern science could discover too powerful or too horrible to be used in war. Already, in these few years, we have passed through all the stages of changing attitude toward the use of poison gas in war: first, unutterable indignation at the use of it; second, reluctant consideration of using it ourselves if the other side did; third, tentative employment of it to see how our people would react; fourth, frantic endeavor to beat the enemy out in the use of it before we were too late; until now all nations take it as a matter of course that poison gas will be used in any new war and are preparing it with the same nonchalance with which they prepare muskets. We in America have our Lewisite Gas. It probably is the best, up to date. It is invisible; no one can ever see it when it comes. It is heavier than air; it will sink into the lowest dugouts and cellars. Moreover, it has this element of exquisite efficiency: you do not have to breathe it to be killed by it; if it can touch your skin anywhere it is fatal. And it is estimated that in any landscape where it once is used nothing will grow for seven years. War has been bad enough in the past. But there is no man living with imagination adequate to picture what war is going to be.

Already our military authorities are preparing the minds of people for new ways of killing men. Listen to General Swinton of the British army: "The final form of human strife, as I regard it, is germ warfare. I think it will come to that; and, so far as I can see, there is no reason why it should not, if you mean to fight . . . prepare now . . . we must envisage these new forms of warfare, and as far as possible expend energy, time and money in encouraging our inventors and scientists to study the waging of war on a wholesale scale instead of . . . thinking so much about methods which will kill a few individuals only at a time." This last war, therefore, which, when it was here, seemed to be a real one, was only "killing a few individuals at a time." The American Civil War was regarded as the greatest conflict up to date. Seven hundred thousand men fell in that war. The Franco-Prussian War was quite a war of its kind, and Robert Louis Stevenson told us that he used to lie on the ground of his island and kick the turf in agony at the thought of the weariness of marching men and the cries of the wounded. One hundred and eighty-four thousand men fell in that war. Yet when ten million men fell in this last war General Swinton tells us that we were only killing a few individuals at a time and that the hour has struck at last for us to get down to business and learn how really to make war—wholesale war—with germs and gas and lethal rays, concerning which last the general says that they will "shrivel up or paralyze or poison human beings." That is war as it actually will be waged. The barriers are all down. You never can put them up. There is no limit to the ways of killing any more.

That leads me logically to my next point: *there are no limits to the cost of war any more.* There used to be. War used to be comparatively inexpensive. The knights used to go out, furnishing their own equipment and maintaining their own expense. Even the wars in which the United States have engaged have been economic Lilliputians compared with this last conflict. Our own Revolutionary War cost only $170,000,000. A whole war, lasting eight years, only $170,000,000—what a bargain! Those were the good old days when you could get a real war cheap.

But when this last war drew to its conclusion it was costing not in indirect losses, but in direct expenses, $240,000,000 every day—$10,000,000 an hour.

You read in the papers this last week that Great Britain had just scrapped a hundred and thirteen outworn warships. Those dreadnaughts, a few years ago, cost a million dollars apiece. Now they cost forty million. Every rise in the scientific efficiency of war is met by a corresponding rise in the costs of war that go up by incredible leaps and bounds. Airplanes, gas, long-range guns, high explosives, ships, vast armies, world-wide campaigns—we almost need a new word for war, so different are the implications of it from anything humanity has ever faced before. And the economic consequences are appalling. The United States is the least of our brethren in bearing the financial burdens of war and feeling their weight, and yet even here *ninety-three per cent* of all our national taxes is going now for war, past, present, and to come. The total wealth of the French nation—everything the French people own: land, farms, mines, factories, houses, everything—in 1920 was estimated at $92,500,000,000. The total national debt of France to-day is $46,000,000,000, one half its total national wealth. How long do you think civilization can go on at a rate like that?

Here in the United States one finds everywhere a latent fear of that revolutionary spirit which is summed up in the word "Bolshevism." That fear, so far as the world at large is concerned, is justified. I share it keenly. But one does not find in the United States, as he wishes that he did, the clear recognition of one of the underlying causes of that revolutionary spirit. It is the intolerable burden of modern militarism and of modern war. The people of the world are very patient. The more one knows the facts, the more he wonders, not at their revolutionary spirit, but at their incredible patience. But they will not forever patiently endure the insufferable burdens of modern war. They will rise in their fury and blow this so-called civilization to bits first. For we can have war or civilization, but we cannot have both very long.

War is not glorious any more, is not a school of virtue any

more; there are no limits to its methods of killing or to its cost; and, now, *there is no possibility of sheltering any portion of the population from the direct effect of war any more.* Once there was. Once only a comparatively few men went out to fight, first the men who wanted to, later the men who were paid to. The area of operations was comparatively limited, the people engaged few, the number even indirectly affected small. Then at the time of the French Revolution there came a change; then, for the first time in modern history, the principle of national conscription for military service was instituted. Even then it did not spread widely or swiftly until 1870, when Prussia made it a settled policy of state. Within the lifetime of a large portion of this congregation, national conscription for military service has become a recognized policy of modern states.

Not only, however, are all men drawn into a modern war: when a nation fights, the women must join them. In the last war the women were at the front and behind the front they made the munitions. The war could not have been fought without them, and plans are now on foot for a thoroughgoing conscription of all women as of all men in the event of another war. And not only must all men and all women bear the burdens of war, all men, women and children must face the perils and meet the deaths of war. Some of us were in Paris during those long days when every twenty minutes a great shell burst, scattering civilians right and left regardless of age or sex. Some of us in London have seen all night long in the sweltering subways the English families huddled, mothers trying to protect their little broods from the indiscriminate bombing of the city. And everyone knows that before the war was over indiscriminate bombing was practised on both sides of the line and that already bombs of 1,000 pounds weight were prepared to annihilate Berlin in 1919. The inevitable development of modern war means that it shall not be waged against armies alone, but against populations. If you are going to have war at all, that is the kind of war you are going to have.

Have you any little children at home whom you love? If it were a question of grown men going out to fight as grown men

used to fight, because they liked it, then we might palliate the folly and forgive the sin. But these next wars, if they come, are going to kill babies as frequently and as cheerfully as they kill men. They will use germs, that are no respecters of persons; and bombs, that have no eyes to see where they may fall; and gas, that asks no questions about age or sex. If you say that we here in America are plentifully able to protect our children, I ask you: if, in protecting our children, we find ourselves caught up in a great modern war system where the only way to do it is to kill other people's children, will you like that very much better? This is what war means—the endeavor of a whole population to annihilate another whole population by means fair or foul. If you are going to have war, be sure in advance that this is the kind of war you are going to get.

Surely, you are ready to accept my last proposition: *we cannot reconcile Christianity and war any more.* It cannot be done. We have reached here the same pass that our fathers reached about slavery. For a long while they had dallied with it, excused it, compromised about it. But at last they came to the parting of the ways, where it was evident that no longer could they reconcile Christian civilization and slavery. And we have come to that parting of the ways about war. I am not a theoretical pacifist. I do not hold my ethics in a vacuum apart from the actualities; I recognize the place of force, of massed force if need be, in exigencies where other methods fail; but opposition to this building up of vast war machines in a deadly competition which will end with an inevitable crash, bringing down in ruin the priceless gains of our civilization, is not a matter of theoretical pacifism; it is a matter of common sense. Only a blind man can favor this organized madness. The men who know what war is are saying to us what Marshal Haig said to an audience in Britain: "The Gospel of Christ is the world's only social hope and the sole promise of world-peace. It is a crusade to which I urge you, a crusade not having for its object the redemption of a single city, however holy, but the freeing of the whole world from the devastating scourge of war." You have in your hands to-day the statement from our own General Tasker H. Bliss, lately Chief of Staff

of our armies.* It ought to touch our consciences. He is a man whose business is war, who knows what war is and what war will be and he is saying: You Christians, in the name of God and for the sake of humanity, make my business needless.

Let us say out loud what we often say in private: that in our national life and in our national government there are two factions. One is fairly pictured in the person of Mr. Harvey, our Ambassador—I will not say our representative—at the Court of Saint James; with his narrow nationalism, with his insistence that we fought this war for selfish purposes alone, and that without ideal or sentiment we will control our international policies by selfish motives only. The other is represented by men like Mr. Charles E. Hughes and Mr. Herbert Hoover, with their broad outlook, their international interest, their sincere desire for reduced armaments and for an association of the nations that will minimize the chances of war. Which of these two factions is going to come out on top? It depends altogether now on the pressure of public opinion. There never was such a chance in this country, I think, for a wave of expressed public opinion to decide a great national issue.

*"I would not take a single step in the way of disarmament except as the result of an agreement, thoroughly acceptable to us, between ourselves and the other principal nations engaged in the armament rivalry. My sole purpose therefore is to have such an international conference. Either there is no practical common sense among the people of the United States, or else they now know the essential facts that point to the necessity of such a conference . . .

"If the clergymen of the United States want to secure a limitation of armaments, they can do it now without further waste of time. If on an agreed-upon date they will simultaneously preach one sermon on this subject in every church of every creed throughout the United States, and conclude their services by having the congregation adopt a resolution addressed to their particular congressman urging on him the necessity of having a business conference of five nations on the subject, the thing will be done.

"If the churches cannot agree upon that, it will not be done, nor will it be done until the good God puts into them the proper spirit of their religion. The responsibility is entirely on the professing Christians of the United States. If another war like the last one should come, they will be responsible for every drop of blood that will be shed and for every dollar wastefully expended."

Was there ever a nation in the world that was in so good a position as we are in to take the lead? Nobody is going to suppose, if we do it, that we are afraid. Afraid of what? After our record in the late war, with our unchallenged primacy in strategic position and wealth and men, afraid of what? No one is going to suppose that we could not keep the pace. Everyone knows that we could keep the pace as long as anyone else could keep it. If the United States goes to Great Britain and France and Japan and says: "Gentlemen, let us stop this ruinous madness that in the end will bring down our civilization about our ears like the pleasure hall of the Philistines when Samson broke its pillars, let us sit down at a table and make plans for the disarmament of the world," everyone knows that there would be only one reason for our doing it: that the best in the United States had conquered the worst.

For the sake of the liberal, forward-looking people in the other nations who, against handicaps that we with difficulty can imagine, are fighting their militaristic cliques and do not want war, let us take the lead! For the sake of that Christ whose sacrifice on behalf of all the world we shall commemorate this afternoon and whom for so long time we have called "Lord, Lord," without doing the things that he said, let our country move out, at the front, toward that day when men shall "not learn war any more!"

Prayer

Eternal God, our Father, if ever we have prayed to Thee with slack and unstirred spirits, it is not now. We are pleading before Thee for the preservation of a civilization that our fathers died to build and to save. Thou seest written in our hearts the names of children whom we love better than ourselves and to whom we would not hand down a world committed to devastation and death and ruin unimaginable. God make us strong in the hour of our opportunity that we may do our duty and lead this people, as it has been so great in war, to be greater yet in peace. Amen.

The Peace of Christ

By BISHOP BRENT

FROM A SERMON
PREACHED IN TRINITY CHURCH, BUFFALO, NEW YORK
PALM SUNDAY, 1921

THE man Zechariah, viewing long ago the awful results of Alexander the Great's invasion of Palestine, repudiates militarism with an emphasis which we of to-day need to emulate. His is no mere protest, no sobbing lament. He speaks with the voice of a victor as he displaces brute force by a superior power. He proclaims the triumph of the spirit and methods of love. "Rejoice mightily, daughter of Zion! Shout aloud, daughter of Jerusalem! Lo, the King cometh to thee vindicated and victorious, meek and riding on an ass and on a colt the she ass' foal. And I will cut off the chariot from Ephraim and the horse from Jerusalem, and the war bow shall be cut off and He shall speak peace to the nations, and His rule shall be from sea to sea and from the river even to the ends of the earth."

Armaments he rejects and all the paraphernalia of war—the chariot, the horse, and the bow, or as we would say, the battleship and the fort, the tank and the gun. In their place he puts a meek and lowly and victorious mind which seeks not for domination but for fellowship, not for destruction, but for universal peace.

As we read the story of the triumphal entry of Jesus into Jerusalem, we see Him acting out what Zechariah described. Jesus knew that before the week closed militarism was going to batter Him to death. His was no passive resistance. He met weapon with weapon, fierceness with meekness, hatred with love, and He won. By His carefully prepared triumphal entry, when pure-hearted children recognized and acclaimed His kingship, He announced beforehand that He had the situation in hand, that He was already victor. He chose the ass not because it was a lowly beast, but because it was the animal of peace as the horse was the animal of war. We have seen the triumphal parade of victors, but never was there so true a symbol of final triumph as when Jesus claimed His kingship in His Palm Sunday ride.

Our day is one of damaged reputations and rejected leaders. We are re-reading history and making new judgments. Never was Napoleon so little thought of as to-day, and with him all who like him would wade through slaughter to a throne! Force has reared its ugly head too high at last, and now we know by its own confession that it can never win a victory outside its own sphere. Its certain fruit is devastation, despair, and confusion.

But ten days ago I was in Europe and the density of its gloom still oppresses my soul. It would be hard to exaggerate the bewilder-

ment, the chaos, the pain! Europe's suffering is our concern. Europe is the rock from which we were hewn. Especially now England, bearing with proud fortitude the brunt of the trouble, needs us. She is our aged and suffering mother. She appeals to America, her vigorous and capable daughter, for aid which we alone can give. Her friendship toward us is real and her good will asks for ours in return. There are those who are striving to stir up strife between the two countries. I cannot conceive of anything more criminally wicked, especially at this juncture. It is not that England asks for our friendship on her own terms, but on ours. Her citizens cannot understand why we have taken the course we are pursuing. I used every opportunity given me to explain and found a sincere and grateful response.

But help cannot come through force. For a goal, however distant it may appear, we must aim at nothing short of the substitution of virile love for armaments and armies. I recall the day when as America's spokesman in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, I declared that we were entering a war to destroy war. I hold to that now. As a nation and as individuals we must denounce armaments. It was courageous and fine that General Pershing should have taken a stand against armaments. Armaments control men, not men armaments. Given a great armament and you have a successful school for the development of violence and war.

We have a right to expect Europe to become a country as empty of forts and guns as the line which separates—or shall I say unites?—Canada and the United States. America is a voluntary empire. Europe must learn to become the same. *America might do worse than offer Europe the aid of all her resources and man power, provided that Europe dismantled her forts and ceased suicidal conflict.*

Never did America look to me more wonderful or more throbbing with hope than when in the morning sun under a fleckless sky her radiant coast came into sight as we approached her shores. Oh, that America saw her opportunity and her peril! We have high ideals, but we have made "ideal" synonymous with "impracticable." Now is the opportunity to renew our loyalties to great principles.

Apologize as you may for even occasional militarism, the fact abides that Christ by word and act not only repudiated it, but also showed a more effective way. Everything that the world contains has been shaken. Christ alone stands unscathed, uncriticized. He not only demonstrated the beauty of love and lowliness and meekness,

but also what mighty engines they are and how in the long run they win. We have rejected His methods because immediate results do not ensue. Now let us build for the centuries and without compromise. Embrace His kingly programme of generosity and forbearance, forgiveness and love. Why did He reject the policy of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth"? Because it was naughty and irked Him? No ! a thousand times no ! But because reprisals are hopelessly ineffective, ending in mutual extermination. They are the contradiction of life.

It was refreshing to read the stern condemnation by Lord Bryce, an Ulsterman, one whom America honors, of reprisals in Ireland. As he condemned them, so does every decent minded man, and woman, in England, and they are in the majority.

Some day—it may not be soon—France and Germany will come to realize that as long as time lasts they must be next door neighbors, so that the mode of life which they will plan will be on the lines of that which controls New York state and its neighbor Pennsylvania. Nothing else will do. Community of interests is social salvation. So with England and Ireland. It was fitting that our new President should conclude his first inaugural with the statement that the Golden Rule must govern human relationships. But we may not forget that the law of love precedes and animates the law of conduct. The law of love will not permit of another slogan of the President, which for the damage it has done might better have been left unsaid—"America first !" "Myself first," taken as a motto by any individual, would not commend its wearer to the community. "America first" is selfishness magnified to national dimensions, and for myself I refuse to accept it as indicative of the mind of the nation. Humility is not the elimination of self. It is the placing of one's self on the same plane as one's neighbor. Humility is the key to world-wide fellowship, as meekness is the high road to universal peace.

We have great opportunity, opportunity which we can seize and seize as individuals. The test of democracy is in its ability to fire each citizen to rise to a high level. Democracy is the science of self-government. It came from Christ and is perpetuated and developed only so far as we make Christ's standards our own working pattern. The impossible yields before the daring endeavor where moral standards are concerned, and it is for this country by Christ's methods of peace to hasten a day of rest for a weary, suffering world.